

**TERRANOVA**
IMPASSIONED • IMPATIENT • IMPERILLEDTaj Palace, Diplomatic Enclave
New Delhi, India**AGENDA****DAY TWO – 26 APRIL 2022**

0900-0910 **Welcome Address** **V. Muraleedharan**, Minister of State, Ministry of External Affairs, India

0910-1000 **Panel Discussion** **The Revenge of Ideology? Polarisation and the Exhaustion of Liberalism**

At the turn of the millennium, modern and prosperous societies were exhausted from defending or opposing grand ideologies that arose in the 19th century. Radicalism was dead, history was over, and a rough consensus on a liberal political order had emerged. Today, the world is even richer, and even more radically polarised, whether on the streets or on virtual platforms. #Ideologies, often extreme, proliferate by the day, constantly contesting what were considered settled political arrangements for societies, communities, and nations.

So, is a liberal order an oxymoron when liberalism itself has no modern-day variant? What is the secret sauce that will bind collectives in the future? Will it be a democratic political regime? Or the preferences of the dominant? Will the views of community mobilisers prevail? Are spontaneous coalitions and irrational political aggregations our destiny? Is economic globalisation more important than commonly-agreed politics?

Teodoro L. Locsin Jr., Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Philippines

Carl Bildt, Former Prime Minister, Sweden; Co-Chair, European Council on Foreign Relations

Stephen Harper, Former Prime Minister, Canada

Baijayant Panda, National Vice President, Bharatiya Janata Party, India

Jane Holl Lute, Former Deputy Secretary, Department of Homeland Security, United States

Moderator: **Palki Sharma Upadhyay**, Executive Editor, WION, India

1000-1040 **Townhall** **The Raisina AMA**

S. Jaishankar, Minister of External Affairs, India

Moderator: **Samir Saran**, President, Observer Research Foundation, India

1040-1055

Break

1055-1145

Panel Discussion

New Fuels, Old Aspirations: Moving the Next 5 Billion

Past industrial revolutions were powered by the uncontrolled use of fossil fuels; the Fourth Industrial Revolution must find additional sources of energy. Yet, 2021 provided stark reminders of how many countries still depend on a secure supply of fossil fuels. The energy transition is not straightforward: It could amplify socio-political fissures at home, and introduce dependencies abroad. For developing countries, rigid decarbonisation measures could also thwart the evolution of a robust domestic industry.

How can energy transitions help in rapid industrialisation and at-scale employment generation in the developing world? How can key nations invest in an institutional framework that supports this new energy landscape of the future? Will constructs like the International Solar Alliance be the start of a new era of coalitions for like-minded nations? Will geopolitics serve these energy transitions or complicate them?

Anniken Huitfeldt, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Norway

Santiago Andrés Cafiero, Minister of Foreign Affairs, International Trade and Worship, Argentina

Mathias Cormann, Secretary-General, OECD

Aminath Shauna, Minister of Environment, Climate Change and Technology, Maldives

Amitabh Kant, CEO, NITI Aayog, India

Moderator: **Ila Patnaik**, Chief Economist, Aditya Birla Group, India

1145-1215

In Conversation

In Conversation

Nitin Gadkari, Minister of Road Transport and Highways, India

Moderator: **Shereen Bhan**, Managing Editor, CNBC TV-18, India

1215-1230

Break

1230-1320

Panel Discussion

The Brussels Effect: Compass for a Strategic Europe

The “Brussels Effect” is the talk of the town in global capitals. From its response to the Ukraine conflict, to unveiling the multi-billion dollar Global Gateway Project, to announcing a strategy for the Indo-Pacific, to the Strategic Compass, the EU’s actions are being keenly watched.

Is the EU learning how to use the language of power? Has the standoff in Ukraine catalysed a greater European inclination towards defence and security? How will a future EU project military power – through national militaries with similar shared objectives, a European army, or NATO? Are the continent’s existing political institutions capable of playing a more overtly geopolitical role? Russia united the EU; will China divide it?

Zbigniew Rau, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Poland

Jean Asselborn, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Luxembourg

Gabrielius Landsbergis, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lithuania

Leslie Vinjamuri Wright, Director, US and Americas, Chatham House, United Kingdom

Rachel Rizzo, Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council Europe Center, United States

Moderator: **Ali Aslan**, International TV Presenter and Journalist, Germany

1320-1450

Lunch
Conversations

Shahjehan: Timid Leadership, Bashful Banks: Who Will Fund the Green Transition?

Inadequate flow of global capital to developing countries remains the biggest hurdle to achieving climate targets. Despite US\$46 trillion of pension funds and excess savings of nearly US\$4 trillion earning negligible returns, the actual flow of capital to developing countries remains well below stated pledges and real requirements. Private finance will have to step in to work with public finance in closing the gaps for sustainable decarbonisation and a just transition.

How can the Global North be made to deliver on its green finance commitments? How can risk assessments privilege green investments in emerging economies? Can big players in global financial hubs build capacity to evaluate and deploy capital at scale in the developing world? What innovative financial instruments are needed to accelerate green finance in emerging destinations where large gains for eco-transition are to be had?

Amitabh Kant, CEO, NITI Aayog, India

Mathias Cormann, Secretary-General, OECD

Gwendoline Abunaw, Managing Director, EcoBank Cameroon, Cameroon

Christian Kettel Thomsen, Vice President, European Investment Bank

Joojin Kim, Managing Director, Solutions For Our Climate, South Korea

Moderator: **Shikha Bhasin**, Senior Programme Lead, Council on Energy, Environment and Water (CEEW), India

Mumtaz: Digital Doses: Healthcare, Technology and a Coalition of the Willing?

From delivering specialist health care in rural areas to tailoring nutritional interventions for mothers, data and AI hold the key to 21st century healthcare. In the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic, resilient and effective healthcare systems matter more than ever for developing nations. In leveraging these new technologies for health, developing countries must contend with inadequate infrastructure and foreign players seeking to hoover local data.

What are the learnings from the pandemic on the role of technology and innovation in our healthcare systems? With know-how and funding concentrated in a few advanced countries, how can capability be transferred to the developing world? Can states conclude a partnership of equals with the private sector to construct digital development-centred societies? How can Indonesia and India leverage their G20 Presidencies to construct a coalition of the willing that will equitably harness Health Tech for the future?

Keynote: Rajesh Bhushan, Secretary (Health and Family Welfare), Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, India

Kwati Candith Mashego-Dlamini, Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa

Dino Patti Djalal, Founder and Chairman, Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia, Indonesia

Preeti Sudan, Panel Member, The Independent Panel for Pandemic Preparedness and Response; Former Secretary (Health), India

Gargee Ghosh, President, Global Policy and Advocacy, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, India

Mark Chataway, Managing Director, Hyderus, United Kingdom

Moderator: **Amandeep Gill**, CEO and Project Director, International Digital Health & AI Research Collaborative (I-DAIR), Switzerland

Roshanara: To The Point: Tech Tides and the Future of Conflict

This session will feature the Indian Defence Secretary and will host defence chiefs, serving officers, academics, and members of the private sector. The session will focus on the implications of emerging technologies and partnerships, and changing geopolitics. Drawing on lessons from recent developments, it will discuss the new threat environment and security landscape that are shaped by emerging technologies, and how democracies can ensure security and prosperity for their people.

Ajay Kumar, Defence Secretary, Ministry of Defence, India

Jehangir: Interaction with Young Fellows

1450-1540**Panel Discussion****Trading Security or Trade in Security: Europe and the Indo-Pacific**

In recent times, European nations – individually and collectively – have emerged as significant geopolitical actors. European capitals and the European Union have termed China a strategic competitor, sought to take stronger positions on human rights; and set down Indo-Pacific strategies for the 21st century that aim to promote a rules-based order and the gaming of trade arrangements. However, there are questions about Europe’s ability to assert itself against an expansive and rising China.

Will Europe trade its security for economic returns? Can the Ukrainian crisis see the emergence of a European Union more determined to collectively respond to authoritarian regimes? Will economic dependencies with China undermine strong political positions, given Beijing’s “divide and invest” policy? Can collective economic actions (sanctions) work against a country much larger than Russia or will there need to be different ideas for a different threat?

Anniken Huitfeldt, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Norway

Anže Logar, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Slovenia

Anthony Abbott, Former Prime Minister, Australia

Sanjay Verma, Secretary (West), Ministry of External Affairs, India

Petra Sigmund, Director General for Asia and the Pacific, Federal Foreign Office, Germany

Moderator: **Peter Grk**, Secretary-General, Bled Strategic Forum, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Slovenia

1540-1610**In Conversation**

Wopke Hoekstra, Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Netherlands

Moderator: **Harsh V Pant**, Vice President, Studies and Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India

1610-1640**Break**

1640-1730

Panel Discussion

The Doctrine of Lapse: Lessons from the UN Era

Multilateralism is under attack. The postwar system, with the United Nations and related organisations serving as its bedrock, has failed to respond to multiple crises – climate change, the pandemic, trade, or preventing great power aggression. Some world leaders have even called for its dissolution in the face of this impotence.

As confrontations brew in the Indo-Pacific and in Old Europe, is the post-war model of great power relations still relevant? What place do institutions like the UN and its founding principles have in an age in which great power contestation is multipolar, and overarching narratives are distrusted? In our digitalised and corporatised present, sovereign states are weakened – how can institutions structured around sovereign states retain relevance? To the point of irrelevance? Is it dangerous for inert UN institutions to be regarded as the highest supranational arbiters while failing to fulfil their role?

Ararat Mirzoyan, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Armenia

Daniel Carmon, Senior Research Fellow, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Israel; Former Ambassador of Israel to India

Lakshmi Puri, Former Assistant Secretary General, United Nations, India

Charles Kupchan, Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations; Professor of International Relations, Georgetown University, United States

Jane Holl Lute, Former Deputy Secretary, Department of Homeland Security, United States

Moderator: **Shashi Tharoor**, Member of Parliament, India

1730-1820

Panel Discussion

From Mountain to Ocean: Harnessing Commerce, Connectivity and Creativity in the Subcontinent

As data, digitisation and technology are becoming everyday utilities, South and Southeast Asia will find themselves in a unique position in a rapidly evolving global economic world order. Driven by a rising consumer class, strong start-up ecosystem, growing internet economy and a demographic dividend, the digital wave is reshaping and redefining almost every aspect of business and society.

How can countries in the region take advantage of their young populations, infrastructure growth, and the digital economy? What is the potential for building trade and digital connectivity projects catering to an aspirational population? How can nations cooperate to enhance digital data flows and cross-border payments, while ensuring solutions are inclusive and equitable, and respect the privacy of citizens? Can debt-traps and unsustainable financing undermine and undercut the promise of, for example, a Bay of Bengal cooperative?

Aminath Shauna, Minister of Environment, Climate Change and Technology, Maldives

Vinay Mohan Kwatra, Ambassador to Nepal; Foreign Secretary (Designate), India

Shahidul Haque, Senior Fellow, North South University; Former Foreign Secretary, Bangladesh

Biswo Nath Poudel, Vice Chairperson, National Planning Commission, Nepal

Tshering Cigay Dorji, Former CEO, Thimphu TechPark, Bhutan

Moderator: **Cecile Fruman**, Director, Regional Integration and Engagement, South Asia, World Bank

1820-1840

Break

1840-1930

Panel Discussion

Dragon's Fire: Deciphering China after Ukraine

As the plains of Ukraine turn into a battlefield, few players have more at stake than China. Its "no limits" partner faces stringent Western sanctions and its strategic competitors have found a new resolve. China is faced with a choice between its stated respect for sovereignty and its burgeoning friendship with Moscow.

What lessons will China and the world take from the Ukraine conflict? If deterrence hasn't worked with Moscow, how will it work with Beijing? With the West largely united over Russian sanctions, is the Chinese economic juggernaut likely to face similar pressure in the event of a crisis? Will China's lure be able to stand the test of a prolonged association with Moscow?

Adm. Tony Radakin, Chief of the Defence Staff, United Kingdom

Maj. Gen. Jung Hae-II, President, Korea National Defense University, South Korea

Reinhard Bütikofer, Member, European Parliament, Germany

Andrew Shearer, Director General, Office of National Intelligence, Australia

Gudrun Wacker, Senior Fellow, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Germany

Moderator: **Yalda Hakim**, Chief Presenter-International Correspondent, BBC World News, Australia

1930-2100

**Dinner
Conversations****Shahjehan: East of Eden: Unleashing the Content Subcontinent**

Pax Americana was built not only on the US' industrial dominance, but also on the cultural power of Hollywood; the Asian century will be no different. India's media and entertainment ecosystem is expected to generate over US\$53 billion annually by 2025.

What are the policies and regulatory frameworks needed to fast track the growth of the Indo-Pacific as the "Content Subcontinent"? How can the region's large and youth-driven demographic be leveraged to make it the world's content powerhouse and harness the creative economy? How can the stories coming out of the Indo-Pacific be leveraged to promote inclusiveness, pluralism, and diversity? What are the international partnerships that must be invested in?

Anurag Thakur, Minister of Information and Broadcasting; Minister of Youth Affairs and Sports, India

Bela Bajaria, Head of Global TV, Netflix, India

Madhuri Dixit, Actor, Producer, India

Shekhar Kapur, Actor, Director, Producer, India

Saad Mohseni, CEO, MOBY Group, Australia

Moderator: **Amish Tripathi**, Director, The Nehru Centre; Author, India

Mumtaz: Hashtags without Collectives: We Bargain in the Digital Age

As automation, atomisation, and the gig economy undercut 20th century social protections, three bargains will define the social contract in digital economies. First, governments and citizens must strive to protect privacy rights from data-driven corporate behemoths. Second, businesses and governments must frame an economic and regulatory architecture that promotes innovation while protecting privacy and worker's rights. Finally, workers and technology platforms need to rethink collective bargaining and reimagine social security nets in the gig economy.

How is the 20th century welfare model impacted by this? What are the global successful models for protecting the informal digital workforce and what is the role of the state in shaping adequate protections? Is it time for welfare to be provided to citizens irrespective of their employment status? Can workers in big tech organise into traditional unions as some US Amazon employees did recently? Who are the Teamsters of the Fourth Industrial Revolution?

NK Singh, Chairman, 15th Finance Commission, India

Narek Mkrtchyan, Minister of Labor and Social Affairs, Armenia

Kim Heungchong, President, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, South Korea

Athira Menon, Head, Public Policy, Uber India and South Asia

Shrayana Bhattacharya, Economist, Social Protection and Labour Unit for South Asia, World Bank

Moderator: **Lucy Corkin**, Business Strategist, Rand Merchant Bank, South Africa

Roshanara: Conflicts, Pandemic and the Indo-Pacific (Foreign Secretary's Dinner)

Over the past two years, the countries of the Indo-Pacific have faced new challenges in both economic and strategic domains. The fallout of the pandemic, including the reconfiguration of supply chains, the reassessment of trade and economic linkages, and indeed reappraisal of political partnerships are all part of the contemporary Indo-Pacific journey. Addressing security concerns, in traditional and emerging domains, has also taken on a fresh urgency. How like-minded countries in the Indo-Pacific partner can decisively address these will form part of this off-the-record dinner conversation featuring the Indian Foreign Secretary (designate).

Vinay Mohan Kwatra, Foreign Secretary (Designate), India

Jehangir: Amoral Machines: Negating Human Agency, Codifying Societal Faultlines?

In pursuit of global AI innovation and pushing the frontiers of AI adoption, we have unwittingly created 'artificial' crises — biased automated decision-making systems. AI researchers are working on building moral machines that comprehend human values and are capable of applying them. But is the human race ready to surrender agency to biased machines? These systems have been infamous for wrongly identifying criminals, classifying dark-coloured people as gorillas, and deeming working women less eligible for loans.

Are algorithms and AI surreptitiously rewriting our social contract and society? How will data policies implicate privacy, inclusion and innovation, and can we limit the capacity of AI and emerging technology to exacerbate societal cleavages? Should we risk access to essential resources for marginalised communities based on decisions made by biased algorithms and database owners? Is banning a viable option for limiting the harms of LAWS, deep fakes, and killer robots?

Eamon Gilmore, Special Representative for Human Rights, European Union

Anna Roy, Advisor (DMA & Frontier Technology), NITI Aayog, India

Stéphane Duguin, CEO, CyberPeace Institute, Switzerland

Lydia Kostopoulos, Senior Vice President, Emerging Tech, KnowBe4, United States

Vikram Sharma, Founder and CEO, Quintessence Labs, Australia

Moderator: **Erin Saltman**, Director of Programming, Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism (GIFCT), United States

Nizwan: Ministerial Dinner (By Invitation Only)

2100-2130

Break

2130-2230

**Conversations
over Kahwa**

Mumtaz: Kremlin at the Crossroads: What Lies Ahead?

The conflict in Ukraine has focused the world's eyes on a Russia that it has failed to entirely accommodate or confront. Questions about the new Russian identity and its place in the world have become crucial inputs into long-range planning in global capitals.

Yet, many questions remain unanswered. What is the provocation for the Russian invasion of Ukraine, and why now? What lies at the root of the difficulties of the execution of Russia's goals? How does the conflict end, and does it end well for Russia? Are we entering a new cold war or hot peace? Will Russia's role in its international partnerships, from the SCO to the BRICS, be attenuated by its actions in Ukraine? How has the conflict changed the course of Russia; is its tilt towards China now inevitable? Is China's support for Russia unconditional, or are there tensions in the relationship that will become apparent over time?

Carl Bildt, Former Prime Minister, Sweden; Co-Chair, European Council on Foreign Relations

Andrei Bystritsky, Chairman, Foundation for Development and Support, Valdai Discussion Club, Russia

Viktoriiia Zhuravleva, Head, Center for North American Studies, Primakov National Research Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Russia

François Godement, Senior Advisor, Institut Montaigne, France

Milena Lazarevic, Programme Director and Co-founder, European Policy Centre, Serbia

Moderator: **Nandan Unnikrishnan**, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

Roshanara: The Sanction Question: Currency of Mass Destruction

Western sanctions against Russia have wreaked substantial collateral damage. International trading regimes, mechanisms like SWIFT and even agricultural exports find themselves condemned to death by sanction.

Do sanctions work and if so, are they worth their collateral effects? With previously untouchable central bank reserves and food exports under pressure, have sanctions over Ukraine put the world on the path to an economic “total war”? Have quick-start actions, imposed with little global consultation, damaged trust in international financial institutions?

Heribert Dieter, Senior Fellow, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Germany

Manuel Lafont Rapnouil, Head, Policy Planning, Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, France

Alena Kudzko, Vice President, GLOBSEC, Slovakia

Shamika Ravi, Vice President, Economic Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India

Kenneth Juster, Distinguished Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, United States; Former Ambassador of United States to India

Moderator: **Navdeep Suri**, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

RAISINA FIRESIDE

April 26, 2022

0800 - 0815

The Myanmar Question: One Year On

Shahidul Haque, Senior Fellow, South Asian Institute of Policy and Government, North South University, Bangladesh

Moderator: Kanchan Gupta, Senior Advisor, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, India

2100 - 2120

The Pivot to Asia Turns 10: Retrospect and Prospect

Adm. John C. Aquilino, Commander, U.S. Indo-Pacific Command, United States

Moderator: **Samir Saran**, President, Observer Research Foundation, India

2125 - 2145

RMA 2.0? India and Military Strategy in the 21st Century

Gen. Manoj M Naravane, Chief of the Army Staff, India

Moderator: **Harsh V Pant**, Vice President, Studies and Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India

2150 - 225

The Meta Question: Global Technology, Local Aspirations (Virtual)

Nick Clegg, President, Global Affairs, Meta, United Kingdom

Moderator: **Ashok Malik**, Policy Advisor, Ministry of External Affairs, India

2230 - 2245

Can the Atlantic Order Unite in the Indo-Pacific?

Adm. Tony Radakin, Chief of the Defence Staff, United Kingdom

Moderator: **Vikram Singh**, Senior Advisor, US-India Strategic Partnership Forum, United States

2300 - 2315

Warsaw Vision: The OSCE in a Changing World

Zbigniew Rau, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Poland

Moderator: **Nandan Unnikrishnan**, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

RAISINA FIRESIDE

April 26, 2022

2330 - 2345

The View From Buenos Aires: Latin America and the New World Order

Santiago Andrés Cafiero, Minister of Foreign Affairs, International Trade and Worship, Argentina

Moderator: **Diego Llosa Velásquez**, Former Vice Minister of Foreign Trade, Peru

2130 - 2145

Wires of War: India, UK, and National Defence in the 21st Century

Jeremy Quin, Minister of State (Minister for Defence Procurement), United Kingdom

Moderator: **Sameer Patil**, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

2200 - 2220

COP26 Scorecard: Creeping Decay?

Mathias Cormann, Secretary-General, OECD

Jayant Sinha, Member of Parliament, India
