

**TERRANOVA**  
IMPASSIONED • IMPATIENT • IMPERILLEDTaj Palace, Diplomatic Enclave  
New Delhi, India**AGENDA****DAY THREE – 27 APRIL 2022****0900-0910****Welcome  
Address****Meenakashi Lekhi**, Minister of State, Ministry of External Affairs, India**0910-1010****Panel Discussion****Sabres of Silicon: (Re)Assessing a 21st-Century Global Risk Landscape**

In the 21st century, threats to the global order exist not just in the open, but in the shadows: Cyberattacks; supply chain disruptions, and the shortage of critical minerals; the proliferation of Lethal Autonomous Weapon Systems; and the weaponisation of domestic socio-political cleavages.

How are current and emerging technologies shaping our assessments of risks, alliances, and national security? Will these shared threats foster cooperation between international partners with divergent economic abilities and political interests or will we see a new zero-sum game to dominate? How can we stop attacks on critical digital infrastructure that delivers health, finance, and other existential needs? Given non-state actors can utilise these new threats much more easily, how can we ensure state actors do not take advantage of this additional form of deniability? What new coalitions and arrangements can rebuild trust in the age of dangerous tech?

Scene Setter - **Tim Cahill**, Senior Vice President, Global Business Development & Strategy, Lockheed Martin, United States

**Adm. R Hari Kumar**, Chief of the Naval Staff, India

**Gen. Angus Campbell**, Chief of the Defence Force, Australia

**Gen. Koji Yamazaki**, Chief of Staff, Joint Staff, Japan Self-Defense Forces

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

**Air Marshal Luc De Rancourt**, Deputy Director General for International Affairs and Strategy, Ministry for Armed Forces, France

Moderator: **Lisa Singh**, Director and CEO, Australia India Institute, Australia

**1010-1110****Break**

1110-1200

Panel Discussion

**Chasing the Monsoon: Life@75**

India at 75 has evolved as a significant global actor with commensurate expectations from the world regarding its choices, actions, and its dynamic evolution. From responding to climate change and humanitarian crises, to global peace and security, to technology and digital frontiers, India's actions will shape the 21st century world. This panel seeks to engage with the roads India has travelled, and the pathways that lie ahead. What will shape India's decisions for the future? What is driving global expectations from a resolute India that is increasingly focused on creating favourable outcomes for its people and the world? How will India's transformation contribute to global well-being?

**S. Jaishankar**, Minister of External Affairs, India

**João Gomes Cravinho**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Portugal

**Stephen Harper**, Former Prime Minister, Canada

**Jeff M. Smith**, Senior Research Fellow, Asian Studies Center, The Heritage Foundation, United States

**Velina Tchakarova**, Director, Austrian Institute for European and Security Policy, Austria

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

1200-1230

In Conversation

**In Conversation**

**Bhupendra Yadav**, Minister of Environment, Forest and Climate Change, India

Moderator: **Sunjoy Joshi**, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India

1230-1320

Panel Discussion

**Diminished Democracies: Big Tech, Red Tech, and Deep Tech**

Technology, once presumed to deepen and reinforce democracy, also poses risks to free societies along multiple axes. Large tech companies have gained influence in sectors from financial services to healthcare, while regulators struggle to keep up. Authoritarian states have discovered the use of technology as a method of control. And technology itself has moved into areas such as deep fakes that challenge social reality itself.

Since the digital is our public sphere, is it time to regulate advertisement by perverse political actors and their agents? Should we embrace reciprocity as a principle for de-platforming the Wolf Warriors mandated to spread disinformation, and see free speech as war by other means? Will digital territories shape the 21st century as the Westphalian political model defined the past?

**Rajeev Chandrasekhar**, Minister of State, Electronics and Information Technology, India

**Zunaid Ahmed Palak**, Minister of State, Information and Communication Technology, Bangladesh

**Anne Neuberger**, Deputy National Security Advisor, Cyber and Emerging Technology, United States

**Vivek Lall**, Chief Executive, General Atomics Global Corporation, United States

**Nanjira Sambuli**, Fellow, Technology and International Affairs Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, United States

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

1320-1450

Lunch  
Discussions

**Shahjehan: Connecting Oceans: The Data Economy and Our Digital Future**

AI, IoT, and Big Data are rewriting the rules of the trade game in the Indo-Pacific. Digital trade, in the era of intelligence, runs the gamut from cross-border e-commerce and online gaming to digital payments. In the face of these sea changes, nations are scrambling to conclude digital trade agreements like DEPA.

Has the time come for new digital trade and investment partnerships focused on the Indo-Pacific? How can such a deal, defined by interoperability in standards and commonality in values, be constructed with a broad coalition of liberal democracies? How can we expand the Quad dialogue to include financial regulators, central banks, and like minded nations, in pursuit of digital and financial inclusion? How can these countries coordinate their approach to emerging domains such as cryptocurrencies, digital currencies and NFTs? Can digital institutions, digital infrastructure, and digital interoperability be combined in a digital new deal for the region?

**Sumit Seth**, Joint Secretary, Policy Planning and Research, Ministry of External Affairs, India

**Romana Vlahutin**, Ambassador at Large for Connectivity, European External Action Service

**Sharad Sharma**, Co-Founder, iSPIRT, India

**Medha Girotra**, Vice President, Public Policy (South Asia), Mastercard, United States

**Hiroyuki Akita**, Commentator, Foreign Affairs and International Security, Nikkei, Japan

Moderator: **Erin Watson-Lynn**, Public Affairs Consultant and Adjunct Research Fellow, Griffith Asia Institute, Australia

### Mumtaz: Humans of the Indo-Pacific: Reclaiming Development

The Indo-Pacific is in the market for a rebrand. Once seen as the key geopolitical construct of our times, the Indo-Pacific must now trade bullets for bread in its quest to address ageing societies, widespread unemployment, food and nutritional insecurity, and a host of socio-economic challenges. Home to two thirds of humanity, the region must leverage advances in technology and its reserve of human capital to deliver sustainable growth before time runs out.

In an increasingly digital and informal global economy, how can regional partnerships rewrite the development agenda on social protection, economic growth, and infrastructure? Can alliances led by the emerging world design solutions to pressing issues like air pollution, liveable urbanism, and biodiversity preservation? If connectivity is key for development in the region, can states resolve the tension between China's fast-track funding and the West's promise of slow-moving but high-quality infrastructure? What is the potential of green transitions to catalyse business?

Report Release: **Bruno Bosle**, Country Director, AFD, France

**Aaditya Thackeray**, Minister of Tourism and Environment, Government of Maharashtra, India

**Philippe Orliange**, International Operations Executive Director, AFD, France

**Javier Salido Ortiz**, Director General for North America, Eastern Europe, Asia and the Pacific, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Spain

**Melinda Bohannon**, Director, Strategy, Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office, United Kingdom

**Uduak Amimo**, Acting Executive Director, Uraia Trust, Kenya

Moderator: **Sunaina Kumar**, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

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### Roshanara: Roundtable: Regaining Leadership: A G20 Agenda For Developing-Nation Presidencies

The G20 remains the most powerful and influential forum for global economic governance; and, for the first time, three successive G20 presidencies will be held by emerging economies. As India takes over the presidency from Indonesia this year, these countries have the opportunities to redesign the global economic architecture and set a new agenda for sustainable finance, digital economy, human capital, infrastructure, health and other G20 priorities.

What are the issues that the members of the Troika should prioritise? Which past G20 initiatives worked and should be taken forward? Amid a new crisis that has disrupted macro-economic stability and slowed the flow of sustainable finance, how can the G20 regain its leadership position?

**Abhay Thakur**, Additional Secretary (G20), Ministry of External Affairs, India

**Dian Triansyah Djani**, G20 Co-Sherpa, Indonesia

**César Augusto Vermiglio Bonamigo**, Head of G20 General Coordination and Brazil's Sous-Sherpa to G20, Brazil

**Andreas Schaal**, Director, Global Relations, OECD; OECD Sherpa to the G7, the G20 and APEC

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### **Jehangir: Gendered Governance: Women in Peace and Security**

The pandemic underlined the importance of resilient female leadership. Women are reshaping our thinking on power, politics, and peace. Female leaders now command nations, armies, and major corporations – but have the principles of government and machinery of governance shifted to match?

From a buzzword to reality, what constitutes a feminist foreign policy? What is the nature of the stakeholders who will implement and define this foreign policy and how is it different from the past? Does a non-patriarchal approach also democratise international relations and bring in voices from below? How do we invest in a new cadre of proponents of feminist foreign policy?

**Hans-Christian Hagman**, Chief Analyst and Senior Adviser to the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sweden

**Aleksandra Dier**, Regional Advisor on Women, Peace and Security in the Middle East and North Africa, UN Women

**Ambika Vishwanath**, Co-Founder and Director, Kubernein Initiative, India

**Nancy Ziuzin Schlegel**, Vice President, International Government Affairs, Lockheed Martin, United States

**Dóra Szűcs**, Head, International Relations, Mathias Corvinus Collegium, Hungary

Moderator: **Sarah Bressan**, Co-Founder, Better Think Tanking; Research Fellow, Global Public Policy Institute (GPPI), Germany

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1450-1540

Panel Discussion

**The First Responder: Women Leadership and the SDGs**

Across the world, women have steered effective and inclusive COVID-19 response programmes, establishing themselves as first responders in both policy chambers and on the frontlines. Despite the challenges that complicate female leadership and participation across different realms, it is critical to achieve gender equity to enable and accelerate the Sustainable Development Goals.

Drawing on lessons from the pandemic, how can women be further empowered and their potential unlocked to accelerate development? How can female leadership be enhanced across the political sphere, boardrooms, and financial systems? What can be done to make technology more inclusive for women and to aid them in crisis response and recovery? How can education be made more accessible, not just for women as students, but for women as educators?

**Smriti Z. Irani**, Minister of Women and Child Development, India

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

**Waseqa Ayesha Khan**, Chairman, Parliamentary Standing Committee on Ministry of Power, Energy and Mineral Resources; Member of Parliament, Bangladesh

**Vanita Sharma**, Advisor, Strategic Initiatives, Reliance Foundation, India

**Shombi Sharp**, Resident Coordinator India, United Nations

Moderator: **Chandrika Bahadur**, Former Director, SDG Academy, India

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1540-1630

Panel Discussion

**Building the Gates of Globalisation: Investment, Infrastructure and Taboos**

Post the pandemic, states are grappling with three overarching ideas: Self-reliance, the stability and security of supply chains; and the right balance between geopolitics and economic imperatives. With the frailties of the old global supply chains exposed, trading nations seek like-minded actors to create networks built on trust, and infrastructure that prioritises resilience and quality.

As the COVID-19 pandemic turns two, how have efforts at building self-reliance confronted the convenience of business as usual? How can economic recovery and sustainability be harmonised in the post-pandemic economic architecture? As new linkages are forged through the Global Gateway Project and B3W, how will political tensions be reflected in the economic sphere? How can infrastructure capital serve both strategic aims and developing nations' need for resilience and self-reliance?

**Geoffrey Onyeama**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nigeria

**Jayant Sinha**, Member of Parliament; Chairperson, Standing Committee on Finance, India

**Romana Vlahutin**, Ambassador at Large for Connectivity, European External Action Service

**Tadashi Maeda**, Governor, Japan Bank for International Cooperation, Japan

**Philippe Orliange**, Executive Director, Country Programs, AFD, France

Moderator: **Garima Mohan**, Fellow, Asia Programme, German Marshall Fund, Germany

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1630-1650

Break

1650-1740

Panel Discussion

**Domestic Discord, Global Expectations: Will the American Eagle Fly?**

Afghanistan and Ukraine have laid bare the cracks in the edifice of American power. Its interventions have failed, its military might no longer deters adversaries like China and Russia, and its domestic frailties are clear for all to see.

If America is now a house divided against itself, can it sustain the post-World War consensus that underwrote its rise? What, if anything, can American leadership do to restore trust at home and abroad? With the China challenge looming, how do allies and partners make sense of a world without American hegemony?

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

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

**Ming-Shih Shen**, Acting Deputy CEO & Director, Division of National Security Research, Institute for National Defence and Security Research

**Daniel Twining**, President, International Republican Institute, United States

**Lisa Curtis**, Senior Fellow and Director, Indo-Pacific Security Program, Centre for a New American Security, United States

Moderator: **Lynn Kuok**, Shangri-La Dialogue Senior Fellow for Asia-Pacific Security, IISS, Singapore

1740-1800

Break

1800-1850

Panel Discussion

**Out of Africa: Leading on Trade and Economic Integration**

Africa has defined global trade since time immemorial. From fostering the Greco-Roman spice trade with India to hosting the mighty Suez Canal, Africa has helped connect the world. As we enter the digital age, young Africa is once again poised to shape our common future. Its partnership with a dynamic Asia will be critical.

How can these continents work together to serve consumers, connectivity, and commerce? What is underwriting the emergence of the African story and who are its key partners? Can a 'development first' approach help foster beneficial integration between Africa and global partners? How can India act with African countries on development challenges and climate response as well as revitalise its people-to-people connect? Can Africa contribute to a new economic order led by women and strengthened through diversity and inclusion?

**Geoffrey Onyeama**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nigeria

**Richard J. Randriamandrato**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Madagascar

**Kwaku Ampratwum-Sarpong**, Deputy Minister Political and Economic, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Ghana

**Dammu Ravi**, Secretary (Economic Relations), Ministry of External Affairs, India

**Usta Kaitesi**, CEO, Rwanda Governance Board, Rwanda

Moderator: **Omneya Ghamry**, Programme Manager, Cairo International Centre for Conflict Resolution, Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding, Egypt

**1850-1940**

**Panel Discussion**

**Beachheads of Globalisation: Investments, Debts and Transitions**

Maritime nations will be instrumental in shaping new low-carbon development strategies while also dealing with biodiversity preservation, the costs of adaptation and with debt burdens worsened by the pandemic.

What can the world learn from these efforts, and how can global coalitions and international partnerships support them? How can they balance their search for infrastructure investment while protecting their fragile ecosystems? How are maritime nations shaping the global energy landscape? Are strategic international partnerships and international financial linkages such as carbon credits key to accelerating green transitions, and how can they be invested in? Can these countries carve their own lanes and preserve economic sovereignty amid contestation between the Beijing-sponsored model and liberal internationalist principles?

**Hugh Hilton Todd**, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Guyana

**Ausaf Sayeed**, Secretary (CPV and OIA), Ministry of External Affairs, India

**Mohamed Nasheed**, Speaker of the Parliament; Former President, Maldives

**Malshini Senaratne**, Asst. Head of Department and Lecturer, University of Seychelles, Seychelles

Moderator: **Preeti Soni**, Head, UN Asian and Pacific Centre for Transfer of Technology, India

**1940-1950**

**Closing Remarks**

**Rajkumar Ranjan Singh**, Minister of State, Ministry of External Affairs, India



1950-2040

Panel Discussion

**Showstopper: Weaponisation of Everything**

The geopolitical developments and the pandemic in the last two years have made us acutely aware of the frailties of global public goods, supply chains, and institutions. The weaponisation of financial systems and prominent symbols of globalisation has rung alarm bells around the world.

How can global financial flows and mechanisms be ring-fenced from political blockages? Does the weaponisation of popular symbols of globalisation have real-value impact, or is it merely pandering? In such circumstances, what paths do nations have to genuine self-reliance? In an era of geopolitical conflict across kinetic, cyber, or ideological arenas, what can be done to prevent the weaponisation of everything? How can the international community ensure that the supply lines essential to health and food security, for instance, are protected from arbitrary political action?

**Tobias Lindner**, Minister of State, Federal Foreign Office, Germany

**Péter Sztáray**, Minister of State for Security Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Hungary

**Anne Neuberger**, Deputy National Security Advisor, Cyber and Emerging Technology, United States

**Harsh Vardhan Shringla**, Foreign Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, India

Moderator: **Indrani Bagchi**, CEO, Ananta Aspen Centre, India

2040-2200

Dinner  
Discussions**Shahjehan: Quadrophobia: Rewiring the Indo-Pacific's Political Economy**

Partnerships in the Indo-Pacific are no longer just about security or economics. They blend the two, seeking to create new linkages of trade, trust, and norms.

From securing supplies of rare earth minerals and semiconductors to ensuring the spread of sustainable, quality infrastructure, can groupings like the Quad script a new economic architecture for the Indo-Pacific? How can we conceive partnerships that extend beyond traditional security and are inclusive enough to bring in key partners like Korea and ASEAN? Given internal divisions within the Quad on questions from trade norms to data regulation, can a divided house push a unified geo-economic vision?

**Keynote: Anne Neuberger**, Deputy National Security Advisor, Cyber and Emerging Technology, United States

**Melissa Conley Tyler**, Program Lead, Asia-Pacific Development, Diplomacy and Defence Dialogue, Australia

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

**Marguerite Benson**, Founder, Sticky Wicket Advising, United States

**Satoru Nagao**, Fellow (Non-Resident), Hudson Institute, Japan

Moderator: **Ashutosh Chadha**, Director and Country Head, Government Affairs and Public Policy, Microsoft, India

### **Mumtaz: Banking the Next 2 Billion: Digital Payments, Currencies and Caution**

Digital technology will transform finance over the 21st century. From blockchain to decentralised finance, digital payments to loans on tab, electronic IDs to digital currencies, will change our assessment of finance and will implicate our financial inclusion.

What are the achievements in terms of financial and social technology thanks to the dissemination of new technology in the sector? How can countries collaborate on shared regimes to address vexed questions such as digital taxation and the regulation of digital assets? How can the regulatory architecture catalyse the service of the underserved and create digital global safety nets? Can the protection and creation of global public goods go along with value creation and entrepreneurial growth? How does any national government create sharp regulations in a borderless digital ecosystem which is both undeciphered and delocalised?

**Zunaid Ahmed Palak**, Minister of State, Information and Communication Technology, Bangladesh

**Priyanka Chaturvedi**, Member of Parliament, India

**Astha Kapoor**, Co-founder, Aapti Institute

**Usta Kaitesi**, CEO, Rwanda Governance Board, Rwanda

**Kwame Owino**, CEO, IEA, Kenya

Moderator: **Amar Patnaik**, Member of Parliament, India

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### **Roshanara: Green Battlegrounds: Carbon Tax or Taxing Poverty?**

The most efficient mechanism to accelerate the transition to low-carbon growth is a carbon price. But how will different approaches to taxing or pricing carbon intersect with each other? A uniform global price for carbon would violate the basic principle that developing nations be treated differently from the developed world, which is responsible for 80 percent of historical emissions. It would undercut emerging nations' development budgets and condemn many to poverty.

How can we ensure that the developing world's poverty is not the developed world's mitigation strategy? Are new trade policies and investment biases seeking to serve the developed world's interests? How can a more equitable carbon pricing arrangement be developed? What role could "climate clubs" play? How can any and all carbon tax collected by the developed world be deployed for development imperatives of the emerging world?

**Waseqa Ayesha Khan**, Chairman, Parliamentary Standing Committee on Ministry of Power, Energy and Mineral Resources; Member of Parliament, Bangladesh

**Jayant Sinha**, Member of Parliament; Chairperson, Standing Committee on Finance, India

**Elizabeth Yee**, Executive Vice President, Program Strategy and Chief of Staff, The Rockefeller Foundation, United States

**Shirish Sinha**, Acting Executive Director, India; Director, Climate, Children's Investment Fund Foundation, India

**Kira Vinke**, Head, Centre for Climate and Foreign Policy, German Council on Foreign Relations, Germany

Moderator: **Ulka Kelkar**, Director, Climate Program, World Resources Institute, India

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### **Jehangir: Guardians of the Caspian: Deciphering the Geopolitics of Eurasia**

From the Heartland theory to the Great Game, Eurasia has long been at the core of global politics. The brewing entente cordiale between China and Russia is rewriting the rules of the game; and the return of the Taliban means the script of terrorism stalks Eurasia once again.

How has the fall of Afghanistan changed regional dynamics? How is the Moscow-Beijing entente and the current Ukraine war reshaping the politics and security of the region? Post the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, how does Erdogan's Turkey influence regional stability? How can the US and the EU play a shaping role in the region and what partnerships will they need to foster? As the world is altered by technology, pandemics, and climate change, how are Eurasian nations and regional institutions rising to the challenge?

**Seyed Rasoul Mousavi**, Assistant Minister; Director General (South Asia), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Iran

**Alica Kizeková**, Head, Asia Pacific Unit, Institute of International Relations, Czech Republic

**Kairat Sarybay**, Executive Director, Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA), Kazakhstan

**Eldor Aripov**, Director, Institute of Strategic and Regional Studies, Uzbekistan

**Francoise Nicolas**, Director, Center For Asian Studies, French Institute of International Relations, France

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

# RAISINA FIRESIDE

April 27, 2022

0800 - 0815

## Pandemic, Technology, and I: A Story from Africa

**Nanjira Sambuli**, Fellow, Technology and International Affairs Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, United States

Moderator: **Nilanjan Ghosh**, Director, Centre for New Economic Diplomacy, Observer Research Foundation, India

0830 - 0845

## India's World: Raisina Special

**Sunjoy Joshi**, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India

Moderator: **Naghma Sahar**, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

2100 - 2115

## Ghosts of History: Are Delhi and Washington Doomed to Repeat the Mistakes of the Past (Virtual)

**Richard Verma**, General Counsel and Head of Global Public Policy, Mastercard, United States

Moderator: **Indrani Bagchi**, CEO, Ananta Aspen Centre, India

2130 - 2145

## Yuans and Euros: Decoding China's Role in Europe

**Gabrielius Landsbergis**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lithuania

Moderator: **Garima Mohan**, Fellow, The German Marshall Fund of the United States, Germany

2200 - 2215

## India and the New Information Order: A Conversation with Minister Anurag Thakur

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

Moderator: **Gautam Chikermane**, Vice President, Observer Research Foundation, India

# RAISINA FIRESIDE

April 27, 2022

2230 - 2245

## The Sanctions Fallout: Goeconomics after Ukraine

**Jean Asselborn**, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Luxembourg

Moderator: **Milena Lazarevic**, Programme Director and Co-Founder, European Policy Centre, Serbia

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2300 - 2315

## Tech Travails: Democracies and the Future of Technology

**Anne Neuberger**, Deputy National Security Advisor, Cyber and Emerging Technology, United States

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

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2330 - 2345

## From Budapest to Bangalore: Creating a Global Response to Digital Bads

**Henri Verdier**, Ambassador for Digital Affairs, France

**Sharad Sharma**, Co-Founder, iSPIRT, India

Moderator: **Astha Kapoor**, Co-Founder, Aapti Institute, India

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