



# RAISINA

DIALOGUE 2023

2-4 MARCH, 2023 | NEW DELHI

PROVOCATION, UNCERTAINTY, TURBULENCE:  
**LIGHTHOUSE  
IN THE TEMPEST?**

CONFERENCE REPORT



PROVOCATION, UNCERTAINTY, TURBULENCE:  
**LIGHTHOUSE  
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The Raisina Dialogue is India's flagship conference on geopolitics and geoeconomics and is hosted by the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) and the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India.

Since its inception in 2016, the Dialogue has been committed to addressing the most challenging issues facing the global community. Every year, leaders in politics, business, media, and civil society converge in New Delhi to discuss the state of the world and explore opportunities for cooperation on a wide range of contemporary matters.

This year, participants from about 100 countries gathered at this ideas arena. They shared unique perspectives, concerns, and experiences that are essential for charting important pathways, building consensus, and strengthening communities for our common future.

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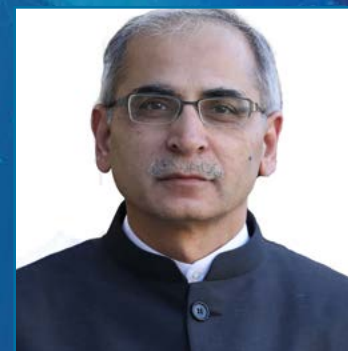
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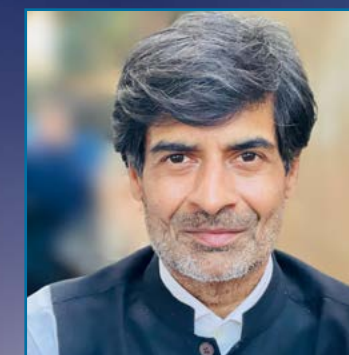


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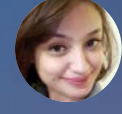
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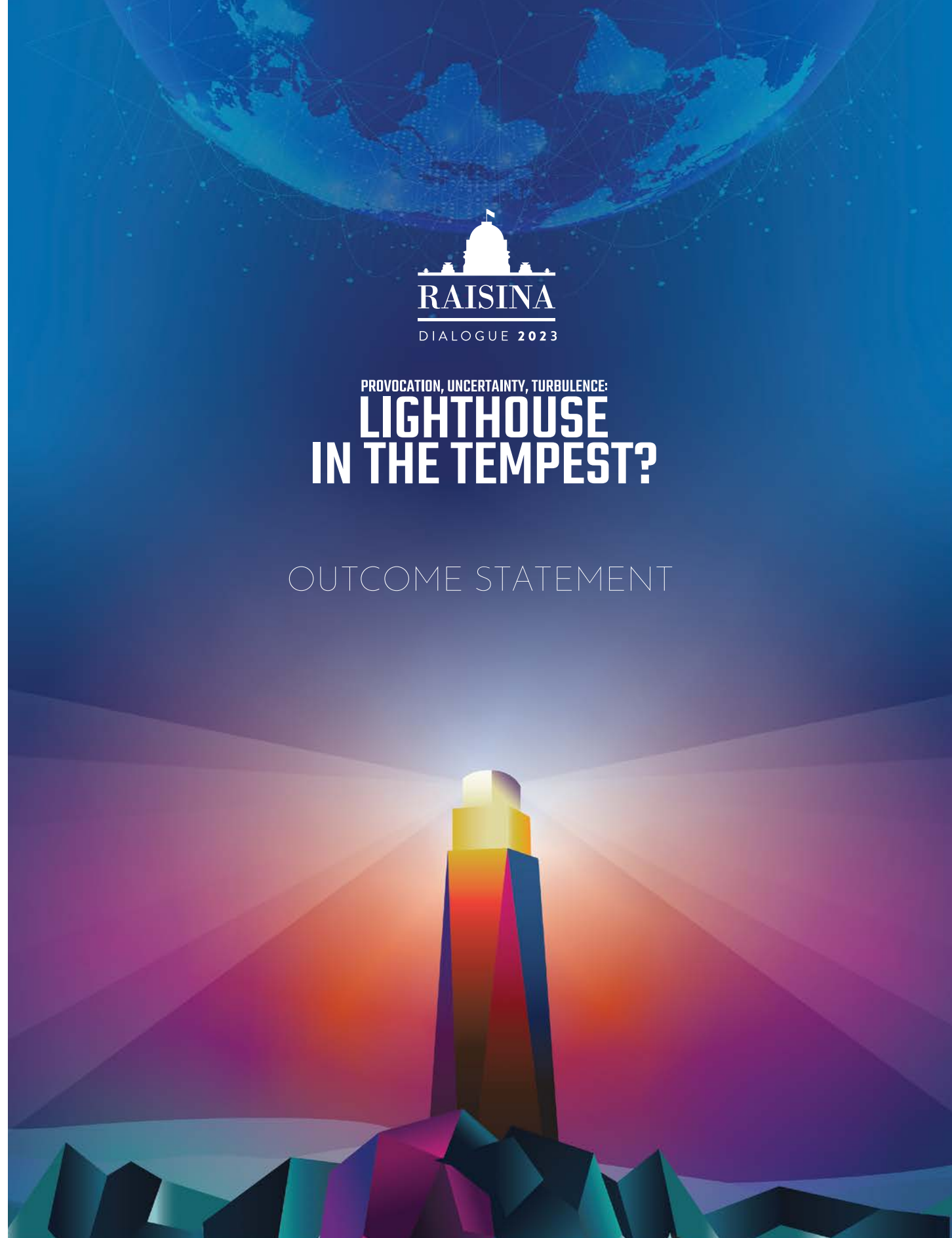
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OUTCOME STATEMENT





Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi receives H.E. Giorgia Meloni, the President of the Council of Ministers, Republic of Italy before the Inaugural Session of Raisina Dialogue 2023. External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar was also present to receive her.

## Inaugural Session

The Raisina Dialogue 2023 was inaugurated by Shri Narendra Modi, Prime Minister of India, with H.E. Giorgia Meloni, the President of the Council of Ministers, Republic of Italy, as the chief guest. They were joined by Dr. S. Jaishankar, India's Minister of External Affairs, and Amb. Vinay Mohan Kwatra, Foreign Secretary of India.

The President of the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), Dr. Samir Saran, delivered the welcome note, marking the first Raisina Dialogue in India's "Amritkaal," the epoch leading up to a century of India's independence. With the theme *Provocation, Uncertainty, Turbulence: Lighthouse in The Tempest?*, this year's conference aimed to facilitate conversations that catalyse an inclusive development policy that is fit for purpose.

Drawing inspiration from the 2023 G20 Agenda, under India's presidency, this edition of the conference concerned with "debating the need for reforms in multilateralism to encourage lifestyle changes to mitigate the climate crisis." In only the first two years of this decade, the world has gone through with "old conflicts resurfacing in Europe to convenient morality in Afghanistan, from complete disregard for the environment to selfish acts during the COVID-19 pandemic."

Mr. Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman, ORF, introduced the dialogue. He highlighted that, given the multitude of crises that the world is dealing with, the business of governance has gotten increasingly complex and that the need of the hour is to deliberate on the new rules for the future ahead. He drew attention to the rapid arrival of the "age of the intelligence machine," where, camouflaged by cookies, protocols, and self-learning algorithms, technology is moving to substitute agency-led order and norms. He reiterated that the conference, which comes at a crucial time, will see participation from important players in global order and thus, contribute significantly in shaping what the 'lighthouse' looks like in these "troubled, tempestuous times."

Prime Minister Meloni, who delivered the keynote address, commended the importance of having conferences and conversations like the Raisina Dialogue. She said that the world was currently in an "Age of Uncertainty," and such platforms were crucial to take note



**Marking this as the “Era of Uncertainty,” Meloni outlined two important duties of the state: Determine the national identity and formulate a clear thought process towards fulfilling the national interests.**

of Ukraine, the resultant loss of lives and infrastructure, the worsening of the global energy crisis, food and fertiliser shortages, and waves of inflation across the world was criticised. Moreover, she criticised Russia for being allowed to threaten global stability, peace, and security and violate the rules-based international order, saying that this needed to be righted. Third was the grey area of the advances in fields like Artificial Intelligence and the ethics of the same, based on data privacy considerations. Fourth, Meloni identified terrorism as a “cancer” that also needs to be confronted through “wide international cooperation.” And finally, she mentioned climate-related crises like extreme weather events and climate-induced migrations as another challenge that the world should be preparing to face.

The importance of geography was further emphasised when she pointed out the similar interests that India and Italy share on account of their “peninsularity”. With India, Meloni said that their objectives were to “ensure prosperity, peace, and lasting friendship through collaboration on an equal footing, a collaboration aimed at providing tangible benefits for all without predatory ambitions, without question, economic or otherwise.” Aspiring to make a mark as both continental and maritime powers, India and Italy have scaled up their bilateral partnerships to a strategic level. Meloni believes that both countries have important contributions to make together.

The Indo-Pacific is gradually emerging as the centre for global politics and economy, with 40 percent of the

United States foreign trade passing through the South China Sea and much more through the Indian Ocean. Noting the growing importance of the Indo-Pacific, she said that India’s position in the Indo-Pacific is similar to Italy’s position in the Mediterranean, and due to the similarity of the situations, there are several aspects of bilateral collaboration that can be attempted, like in the fields of energy transitions, digital transition, trade, and connectivity. Collaboration between the academic research centres of Italy and India is also being enhanced. Meloni accepted that the multilateral organisations and their structures must be upgraded, but the project of multilateralism cannot be abandoned in the current world. Asking for India’s support for a strong multilateral order, she said, “Our strength lies in our human capital, in our abilities to create and to push the boundaries of science, knowledge, and technology while keeping the state at the service of our citizens.”

Meloni applauded the Raisina Dialogue for providing the platform to foster an important and necessary conversation on the preservation of the functional international order, that needs to be nurtured and reaffirmed at every opportunity.

Dr. S Jaishankar referenced the conference’s theme while giving the vote of thanks. According to him, from India’s perspective, the ‘lighthouse’ shines quite brightly, even amidst the tempest in the current geopolitical scenario. “We believe that for all the challenges in the world, there is a leadership, there is a vision, there are solutions.”



of the current geopolitical realities and the common goals and establish the best practices to mitigate the challenges most efficiently.

Marking this as the “Era of Uncertainty,” Meloni outlined two important duties of the state: Determine the national identity and formulate a clear thought process towards fulfilling the national interests. National identity, Meloni said, is shaped by the events around the state and geography, and the thought process by provocation. This provocation, according to her, should be looked at in a positive light to accept the challenges posed by the turbulence of the times.

She highlighted that while global interconnectedness has allowed economies to flourish, the cost of it is that whatever happens in Europe now adversely affects the Indo-Pacific and vice versa. In terms of current challenges, Meloni highlighted a few. First, she mentioned the COVID-19 pandemic, that revealed the weakness in the very foundation of international trade, mobility, and supply chains. Second, the Russian invasion



## Message from the Chairman, Observer Research Foundation

**T**WO decades ago, 'Vision 2020' was almost an act of faith. It evoked unbounded optimism over an immaculate globalised world riding its way to universal prosperity on the back of free markets knit together by closely integrated trans-national supply chains. It felt as if we had finally invented a perpetual motion machine lubricated by a rules based international order. Today, that engine lies broken and rudderless—hostage to trade wars and increasing strategic competition.

The challenge today as we assemble for the 8th edition of the Raisina Dialogue is to respond to a world where multilateralism lies fatally wounded in conflicts that spill over multiple domains that none of the Geneva Conventions can control. We are in a highly digitalised world where anger and hate spread with far greater virulence than reason. What terms of

engagement can we now create for countries that no longer wish to talk to each other? We need new rules of the road, more so because we are no longer just a community of states; but are joined by a multitude of new actors who traverse these highways with far greater speed than we do as nations.

In a hyper-connected world, where people hyper-ventilate on Twitter 24x7, the business of governance has also become far more complex. Actors other than nation states play an increasingly outsized role in either shaping norms in what remains of the international order or impeding the shaping of such norms altogether.

Many believe the answer lies in building gated communities of nations that grant membership based on the reliability of cardholders. 'Minilateralism' is how we like to call it. Others harbour fantasies of a plutocracy of independent yet globally connected financial sub-national units that run global affairs out of a Global Capital located perhaps in the Swiss resort town of Davos. Both frameworks, however, are fatally flawed: The issues that confront us can no longer be contained within these old walls held together by pillars of trust. The real world keeps breaking and fragmenting both the carefully constructed narratives, and the norms and sanctions that hold them together.

Caught in-between are nations, middle powers, beleaguered emerging economies that if given a choice would have no interest in either engaging in geo-political competition or playing ball with revisionist powers keen to overturn the existing global order. Yet, these nations bank upon global multilateral institutions to manage their own geo-political tensions and the impact of trade wars and great-power conflicts on their territories. As multilateral institutions corrode, these middle powers find their choices constrained.

There are tectonic events taking place. And the greater their magnitude, the weaker is our capacity to respond. Some communities are left to cope with little help from outside, if at all. A sad commentary on the state of global affairs but that is what disruption looks like.

And this is only Act I of the saga. In Act II, we are seeing technology attempting to substitute agency-led order and norms by discrete anonymised protocols for finance, trade, commerce, and communication. The Age of the Intelligent Machine is here. But unlike in science fiction, it does not manifest itself as an omniscient chat-bot that has all the answers to all our questions. The Machine Age slips in, concealed in a Kafkaesque thicket of structures, protocols and self-learning algorithms created by tech entrepreneurs and agents, ordering and controlling the lives of both the governing and the governed. The question is how democratic, or else intrusive, are these going to be. Given the nature of our society today, we can be sure that negotiations and confrontations will be intense.

The Raisina Dialogue 2023 is being hosted as India takes charge of the G20 in a year that promises to be more than ordinary. This forum comes at a time when we in New Delhi believe we have the ability to incubate conversations where many of these posers must be responded to. Our hope is that the Raisina Dialogue can be the most influential of these platforms during India's Presidency, a forum where each one of us, in these tempestuous times, contributes to the quest for answers and becomes part of the lighthouse that guides the ship back safely to shore.

—Sunjoy Joshi



## Message from the President, Observer Research Foundation

This edition of the Raisina Dialogue is special. It is the first Dialogue in India's Amrit Kaal, or 'Golden Age'—an epoch marking the 25 years leading up to a century of India's Independence. Colonial rule may have left India starving of resources, but what it could not shackle were its hopes and dreams. Today, those aspirations remain alive, and the 75 years that passed have led to this moment. Amrit Kaal is when this country shall lift its population to decent standards of living; when the state will grow in its capacity to serve the needs of not just its own citizens but of the world; and when the nation will engage its intellectual prowess to help shape a new global order that is responsive to all humanity and to our shared planet.

The Raisina Dialogue seeks to be an ideational companion in this journey. There is a heady agenda for the Dialogue in the days ahead, and we all should prepare to engage with new voices and new ideas that could shift our paradigms.

2023 is also significant as it is the year that India takes the helm at the G20—a grouping of nations that are pivotal to the world's future not for their economic size, but because their actions have cascading regional and global consequences. The failures of the G20 countries will be the world's; and their successes will reverberate. Their prosperity will lift their neighbourhoods and their missteps can disrupt beyond their own borders. The Dialogue's agenda is shaped by the ambitions of the G20 this year. From debating the need for reforms in multilateralism to encouraging lifestyle changes to mitigate the climate crisis, the Raisina Dialogue aims to be in step with India's G20 goals.

Among those aims is for the G20 to be inclusive. As Prime Minister Narendra Modi said at the Voice of the Global South Summit, "As far as India is concerned, your voice is India's voice; your priorities are India's priorities." This sentiment will be reflected in the Raisina Dialogue G20 Think Tank Town Hall on March 5th, where we will gather not only the G20 nations but participants from 80 other countries to share our thoughts on our common future.

That collective future may be difficult to imagine at this moment, given what we went through in the first two years of this decade. Indeed, has it only been two years? As Vladimir Lenin once famously said, "There are decades where nothing happens, and there are weeks where decades happen." From old conflicts resurfacing in Europe to expedient morality in Afghanistan, from wanton disregard for the environment to selfish motivations taking primacy over the common good in the international response to the COVID-19 pandemic—what already feels like a long decade saw the worst of humanity in full display. Forums like the Raisina Dialogue strive to bring out the best in us. It is during these gatherings that India's exaltation on Amrit Kaal could catalyse an inclusive development policy that is fit-for-purpose. The theme for this year's Raisina Dialogue is—"Provocation, Uncertainty, Turbulence: Lighthouse in the Tempest?". Can all of us assembled here in New Delhi be a lighthouse in our own way? As the world is being battered by a perfect storm, multiple beacons are needed to illuminate the way. India seeks to be one of them, and to



inspire others to be the same.

Last year, as we opened the Dialogue, we made a promise to the Prime Minister: that as hosts, we would follow the sun to where the best, most plausible ideas await. And that, as we did this, we would invest in building the next generation of global diplomats. This year, on February 18th, we launched Raisina @ Sydney alongside iterations of the Dialogue in Delhi, Berlin, and Washington, DC. The Raisina Dialogue is now truly following the sun, seeking inspiration from across the globe.

In October 2022, we inaugurated the Raisina Forum for the Future of Diplomacy in New Delhi. It brought together diplomats from over 30 countries to rethink the spirit of their official responsibilities. The world's diplomatic corps are now first responders to health crises and to natural and man-made disasters. The investment in skills and character that may be demanded of them have to be made now, and we hope to fill that need through this new annual initiative.

Leadership, after all, is a societal need and incubating it is a public good. Continuing our tradition of engaging the brightest minds from around the world, we are welcoming the largest ever cohort of the Raisina Young Fellows Programme to the 12th edition this year. The 2023 batch will have 48 fellows from 33 countries. It is our hope that these young minds—and others who will join us at the Dialogue—will take with them new ideas, new friendships, and a new resolve, inspired by the ethos of India's G20 leadership: 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam'—One Earth, One Family, One Future.

Stronger, together—that is the Indian way. Perhaps, that is the only way.

—Dr. Samir Saran



The Asian Forum for Global Governance (AFGG) 2023 fellows at the Raisina 2023 venue.



Glimpses from Raisina Dialogue 2023





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DIALOGUE 2023

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PANEL REPORTS



## Panel Discussion

# Lessons and Look Ahead: Black Swans and Lighthouses

OPENING the session, Vinay Mohan Kwatra noted that we inhabit a global landscape that seems increasingly fraught with provocations, uncertainty, and turbulence. In this landscape, provocative grey-zone tactics are determining the shape and substance of our response matrix, and where disruptions of supply chains, economic activities, and supply of food, fuel, and fertiliser have forced us to redefine uncertainty. In addition, he noted, there are intensifying contestation of global commons, an unabated threat of terrorism, rapid shifts in technology, and split views on its governance, combined with continuing inability and dysfunctionality of the weakened global institutions. All this has reduced space for dialogue and diplomacy, inflated fragilities, and

bred multidomain turbulence.

He, however, pointed out that amidst this turbulence, there are reasons for optimism, and India is best placed to embody and invoke this optimism. As the 'Mother of Democracy', India is an anchor of stability for the global economy. Its economic rise portends a regional and global opportunity, and India is a force of good, a believer in harmony, and an engine of growth. It has a sense of international responsibility, as evident from initiatives like Vaccine Maitri and 'Operation Dost' during Türkiye's earthquake. He highlighted that through the 'Voice of Global South Summit,' India intends to make countries of the Global South partners in economic growth and development. This is also reflected in the manner in which India has articulated its priorities during the G20 presidency.

Taking forward the discussion, Minister Retno Marsudi expressed optimism that India will and maybe do better in the G20 presidency than previous presidents. Recalling Indonesia's experience of the G20 presidency, she underlined that the country focused on collaboration and cooperation, that was not an easy task given the geopolitical circumstances. Jakarta hopes to apply the same collaborative principles during its chairmanship of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Speaking about ASEAN's role, she stated that the organisation has maintained peace, stability, and prosperity in Southeast Asia. Indonesia wants to ensure that the organisation remains central and relevant to the region's affairs by injecting this sense of cooperation and collaboration in the larger Indo-Pacific region. If ASEAN cannot do this, then it will have implications not just for Southeast Asia but also for the Indo-Pacific.

Speaking about Europe's progress in advancing collaboration and ending the conflict in Ukraine, Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen acknowledged that the continent



is in a difficult place. So far, the European countries have weathered several crises because they were only a single crisis situation. However, now the continent is facing several simultaneous complex crises. In responding to these, he feared that countries would turn inward rather than outward looking. He, therefore, advocated that countries must take a strategic approach through trade and cooperation. This means that in Europe, for instance, countries must strive for a single market, reduce excessive dependence on certain countries, and focus on free trade arrangements, including with India.

On the Ukraine conflict, Minister Rasmussen noted that it had posed many challenges to this vision of trade and cooperation. But he asserted that from the European perspective, Russians are on the wrong side of history and have violated the United Nations Charter. Highlighting the power asymmetry at play, he added that if Russia stops fighting, the war in Ukraine will end, but if Ukraine stops fighting, it will enable Russian annexation. Likewise, Secretary James Cleverly remarked that Ukraine is keen for peace, but it cannot come at the cost of Ukrainian territorial integrity. Minister Catherine Colonna emphasised that the Ukraine conflict is not just a European conflict but also one that affects the entire world as it has larger implications for national sover-

eignty and peace and stability of the global order. Bill Gates, meanwhile, warned that the war in Ukraine would be particularly severe for the international community because its aftermath will be long-lasting.

Speaking about the G20, Minister Colonna remarked that the G20, by its composition and diversity, can deliver a message of the importance of rules-based order. Secretary Cleverly commented that the world needs to quickly end the Ukraine War so that the grouping can focus on the agenda set by India's Presidency, that can advance global cooperation on several fronts. According to him, climate change and Sustainable Development Goals are such issues where India has taken a long view of the matter and has made positive contributions. Another area where India has done better is digital public infrastructure. According to Bill Gates, we must capitalise on innovations to tackle emerging challenges, particularly in the health and education sectors. Since these are based on open standards, other countries can replicate them. This will contribute to the larger digital inclusion and economic development.

—Sameer Patil

[Watch the full session here](#)

### MODERATOR



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

### WELCOME REMARKS



**Vinay Mohan Kwatra,**  
Foreign Secretary, India

### PANELLISTS



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France



**James Cleverly,**  
Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth and  
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**Lars Løkke Rasmussen,**  
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**Retno Marsudi,**  
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Indonesia



**Bill Gates,**  
Co-Chair, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, USA

## Panel Discussion

# Equitable, Accessible, and Quality Healthcare: Responding through Investments, Partnerships, and Technology

**M**ANSUKH Mandaviya, in his keynote address, highlighted India's endeavour in prioritising universal health coverage through various national programmes, Ayushman Bharat being one of them. The National Health Protection Scheme and Health and Wellness Centers are two initiatives/components of the Ayushman Bharat programme that work to improve the accessibility, availability, and cost of primary, secondary, and tertiary-care health services in India. As a step towards Universal Health Coverage, it entails access to high-quality medical care, including preventative, educational, therapeutic, and palliative care, and financial protection. It is the largest publicly sponsored health insurance programme in the world, providing free

health insurance to 500 million citizens.

India was able to save more than 3.4 million lives by launching an unprecedented statewide COVID-19 immunisation campaign. The COVID-19 vaccination effort had a favourable economic benefit by averting a loss of US\$ 18.3 billion and having a net profit of US\$ 15.42 billion. He continued that 800 million people received free food grains through the PM Garib Kalyan Ann Yojana, with a corresponding economic impact of roughly US\$ 26.24 billion. Four million beneficiaries received jobs under PM Garib Kalyan Rozgar Abhiyan, that had a total economic impact of US \$4.81 billion. As a voice of the Global South, India, in its G20 Presidency agenda, will encourage globally distributed manufacturing of vaccines, medications, and diagnostics to handle upcoming medical catastrophes.

Mandaviya claimed that India already holds a position of leadership in the field of digital health, highlighting the benefits of data-driven insights and the use of technology for accessibility, availability, and affordability in the provision of healthcare services through platforms like COVID-19 India and CoWIN. According to him, India's G20 agenda is all-inclusive, ambitious, action-focused, and decisive, and Prime Minister Narendra Modi's theme of "One Earth, One Family, One Future" encompasses the country's "Vasudhiva Kutumbakam" philosophy.

V.K. Paul, in his opening remarks, stated that the world is still recovering from the pandemic. However, we are better prepared and protected with vaccines and responding to the best of our ability. Due to the pandemic-related school closures, children around the world could lose up to US \$17 trillion in lifetime earnings, and the global economy has experienced losses of US \$8 trillion. Recent economic performance has been significantly influenced by scientific and technical advancements, and resilient health systems are essential for managing pandemics. Howev-



er, less than optimum global solidarity, inequalities, and new age infodemic/disinformation have been exacerbated with the pandemic as well.

Sachika Imoto expressed concern on the rapid spread of pandemic and how it has affected lives and livelihood causing devastation to society and economy. She pointed to three key elements for robust health system and partnership in the health sector. Firstly, political momentum and will is key to strengthening health system governance. Secondly, to strengthen the global health architecture to prepare nations with strong healthcare systems to handle the next health crises. Thirdly, partnerships and global solidarity is effective to defeat the pandemic and we need to keep the momentum to bring normalcy.

Shamika Ravi reiterated on the long lasting economic fallout of the pandemic that may last for generations or more. The public expenditure on healthcare has seen a decline in the past decade with the rise of out of pocket expenditure to the tune of 45 percent. We have medical tourism that has experienced exponential growth in recent years. India is attracting a lot of attention and trust in the global healthcare services sector as it is more affordable than other countries. Equally important are public health policies that provide for quality healthcare at affordable cost. Lastly, a strong healthcare system is crucial to ease the strain on families, promote national development, and ensure a thriving economy.

Ricardo Baptista Leite raised concern over priority given to health emergencies and how the G20 can play a role in building back better. India could lead the way forward through the one health approach for pandemic

prevention and reduce the risk of emerging infectious diseases. He further talked about World Health Organization's pandemic preparedness and response 'accord' and investing in health systems.


Rajat Khosla spoke of justice-based approach that gained visibility during the pandemic. Injustices that have existed for a long time were both uncovered and made worse by the pandemic and our responses. There is rising support for advocating for an alternative strategy for global health and creating a new global health architecture with fundamentally different core principles rooted in fairness rather than tweaking the current quo. Firstly, there is a need to shift the balance of power. Global health actors need to do better; health cannot be seen as a humanitarian rescue mission of the Global North. Secondly, there is a need to address the disbalance in corporate interest to maximise profit and state interest to ensure rights of its population. And lastly, there is a need to redouble the efforts to strengthen the WHO; it has to be invested in and reformed to deliver in the global cooperation not only for future pandemics but also for the existential challenges.

To summarise, there is a call for investment in the health sector, care tools, and solutions; a strong call for partnerships, both regional and multilateral, for equitable and accessible healthcare; and finally, India, through its G20 agenda, will play a catalytic role in developing a new global architecture in health.


- Shoba Suri

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**MODERATOR**


 **Anjali Nayyar**, Executive Vice-President, Global Health Strategies, India


**KEYNOTE ADDRESS**


 **Mansukh Mandaviya**, Minister of Health and Family Welfare, India


**PANELLISTS**

 **V.K. Paul**, Member, NITI Aayog, India

 **Sachiko Imoto**, Senior Vice President, Japan International Cooperation Agency, Japan

 **Shamika Ravi**, Member, Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, India

 **Ricardo Baptista Leite**, Member of Parliament, Portuguese National Parliament, Portugal

 **Rajat Khosla**, Director, United Nations University, International Institute on Global Health

## Panel Discussion

# Affordable Aspirations: Mitigation, Adaptation, and Finance

THE debilitating impact of climate change has been felt across continents. However, the lower- and middle-income countries from the Global South, least responsible for historical contribution of emissions, are the most disproportionately affected from the climate crises. They also often lack the where-withal to combat and overcome the challenges arising from rising global warming and the imperative for a concomitant energy transition.

While the Paris Agreement recognises differentiated responsibility and respective capabilities between countries, major gaps in how this applies to finance remain. Developing countries, except China, are estimated to require approx. US\$ 2.5 trillion per year by 2030 to fund the



an abysmal proportion. The global climate financial flows have been criticised for its geographical disparities with majority of climate finance being mobilised and spent in the country of origin; for being mitigation-centric, neglecting adaptation, and resilience priorities; for leaning towards high-cost debt over equity and concessional finance; and for exhibiting sectoral biases in investments.

A strong international policy support and a robust institutional framework will be the cornerstone of mobilising global capital towards regions and sectors where the marginal cost of reducing emissions is the lowest, argues Amar Bhattacharya. He outlines the scale up of three critical streams of finance that must be leveraged in parallel to maximise impact: development finance from Multilateral Development Banks; long-tenured private capital; and concessional finance utilising innovative instruments such as Special Drawing Rights, voluntary and compliance carbon markets, securitisation, first-loss capital, risk transfer, and guarantee mechanisms.

While the energy transformation will underpin the growth trajectories for many economies in the coming decades, the transition journey also threatens to widen the socio-economic cleavages, opines Nathalie Tocci. We are currently off-track in achieving all our global sustainable

development goals, which makes development as pressing and urgent as climate change, she adds. Therefore, it is critical we optimally utilise the opportunity for energy transformation to achieve both development and transition objectives, drawing complementarities to maximise gains and avert any trade-offs. She further asserts that a just and equitable transition must be central to the energy transition global policy and finance architecture.

In the context of India, Anantha Nageswaran highlights that the energy transition is a win-win situation; it will not only help combat the climate crises but also reduce the dependence on fossil fuel imports and ease rising fiscal deficit. India's strong policy support for scaling renewables and its steadfast progress in meeting the 2030 targets is commendable, but also contingent on international support that goes beyond funding. He further emphasises the challenges posed by geo-political polarities and alliances that often leave-out and disadvantage developing and emerging economies. The most recent Minerals Security Partnership presenting a case in point, that aims to strengthen critical mineral supply chains within a consortium of exclusive high-income and resource rich nations. Therefore, platforms and groupings such as the G20 must

play the instrumental role to even the scales in favour of the developing world and enforce the principles of parity and justice to the global energy transition paradigm.

The participants in the room weighed in some valuable inputs as well enriching the discussions. These comments varied from the importance of generating awareness among consumers to drive a demand led energy transition, to the criticality of public messaging and objective media reporting, to the imperative of investing in human capital and skill development with a gender lens focus, to streamlining the transition agenda with bio-diversity conservation and preservation of natural capital goals, to the essence of sustainable lifestyles and consumption patterns, as well as the emerging opportunities for circular economy to tackle waste from green industries.

Finally, there was a broad consensus in the room on the importance of inter-generational and inter-regional justice that must form the mainstay of an international finance and policy architecture on global energy transitions.

–Mannat Jaspal

### MODERATOR



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

### PANELLISTS



**V. Anantha Nageswaran**,  
Chief Economic Advisor, Government of India, India



**Mallika Ishwaran**,  
Chief Economist, Shell, UK



**Nathalie Tocci**,  
Director, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Italy



**Amar Bhattacharya**, Senior Fellow, Global Economy and Development, Brookings Institute, USA

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## Panel Discussion

# The Liberal Conundrum: Whose Democracy is it Anyway?

ELECTIONS and liberal institutions need not always go hand-in-hand in a democracy. Many a times, institutions can wither without public accountability. Equally, an assault on the legitimacy of elections and popular mandates can lead to the decay of democratic nations. Electoral autocracy, a term made popular by a section of the commentariat, is as persuasive and as feckless as anarchic mobilisations. In this contest, the panel discussed the evolving dynamics of liberal democratic order across the globe.

The panel opened with Sanjeev Sanyal pointing out that the fundamental feature of a well functioning liberal democracy was earlier identified as conducting regular, free, and fair elections. However, the advocates of liberal democracy are increasingly paving way to a discourse of democracy wherein self-certified liberals win. Understandably, there are sections of people who disagree with that thought as it is far from the ideals of democracy. In

recent times, the basic parameters of liberal democracy are manipulated into self-serving ideologies that are largely divorced from the original principles of democracy.

Balázs Orbán stated that democracy needs to be taken seriously and should be defended because without the will of the people, delivering good governance will be challenging. Discussion and deliberation also signify the success of a liberal democracy. However, the panel highlighted that the idea of liberal democracy seems to be dominated by the hegemony of one particular political view which is contradictory to this basic feature of liberalism i.e., free and rational debate. In the digital age, social media plays a big role in providing the platform for free speech and expression. However, it is concerning that dominant political views are mainly propounded by few western powers, who are also the proprietor of these platforms.

In the context of free speech, Tripurdaman Singh argued that unlike the opaque political systems, liberal democracies may make their potential problems more visible due to its openness. But this does not necessarily mean that they are at the verge of disintegration. After all, Indian democracy thrived over the last seven decades which means it has done something right despite enormous challenges. On the other hand, authoritarian states with closed systems do not provide such space for deliberation and hence, challenges faced by them are simply not brought to the surface.



The panel further discussed that one inherent issue with liberalism is its universalist claims. With the end of the Cold War, we have seen the rise of liberal democracy as the prevalent model of governance. In the post-colonial countries also, it had been perceived as the modular form. However, it has been observed and must be noted that the model of liberal democracy has played out differently in different socio-cultural and political scenarios, as highlighted by James Carafano. The system has played a detrimental role in the developing countries in some ways. Although it has consolidated the culture of political freedom, it has failed to facilitate economic development. However, the notion of liberalism evokes a certain kind of historical memory for the developing countries as it is inextricably tied to imperialism and colonialism. Hence, whenever liberalism makes universalist claims, it faces strong contestations.

Despite certain inadequacies, in liberal democracies, government draws its legitimacy from its citizens—citi-

zens have the right to vote to convey their opinion. Although it is not a perfect system, it does provide an open space for various actors to interact, criticise, and facilitate peaceful transition of power. Dissatisfaction with democratic outcomes does not necessarily mean disintegration of the concept of democratic system. Rather, it should be acknowledged that the democratic system has adequate strength to accommodate its own criticisms. The fundamental characteristic of democracy is to have debates and deliberations; agreement is not a virtue of democracy. Velina Tchakarova concluded that as long as spaces of disagreements are allowed, we will continue to have a structure that is fundamentally tolerant and may disagree on what is intolerant, rather than being fundamentally intolerant and agreeing on what is tolerant.

—Ambar Kumar Ghosh

### MODERATOR



**Marya Shakil**, Senior Political Editor, CNN News18, India

### PANELLISTS



**Sanjeev Sanyal**, Member, Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, India



**Balázs Orbán**, Political Director, Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, Hungary



**James Carafano**, Vice President, Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy, The Heritage Foundation, USA



**Velina Tchakarova**, Founder, For a Conscious Experience, Austria



**Tripurdaman Singh**, Postdoctoral Fellow, University of London, UK

[Watch the full session here](#)

## Panel Discussion

# Red, White, or Blue: The Divided States of America

THE panel discussed how cleavages or division of opinion between the Democrats and Republicans in Washington will impact the United States (US) foreign policy and the role of the US as a global actor. How will the upcoming presidential elections in 2024 impact the US' current foreign policy strategy? Will the US stand on the Russia-Ukraine war, policy on China, relations with India given the latter's stand on the ongoing Ukraine conflict, and policy in Afghanistan undergo any change for the upcoming elections, and for the fractures that exist not only between the two parties but also within the parties itself?

### United States Foreign Policy

The media environment in the US has changed; there now exists identity politics that the US had not seen in the recent past. There are real cleavages along racial lines, urban vs rural, college educated people vs non-col-

lege educated people, and to a certain degree, gender as well. These are generally the issues that are dividing the US and impacting its foreign policy. When it comes to the big foreign policy issues, there is sometimes more consensus than there is division.

For instance, on burden sharing, the Obama administration asked the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's allies to increase their defence spending by two percent; the Trump administration raised similar demands with the Biden administration asking for the same thing. Another example is the consensus on open ended free trade agreements that will not only increase the deficit from the US' end, but also affect jobs. However, two broad foreign policy issues where opinions still seem divided are climate change and immigration.

### Russia-Ukraine War

The Biden administration has had a successful two years with the Inflation Reduction Act, the Chips Act, the Ukraine support, and the potential student loan forgiveness. The 2022 Mid-Term elections had a much more impressive showing for Biden than expected. At the same time, the support to Ukraine did not become a part of the foreign policy rhetoric of the 2022 Mid-Term elections. There was this belief, particularly among the Democrats, that with time, support towards Ukraine amongst Americans would probably wane, but that has not been the scenario.

What is being witnessed, however, is not fractures between the Democrats and Republicans, but within the parties itself. What needs to be seen is how these divisions within the Republican party will play out in the 2024 US presidential elections. In the US, debates on foreign policy are usually linked to how it will impact the domestic politics. With Trump, there was 'America First'; and with Biden, there is 'Foreign Policy for Middle Class'.



If the Russia-Ukraine war continues for long, it can become a partisan issue.

The leadership of the key committees in the White House are pro-Ukraine. But there still exists a possibility that this support will be debated—the fact whether the US should commit such a hefty sum of over US\$100 billion to Ukraine when there are no gains on the ground will be a topic of debate. This has been a key part of the Biden administration's security policy, and thus, it will also impact the electoral politics in the country. The difficult discussion that might take place next is the question of the end game.

### The China question

On China, there is broad consensus between the two parties with regard to the impact of China's growing power, the authoritarian Chinese power in the Indo-Pacific and the need to keep it free and open, and the need to cooperate with a country like India.

The big gap with regards to China today is less between Republicans and Democrats, but more between Washington DC and New York. The Foreign Policy and National Security Committee is in DC, while the Finance, Business and Economic Committee is based in New York. This divide is still very strong as was seen with China's reopening at the World Economic Forum. Hence, bridging this gap will be difficult, no matter what party is in power.

### Engagement with India

There has always been broad consensus on engagement with India. It is considered important as it helps in dealing with a growing China and keeping the Indo-Pacific free and open. However, there has been some negative impact after India's stance on the ongoing Russia-Ukraine conflict. While this initially did create certain tensions, this rhetoric has also gone down now.

### Future of Afghanistan


The US administration believes that introducing aid cuts is a way to corner the Taliban. However, the Taliban are not fazed by this. It has lived in isolation for more than twenty years. US, from their perspective, believe that they are being productive, but it is wrong to lead a society into famine. International organisations should fund humanitarian appeals and monitor aid distribution carefully. Afghanistan should be a functional society for people and not be forced into terrorist organisations again.

Distancing Afghanistan will not help the Afghan people, it will destroy the society. The main aim of the Taliban leadership is to gain relief from sanctions and obtain an official recognition, especially from the US. While this may not happen anytime soon, back channel diplomacy will continue.


—Premesha Saha


[Watch the full session here](#)


**MODERATOR**


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


**PANELLISTS**

 **Mariam Wardak**, Founder, Her Afghanistan, USA

 **Dhruva Jaishankar**, Executive Director, Observer Research Foundation America, USA

 **Leslie Vinjamuri**, Director, US and the Americas Programme; Dean, Queen Elizabeth II Academy, Chatham House, UK

 **Rachel Rizzo**, Senior Fellow, Europe Center, Atlantic Council, USA

 **Paul Kapur**, Professor, Naval Postgraduate School, USA

## Panel Discussion

# The Quad Squad: Power and Purpose of the Polygon

THE Quad has become a crucial grouping within the evolving dynamics of the Indo-Pacific. It brings together four like-minded countries who share a common view about the attributes of the Indo-Pacific region. This is a grouping of four countries who have realised that working together will not only advance their own national interests, but also contribute to the greater good of the region. In spite of these positives, there are still some questions that come to mind when one talks of the Quad. Why did the Quad 1.0 did not work? And what makes the Quad 2.0 successful? The Quad 2.0 has come a long way, from starting at the Senior Officials Meeting to being elevated to the Foreign Ministers' Meeting and the Leaders Summit. So, what has changed and how does this reflect the growing importance of the region?

The Quad is working because there is a greater sense of strategic clarity. Additionally, bilateral relations between countries have improved—India's ties with the United States and Japan have improved and the great-

est change has been the India-Australia relations. For Australia, India is a critical power in the region. India is a civilisational power that brings different perspectives to the challenges of these times.

Another issue that comes to the fore is how the Quad is contributing to the foreign policy as well as the national interests of countries like Australia and the US? Given the ongoing Russia-Ukraine War, how distracted is the US with the conflict in Europe and how committed it is to engage in this region? Is the Quad just an interim consultative group? For the US, the future lies in the Indo-Pacific. Its growing presence in the region through the Quad as well as other mechanisms shows that its engagement is very comprehensive and deep than in the past. The US is concerned with what is happening in Ukraine because it not only impacts Ukraine and Europe, but also the rest of the world as it challenges the values and principles that are embedded in the international system. But still, the Quad is a force for good and affirmative action. It is now being increasingly realised that it is not feasible for any country to act or deal alone with issues impacting the Indo-Pacific and therefore, there is a need for like-minded countries to come together.

The Quad provides that platform where four like-minded countries, with similar visions and goals, bring different strengths and comparative weights to tackle the problems countries of the Indo-Pacific region are facing and provide a global common good. The grouping is developing practical projects in the fields of vaccines, infrastructure, humanitarian assistance, disaster resilience, and maritime domain awareness to give other countries in the region a choice, a partner. The US is more deeply engaged than ever in the Indo-Pacific region and the Quad is a significant tool for that. Given Australia's geography, with the Indian Ocean on the one side and the Pacific Ocean on the other and also the



ASEAN countries in the North, it only makes it pertinent for it to have an interest in the Indo-Pacific and how this region is reshaping global politics. Australia's interest is to ensure a stable, peaceful, rules-based order, where countries respect each other's territorial sovereignty.

There are still doubts among many, especially with Australia joining the Malabar exercise, if this grouping has the potential to work on hard security issues, military issues, and critical defence technology. It was clearly spelt out by the Foreign ministers that the "Quad is not a military grouping". But the Quad is bringing together experts to look into areas where there can be cooperation on critical and emerging technologies. Issues on which the Quad is currently focussing on are creating a counter-terrorism working group, cooperating more closely with the Indian Ocean Rim Association, Standard Operating Procedure for a Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief initiative, stronger expression of support for the reform of the United Nations, comprehensive work on the achievement of SDGs, and maritime security working group in Washington DC.


This grouping does not exclude any particular country, the only need is to abide by the rules of the international

order and to contribute to the maintenance of a rules-based stable regional order. If the Quad is perceived as being against a particular country, then that diminishes the importance of this grouping. Its prerogative is not to ask countries to choose sides, but to provide them with a healthy choice and the Quad is working on areas that caters to the interests and needs of countries in the region. It collectively offers something different; ASEAN countries and Pacific island countries are all getting more interested in the Indo-Pacific and how this region is transforming. The Quad countries are committed towards upholding of ASEAN centrality; its engagement and commitment to ASEAN is strategic and real, but it is also geographic.


The Quad enhances the capacity for collaboration. The three big issues that the Quad needs to work on given the challenges of our times are more reliable and resilient supply chains, trust and transparency in digital technology, and connectivity.


—Premesha Saha


**MODERATOR**


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

**PANELLISTS**

 **Antony J. Blinken,**  
Secretary of State, USA

 **Hayashi Yoshimasa,**  
Minister for Foreign Affairs, Japan

 **Penny Wong,**  
Minister for Foreign Affairs, Australia

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

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## Panel Discussion

# The New High Table: Realigning the G20 in a Changing World

**F**OCUSING on how recent events like the Russia-Ukraine conflict have further disrupted the existing geopolitical fault lines, the deliberations of this session highlighted how the G20 can realign its multilateral approach, to avoid being another dormant international organisation, and the critical role it can play in bridging the North-South gap. Indrani Bagchi reiterated the importance of this panel discussion wherein the twenty most powerful economies in the world have congregated to realign their vision and mission towards the changing world.

In the context of ever-evolving global economic conditions, like the 1997 East Asian Crisis or the Global Financial Crisis of 2008, Josep Borrell Fontelles stated that the G20 has a special responsibility towards the international community. Amidst the reality of power politics like the China-US competition and a non-consensus multipolar world driven by varied and diverse interests, past grievances, and evolving identities, alongside the emerging

Global South, one-stop solutions are challenging to come by. However, the G20 holds an important position of being capable of bridging the current lack of consensus in the international arena. Nonetheless, the G20, similar to the United Nations General Assembly, also bears the burden of a lack of unanimous ideas and positions from members of the international community. At this juncture, the G20, in its evolving avatar from an economic forum to a geopolitical forum, assumes a leading position of possessing the capacity to break through and create multilateral approaches in such a multipolar world.

Marcelo Ebrard Casaubón observed a certain incapacity in the present multilateral system catapulted by the existing geopolitical tensions and suggested a high value in expanding and strengthening the G20 conversations and decisions. Although there are severe difficulties in reaching a consensus, there is a significant need for a perseverance strategy to sustain better communication between the G20 countries. Casaubón also observed that the path is aligned, and this served as an excellent opportunity for the G20 to make a notable impact through its evolving role at the international level at a time when there is a declining interest in international affairs from other multilateral organisations like the United Nations Security Council.

The current geopolitical situation of the Russia-Ukraine war posed a severe threat to global security and deepened the existing fault lines. Moreover, economic opportunities are challenging with an ongoing war in Europe. For these reasons, Mélanie Joly clarified that the forum of the G20 takes centre stage at such a juncture.

Md. Shahriar Alam threw light on the disconnect between the Global North and Global South. The challenges that the Global South faces are worsening by the minute. Poverty is a huge issue that countries like India, Bangladesh, Myanmar, and others struggle to handle. Other



issues like climate change, technological transfers, and support at the grassroots level for inclusive development are specific opportunities that the Global North should consider. These efforts and engagements can contribute to curbing the vast gap between the North and the South.

Marcelo Ebrard Casaubón observed that if the G20 strongly displays its ability to arrive at a consensus about the issues plaguing the Global South, this geopolitical forum can move beyond the failures of the existing organisations like the UNSC or the UNGA. He also shared that replicating the G20 on the lines of the UNSC would eventually lead to a freeze in the multilateral systemic approaches. Mélanie Joly, however, stressed that there is a need for more substantial diplomatic pressure from other countries on Russia to steer the war to an end. Only then can the G20 address the issue of UN reforms and the subsequent initiatives.

Josep Borrell Fontelles also strongly suggested that

the countries should work together to improve the existing systems. He illustrated how the European Union successfully contributed its share towards the US\$100 billion pledge. He also identified that it is essential to solidify the efforts towards maintaining the international order for multilateralism to survive. The member nations should unanimously condemn any deviations, such as, in the context of the Russia-Ukraine war. Md. Shahriar Alam, while indicating the thin line of trust in the existing multilateral systems, was hopeful about the success of the G20. The success of the G20 would be inspiring and revolutionary for other forums like the ASEAN and SAARC to revive, recover, and reinvent together for a better future.

–Debosmita Sarkar

[Watch the full session here](#)

## Panel Discussion

# A Region of Opportunities: From the Mediterranean to the Arabian Sea

ECONOMICS, cooperation, development, and climate are fast becoming the main areas of debate and concern alike in West Asia, a region where much of its contemporary history has been largely defined by conflicts. As the 20th anniversary of the Iraq war is observed during the same time as this panel, the panellists coming from this region provided a first-hand view of how both interests and perceptions have moved on towards future-proofing their societies and states.

From Egypt hosting COP27 in November 2022 to the United Arab Emirates (UAE) preparing to host COP28 later in 2023, future of economic growth, sustainability, and energy transition feeding into delivering on the aspirations of a young population formed the bedrock for this debate, a far cry from the usual formats of discussing West Asia that largely revolved around conflict. However, this was not to say that some of the fundamental geopolitical challenges in the region have been resolved. The astute audience listening in offered timely reminders

that issues such as Yemen, Palestine, and other friction points continue to be significant challenges in the way of non-partisan and collective approach to crisis points such as climate.

However, enough examples of success were also available to be passed around on the stage to offer a more positive view on how to approach the big challenges of our times. From Reem Ebrahim Al Hashimy narrating the tremendous strides the UAE has made over the past 50-years, going from a collection of fishing villages to a collection of global financial and trade centres, to Oman's Sayyid Badr bin Hamad bin Hamood Albusaidi 'neutrality' offering itself as a successful incubator for parties embroiled in conflict and geopolitical tensions to work towards resolutions in a safe and mutually respected space, how we have historically observed West Asia is changing fast.

The fact that Egypt managed to insulate critical climate talks from the fallout of the Russia-Ukraine conflict was indeed a significant takeaway. Marketed as a 'multi-identity' nation, being African, Arab, Mediterranean, Global South, and non-aligned all at the same time, Sameh Hassan Shoukry Selim not only brought to the forefront how Cairo is looking to navigate a turbulent time, but also how a significantly increased level of intra-Gulf cooperation and political normalisation is giving the required space for the issues of our times. He said that climate, which does not have any respect for our man-made borders, has major issues in the region due to acute scarcity of water resources, and challenge and non-cooperation on these issues in the region can lead to a whole new era of conflict and political upheaval.

Thus, regional and intra-regional cooperation was the toast of the panel. Ausaf Sayeed invoked how India and the UAE negotiated and signed their bilateral trade agreement in a record 88-days, giving weight to the role



of intent and political will in getting agreements done in a short period of time. Looking at West Asia as a critical partner for India, from trade to home to over 7.8 million Indian workers and a provider for the sub-continent energy security, the intra-regional examples highlighted by the panel indeed offered a templet on both, how to grow these respective economies in a cooperative structure and how to maximise common aims of the Global South and developing states on challenging questions of climate finance. The moderator, Mina Al-Oraibi, platformed the panel as a region of opportunities, despite conflicts, and the panellists made strong cases of re-moulding how debates on West Asia have been conducted for a long time.

Finally, the pandemic that hit both West Asia and In-

dia hard, was provided as an example of how the world can come together to come up with solutions to very difficult problems if there is a strong confluence of political will. From vaccines developed within a year to more contested debates on equal distribution of said vaccines, where the Global South often ended up playing a more empathetic role than others, the final takeaway from the panel was to highlight fast winds of change in global and regional orders taking place, now widely visible from atop the lighthouse in the tempest.

–Kabir Taneja

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## In Conversation

# Sergey Lavrov

## Minister of Foreign Affairs, Russia

**D**URING a summit in Istanbul in 1999, a political declaration stated that the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) participants were all committed to equal and indivisible security with each country free to choose alliances, but no country could strive to strengthen its security at the expense of others. Another signed principle stated no country or organisation could pretend to dominate militarily, which was repeated at another OSCE summit in Kazakhstan in 2010.

Yet, Sergey Lavrov argued that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) had violated all the commitments and continued expanding. When Russia asked questions, the West referred to it as merely political commitments, while stating that legally binding guarantees of security can only be obtained inside NATO. They also publicly admitted that they never intended to implement another legally binding commitment—the Security Council resolution that endorsed the Minsk agreements. So, there was no delivery on oral, written, or legally binding commitments, and all the while, NATO continued to beef up the Ukrainian army with more weapons.

If the reports of the OSCE special monitoring mission are checked, they registered a sharp increase of shelling of Donbas in the beginning of February 2022, almost 30 times more than the routine exchange of fire before. Minister Lavrov stated that Russia basically defended its security as well as the Russian people who were denied the right to use the Russian language by Poroshenko and Zelensky. The people, who did not accept the Ukrainian

legislation that cancelled the Russian language in the east of Ukraine and Crimea, were declared terrorists by the regime who started the war. Which is why the Minsk agreements, that were not difficult to implement, were so important to stop this. They were about the special status for a small part of the east of Ukraine—much smaller than the territory controlled by the Russian army now—that included the right to use the Russian language, considered taboo by the Ukrainian regime that took power through a coup. This special status for Russians in Ukraine was similar to that promised to the Serbs in Kosovo in 2013 but was never intended to be implemented just like the Minsk agreements.

Furthermore, Lavrov highlighted whether the world questioned the United States and NATO about Iraq and Afghanistan. European leaders say that the Russia-Ukraine conflict is the first time the OSCE Helsinki Final Act is being violated, but Lavrov pointed out the bombing of Serbia in 1999 and the Iraq War that was later called a mistake. He highlighted the 'double standards' wherein the US apparently had the right to declare a threat to its national interest anywhere such as Iraq, Yugoslavia, Libya, and Syria, whereas Russia, even after warning for years about territories housing Russians for centuries, did not.

Lavrov stressed that countries are not being affected by Russia's actions in Ukraine; they are being affected by the reaction of the West to the conflict. Global sufferings are related to the sanctions and the policy of blackmail that the West is promoting, not Russia's actions to defend itself. The West is threatening countries to join sanctions and vote against Russia in the United Nations General Assembly, instead of respecting their right to take their stand.

On the question of Russia's willingness to negotiate, Lavrov noted that the Western leaders have repeatedly



said that Russia must be defeated on the battlefield and suffer strategic defeat, which is existential for the West in the context of global domination. Zelensky even signed a decree in September 2022, making it a criminal offence to negotiate with Russia as long as Vladimir Putin is President. He further spoke about the Russia-India-China troika—alongside BRICS and Shanghai Cooperation Organisation—as a platform that continues to function through regular meetings and helps India and China find a common ground in the presence of Russia.

Lavrov continued that Russia would always favour bringing people together and never engage in playing one country against another. He added that as Russia has excellent relations with both India and China, the

former is interested to bring the two nations together as friends. He characterised Russia's relations with India as a specially privileged partnership and said that relations with China have never been better.

Lavrov concluded by saying that the Russia-Ukraine conflict has significantly influenced their policy including the energy policy. What has changed is that Russia will no longer rely on any partners in the West. Its future energy policy will be oriented towards reliable and credible partners like India and China..

—Shailee Malhotra

[Watch the full session here](#)

## Panel Discussion

# Just Transitions: Old Fuels, New Energy, and Persistent Aspirations

In a world where more than 85 percent of energy continues to be fossil-fuel derived, a secure and just green transition is becoming an urgent necessity. Overly rigid decarbonisation strategies can hamper industrialisation in many developing economies, with negative implications on inclusive growth. Capital will require incentives and institutional support to finance technology and innovation, and provide energy alternatives that are sustainable, cost-efficient, and eventually, profitable.

Emphasising on the urgency of financing a just green transition, Tharman Shanmugaratnam spoke of the opportunity to unlock a new phase of inclusive growth by investing green. This will necessitate investing in growth


and returns and developing new jobs particularly in underserved regions. Additionally, getting to net zero involves investing in innovation, scaling proven technologies, and encouraging promising, upcoming ventures. Tharman argued that the global capital market is sufficiently large and growing to provide for the transition, stressing that the focus, therefore, should be on how to channel resources and incentivise capital. He further envisioned a new era of partnerships—between the Global North and Global South and the public and private sector—to boost growth and enhance equity.

Nicholas Stern spoke on the role of various stakeholders that need to come together to spur a green transition, with a focus on the World Bank. In order to achieve the climate path and meet the Sustainable Development Goals by 2030, Stern emphasised the need for investment from domestic and external sources. Therefore, the World Bank and Multilateral Development Banks have a renewed mandate to work in tandem with domestic finance—public and private—to spur a sustainable, poverty-free transition, while adhering to a non-negotiable deadline set by science.


Focusing on the policy perspective, which is critical for finance and investment, Jo Tyndall underlined the need for climate change to be addressed in policies across government ministries and economic sectors. She spoke about the Inclusive Forum on Carbon Mitigation Approaches (IFCMA)—launched by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in February 2023—that aimed to encourage cooperation and mutual learning, while considering a diverse range of approaches to decarbonisation. She added that the IFCMA hopes to collect exhaustive data on the various policies adopted by governments to fulfil their Nationally Determined Contributions under the Paris Agreement and further use a range of economic modelling tools to




**SCENE SETTER**


 **Suman Bery**,  
Vice Chairman, NITI Aayog, India


**MODERATOR**


 **Jayant Sinha**,  
Member of Parliament, India


**PANELLISTS**

 **Tharman Shanmugaratnam**,  
Senior Minister, Singapore

 **Jo Tyndall**, Director,  
Environment Directorate, OECD

 **Nicholas Stern**,  
IG Patel Professor of Economics and Government,  
London School of Economics, UK

 **Nitin Prasad**,  
Chairman, Shell India

 **Ebtesam Al-Ketbi**,  
President, Emirates Policy Centre, UAE

judge their efficacy. Speaking for the OECD, she stated the motivation to encourage a race to the top, supported by peer learning and collective reduction of emissions, to aid countries' efforts in fulfilling and enhancing commitments made under the Paris Agreement.

Ebtesam Al-Ketbi opined on the differing responsibilities of the Global North and Global South in battling climate change and accelerating the energy transition. She further underscored the need for oil producing and oil consuming countries to work together and develop an inclusive perspective to the green transition. With the UAE set to host COP28, Al-Ketbi declared the country's intention to include a variety of stakeholders in discussions and share the responsibility for clean energy and a clean planet. She raised concerns over the conflict between geopolitics and geoeconomics—that often hinders the global energy transition—and called for its resolution to ensure countries prioritise the urgency of the climate crisis.

As a multinational company functioning in the energy sector, Shell has a keen sense of a variety of perspectives

from the Global North and the Global South, said Nitin Prasad. Moreover, the company aims to balance these perspectives and provide affordable access to energy, while progressing aggressively on climate change and the energy transition. In addition to increasing efficiency in the production of oil and gas, Prasad stated that Shell is eager to enter into business to provide a plethora of clean energy solutions and services.

Collaboration and cooperation, both international and domestic, that accounts for countries and regions' varied experiences and requirements are key to an inclusive transition. Supported by policy and institutional frameworks that incentivise innovation and investment to create and deploy scalable, cost-effective green solutions, the world can leverage this opportunity to spur growth and build an equal, secure, and sustainable future for all.

—Promit Mookherjee and Diya Dixit

[Watch the full session here](#)

## Panel Discussion

# The Startup Planet: Reclaiming Half the Sky

**T**WO critical things are common among Glossier, Nykaa, Canva, and Acko Insurance. Firstly, all are unicorns—companies with a valuation and sales greater than £1 billion. Secondly, all are female-founded and led. However, as rare as the first is, the combination of the two is even rarer. While Mao has suggested that “women hold up half the sky”, that women are equal in all spheres—even then and now—in China or the shark tanks of the start-up world, women do not enjoy the representation they seek.

But what is the starting point? For Priyanka Chaturvedi, it is claiming and not reclaiming. Assessing the start-up environment, she suggested that the two starting

points are, first, how many angel investors are women, and by extension, how many angel investing organisations are led by women. Secondly, how many women are in the decision-making space overall. Arguing that “Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao” (save the girl child, teach the girl child) has already been successful, for her, it was time to “Beti Kamao” (have the girl child earn), arguing that India needs to consciously work on being a space friendly for women, with funding coming in from both the private sector and the government.


As Vanita Sharma highlighted, India is the third-largest start up ecosystem globally, with 50 percent of the start-ups emerging from Tier II and Tier III regions. With such a thriving ecosystem, India undoubtedly has the potential to contribute to global supply chains, something that Laura Lane touched upon in her remarks. To her, for resilient supply chains, it is important to lift up and help everyone, including small and medium businesses, to allow them to engage with and in global value chains. She added, “But, in particular, by focusing on women—who are often the most discriminated—all other boats get lifted.”

Arguing that the policies that hold women back are universally prevalent and acknowledged, three essential steps need to be taken. Firstly, raise capacity via skills training; secondly, eliminate discriminatory tariffs to ensure all-essential market access; and thirdly, engage with traditional barriers such as the requirement for male signatories and movement restrictions.


Sandhya Devanathan put forward why this moment was crucial. Reflecting on the digital transformations taking place in economies globally and how start-ups were powering the innovations of tomorrow and the meaningful aspects of society today, she cautioned that it was important not to leave women behind while shaping what the next iterations of the internet or our economies look




**SCENE SETTER**


 **Jagannatha Kumar**, CEO, Reliance Foundation, India


**MODERATOR**


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


**PANELLISTS**

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

 **Laura Lane**, Executive Vice President and Chief Corporate Affairs and Sustainability Officer, UPS, USA

 **Sandhya Devanathan**, Vice President, Meta India

 **Rebecca Razavi**, Head of Public Policy & Economic Graph, Asia-Pacific, LinkedIn, USA

 **Neira Dali Chaouch**, Secretary General, Algerian Tech Women & Women in AI, Algeria

like. To her, a public-private partnership was crucial to reach the widest base of beneficiaries.

Highlighting the fast growth rate of the number of female founders, especially during the pandemic, Rebecca Razavi engaged with the “push-factors”, whether it be choice or compulsion, that encouraged women into these roles. Engaging with the value of social capital, she put forward the Gender Network Gap—where women were less likely to have a strong network and, by extension, have limited access to funding and support. For women founders to be successful, closing three gaps was crucial: Financial capital gap, network gap, and skills gap.

Neira Dali Chaouch continued the discussion by drawing on her own experience in creating and main-

taining a network. She argued that it was not only important to change cultural mindsets, but also emphasised on the need to work within the status quo in order to drive momentum forward.

In the debate between “can women have it all?” and “women can have it all,” the most crucial argument is often overlooked—“How can women have it all?” Unlike the mythical beast that start-ups have named their most coveted achievement after, a female founder is a possibility. The necessity is to build a foundation for success.

—Sitara Srinivas

[Watch the full session here](#)



## Panel Discussion

# The Double Engine of Growth: India, Bangladesh, BIMSTEC, and the Indo-Pacific

**B**ANGLADESH appears to be a country of many contradictions. While it has done phenomenally well economy wise, it has also had to request the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for a loan. On the political front, despite there being a democratic government in power, the 'West' never seems to be "happy" with the country and it continues to face criticism for a lack of democracy. Meanwhile, the development of India-Bangladesh relations has been extraordinary in scale, scope, and ambition, and the current level of economic integration between the two economies is quite high. In the spheres of connectivity and security cooperation too, the India-Bangladesh partnership has excelled, although managing their long land border with a dense population continues to be a challenge. However, whether this partnership has the potential to uplift the Bay of Bengal region, as embodied by the regional organisation of BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Eco-

conomic Cooperation), remains to be tested.

These myriad dimensions set the context for the panel discussion. Taking the floor, Farzana Mahmood pointed out that India and Bangladesh are linked by shared history, culture, heritage, language, and sacrifices as much as by 54 rivers. In this world of interdependency, Bangladesh and India are complementing each other's economy and are committed to unblocking the growth potential of this region through connectivity initiatives and a spirit of shared prosperity. Seamless transport and connectivity between India and Bangladesh have the potential to increase national income by as much as 70 percent in Bangladesh and by 8-10 percent in India. The connectivity initiatives also have the potential to expand into the wider region through platforms such as BIMSTEC or the Bangladesh-Bhutan-India-Nepal (BBIN) Motor Vehicle Agreement. With regards to the human rights issue, she stated that the West sometimes makes this an agenda to exert their influence over other countries, as has been seen in Afghanistan and Iraq. Bangladesh, to an extent, is also a victim of this kind of political ambition.

Taking a cue from this, Tania Amir stated that "Bangladesh has come off age." In the 1970s, when Bangladesh was fighting its war of liberation, its civilians suffered a genocide that the West, till date, has not recognised. The very birth of the country had been for the cause of human rights and hence, the question of it not espousing the same is an anomaly. As an infant democracy, Bangladesh is facing teething problems and its democratic path is yet to be perfect. However, the time has come for the country to adopt a regional approach which must begin with strengthening cooperation and connectivity with India. It must reach out to eastern states of India and the Himalayan kingdoms to realise the potential of connectivity in the region. While problems such as river water sharing persist between the two countries, efforts



need to be made to arrive at a win-win situation.

Re-emphasising that Bangladesh's birth was founded on human rights and democracy, Mohammad Arafat stated that these ideals continue to be cherished by the country. However, in years of military rule, some political parties had been formed that rehabilitated the fundamental groups and outfits that had opposed the war of liberation. They initiated the politics of religion and division in Bangladesh. However, in current times, the country is in the hands of a democratic government, but the radical forces are still active in politics which makes it difficult to achieve human rights ideals. Nonetheless, the government is working towards economic development and reduction of poverty. It is also trying to strengthen democracy by empowering the election commission, separating it from the government, and making it financially solvent.

Speaking from the Indian perspective, Sreeradha Datta drew attention to the fact that Bangladesh has always been a champion of regionalism. Today, the India-Bangladesh partnership is reinvigorating the region with the breakthroughs in its multi-faceted cooperation. BIMSTEC, however, has been a slow walker. India-Bangladesh cross border connectivity initiatives will be the frontrunner within this framework. North-east India is vitally important for both countries to

further enhance their cooperation in energy and commerce. The 'Shonali-odhyay' (Golden Chapter) that India and Bangladesh are experiencing today is unheralded in the years of their partnership. But this is mainly testimony to the excellent relations between the government of the two countries and needs to permeate to people to people connectivity.

Offering views on Bangladesh's economic situation, Nilanjan Ghosh pointed out that its request to the IMF for a loan speaks of excellent economic governance as it is essentially a precautionary stabilisation fund. The Ukraine war has created difficulties in many countries but the situation in Bangladesh is temporary. Rather what needs to be focused on is that India and Bangladesh are experiencing a period of coincidence of opportunities created by global geo-economics and geopolitics. An important aspect of inclusive wealth is human capital, off which both countries have plenty. Both countries are also growing their physical capital. India and Bangladesh are, thus, together emerging as the double engine of growth in the BBIN, BIMSTEC, as well as in the broader Indo-Pacific.

—Sohini Bose

**MODERATOR**

**Pankaj Saran,** Convenor, NatStrat, India

**PANELLISTS**

**Farzana Mahmood,** Advocate; Member, Awami League Sub-Committee on Environment, Bangladesh

**Tania Amir,** Advocate, Bangladesh

**Mohammad Arafat,** Professor, Canadian University of Bangladesh; Chairman, Suchinta Foundation, Bangladesh

**Sreeradha Datta,** Professor, Jindal School of International Affairs, O.P. Jindal Global University, India

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

[Watch the full session here](#)

## Panel Discussion

# Turbulence, Temperament, and Temerity: Leadership in the Age of Uncertainty

A conversation on leadership in an age of uncertainty, moderated by Palki Sharma, brought together three eminent figures from the worlds of politics, sports, and diplomacy. The session explored the challenges in today's world and how leadership and the metric of success in politics have changed. In a conversation replete with cricket analogies, the panel tried to illustrate the current considerations in global politics and leadership.

Tony Blair noted that the nature of geopolitical competition has changed significantly over the years, and there has been an apparent shift of power to the east with the rise of China, India, Indonesia, and other South and Southeast Asian nations. He continued that the key emerging trend in contemporary geopolitics is not so much that power is shifting east, but that increasingly power is going to be shared.

While the great geopolitical competition will revolve around the United States and China, Blair said that currently, the US is in a better position with regards to its military, technological advances, resources, and economy, while China has been dealing with the fallout of the COVID-19 crisis and its economic policies. He also invali-

dated the general idea that Europe's power is declining, as the war in Ukraine has somewhat revitalised Europe and NATO's momentum and purposes. In this context, he positioned India as the strongest and most powerful it has ever been and reiterated its importance in global politics and as an objective leader of the Global South.

Blair also pointed out how leadership has gotten tougher in the age of social media. However, in terms of whether social media scrutiny makes it harder to provide better leadership, he said that criticism comes with the job, and knowing how to take the criticism positively is also crucial to surviving in a leadership role. However, at the same time, technological advances are bound to change everything, but it will depend on how the opportunities arising out of the technology revolution can be properly utilised. Here, policymakers and changemakers will have to collaborate positively. Blair applauded the Modi government's recent digital and IT reforms and said that they are examples of reforms that lead to "real results" and thus, a "remarkable transformation". Elaborating on the potential of a digital revolution, he said, "I think a lot of the poorest countries in the world, if they embrace technology in the right way, with the right help, they don't have to replicate the legacy systems of developed countries. They can actually, in health, in education, and in the role the government plays, bypass all of that."

Cricket has been a common interest for both the United Kingdom and India, and given the divisions in the world now, it can be used as a medium of unity, observed Kevin Pietersen. He drew attention to the 1995 Rugby World Cup hosted and won by South Africa, and how the sport had been instrumental in unifying the country. In a turbulent, digitally accelerated, post-pandemic world, sport was well placed to act as an anchor. The COVID crisis and then the global fallout of the Ukraine



war have made the world an unstable place, and Pietersen claimed that it is imperative to promote any opportunity for unity and cohesion.

He, like Blair, also alluded to the perils of the digital age because of the lack of accountability, calling it a "cesspit" and a "dangerous space." He, therefore, said that to establish good leadership, self-determination, a tunnel vision to achieve something, and a trustworthy team of people are crucial. That sometimes there is a need to accept some decisions as a way of compromising, as they may not be perfect but represent a slight improvement over the status quo, was also highlighted by Pietersen as a desirable quality in a leader.

India's emergence as a geopolitical power, and the fact it is today a bigger economy than Britain, S. Jaishankar said, was an act of "rebalancing," and an instance of "history that is switch-hitting". He remarked that the UK and India shared a long and complex relationship, and given their history, while there had sometimes been suspicion and mistrust, there was also much warmth and similarity. The shared passion for cricket was an example of the latter.


Jaishankar, who resorted to frequent comparisons between the game of cricket and the game of politics, said that both are highly competitive activities and require

taking the right call in a difficult moment, even when the competition is quite extreme. This, he said, was the prerequisite for good and stable leadership. A good leader, according to him, should also possess considerable foresight and be courageous enough to take quick, informed decisions and calculated risks in stressful situations. Here, he also defended his government's decision and timing to impose nation-wide lockdowns in 2020 and the decision to export vaccines by saying that they were difficult decisions at the time but that they "had to be done".


Jaishankar also pointed out two reasons behind the growth of interest among Indians in the country's foreign policy stance and global affairs. First, because of the turbulent times and the major geopolitical upheavals that the world is going through now; and second, there has been a "very unconscious but very deep globalisation" amongst Indians, leading them to seek foreign education, travel to foreign countries, and do business with them. The world's interconnectedness right now, as well as the ripple effects of any crisis on the rest of the world, have increased interest in India's foreign policy.


–Vivek Mishra and Anirban Sarma


**MODERATOR**

 **Palki Sharma,**  
Managing Editor, Network 18, India

**PANELLISTS**

 **Tony Blair,**  
Former Prime Minister, United Kingdom

 **Kevin Pietersen,**  
Former Captain, Men's Cricket Team, England

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

[Watch the full session here](#) 

## Panel Discussion

# The Emerging Consensus: G20 and the Development Imperative

WHILE Agenda 2030 and its objectives are indispensable to the vision of a sustainable future, recent geopolitical events have derailed the envisioned progress towards it. The panel discussion on “The Emerging Consensus: G20 and the Development Imperative” focused on the current dilemmas of translating these indispensable objectives into the central features of policymaking. It is evident that there are crucial challenges in prioritising development for all three countries, including India—the challenge of mind-space or attention to long-term issues; the challenge of finance, particularly for emerging countries and low-income countries; and the challenge of technology wherein implementation of programs on the ground is heavily dependent on the technological progress of a nation. Chandrika Bahadur asked the panellists how the G20 could

develop a framework for tackling these three challenges and prioritising the development agenda.

Both Mauro Vieira and Naledi Pandor believe that the troika’s (India, Brazil and South Africa) role as the helm of the G20 for the current and next two years holds a high significance. The contributions of emerging countries to the G20 discussions are unique and special. As crucial as agenda setting is for any Presidency, the fact that three developing countries will take the G20 focus towards development issues is imperative to note. Fairly robust conversations and sentiments of support for development are the need of the hour. The poorer countries are still facing the repercussions of the COVID-19 pandemic, and their capacity to claim special drawing rights is diminishing. These challenges must take primacy during these presidencies. Naledi Pandor pointed out that although it is a natural tendency to look inwards during a crisis, the shift of focus on the poorer parts of the world to support their developmental needs will benefit us all.

Both ministers highlighted the deep-seated, long-term structural issues in developing countries. More still, Bahadur juxtaposed this against the G20 trend of handling issues at a short-term level. As a response, Pandor illustrated how the agenda of women empowerment as a G20 objective a few years back had taken shape in the form of policy measures, necessary mechanisms, and a positive change in the intellectual community and institutions’ approach towards gender equality now.

Another critical voice India’s G20 Presidency is witnessing is that of the small island developing states (SIDS). Alan Ganoo shed light on these nations’ severe vulnerability against the adverse effects of climate change and global warming. He insisted that there is an urgent need to trickle down international finances to these recipients.

Effective operations of the international financing



framework take a prime spot amidst the ongoing vulnerabilities against climate change and other geopolitical threats. To address the same, Elisabetta Belloni pointed out that the economy, development, and global context of international decision-making must be more consistent to date. The present development cooperation demands a comprehensive and cohesive effort from all fronts. The nexus between development and security is an important area to explore in the context of the G20. She also indicated that the G20 should identify the minimum common denominators like issues on climate change, energy, health, and others. She pointed out that the methodology of Italy’s G20 Presidency initiative on the Coalition for Food Security can be a model for developing such frameworks in the identified and crucial minimum common denominators.

Kyungjin Song stated how the achievements of Sustainable Development Goals have taken a backseat due to various reasons like the lingering effects of COVID-19, the Russia-Ukraine war, inflationary pressure, and tightening monetary policies of major economies, especially the US Federal Reserve. She prioritised tech knowledge as a critical element for nations to solve developmental challenges. Financial inclusion and economic growth have witnessed prosperity due to technological advances, for example, India’s Unified Payments Interface. Digital infrastructure will help people access their rights and their entitled benefits. To achieve this vision, Song indicated that there needs to be a sharp focus on crucial deliverables to solve the developmental challenges; the agendas need to be as water-tight as possible to command the right policy interventions. She also stated that the G20 should assume leadership in initiating reforms in the Bretton Woods institutions. It should also enhance its

coordination role concerning the repercussions of the US monetary policy decisions on low-income and emerging economies.

Elisabetta Belloni opined that the conditionalities imposed by international financial institutions should be simplified and should work towards solving the root causes of the lack of development. Education, women and youth empowerment, and financial literacy should take priority while helping developing and low-income countries. Alan Ganoo stressed the importance of the G20 being at the forefront of reforming the global governance architecture to meet the needs of the century. There must be a multidimensional vulnerability index for the SIDS and other developing countries to ease access to finances based on vulnerability, and to avoid relying only on a single criterion of GDP for eligibility to finance.

Mauro Vieira also held education as an important area of focus. There is also a need for more in-depth research on the questions of environment and climate change concerning the G20. Democracy and economic growth cannot exist without stable institutions, and the G20 should work towards it. Naledi Pandor emphasised a stimulus package for the most vulnerable countries and those lagging in achieving SDGs. However, there must be a genuine intent to such a package and actual implementation, and impact analysis should be a priority for effective feedback mechanisms. Lastly, Song stressed that the G20 should also strive for the deliverance of decisions over a continuous cycle of decision-making.

—Debosmita Sarkar

[Watch the full session here](#)

## Panel Discussion

# Bytes of Promise: How Can Technology Lift Communities?

THE world's development efforts continue to rely heavily on access to technology, regardless of the fact that roughly half of the world's population lacks basic digital infrastructure, such as internet access. Micro, Small and Medium enterprises (MSMEs) are arguably the backbone of several emerging economies around the world and will benefit significantly from greater digital connectivity. Along with MSMEs, new policy should also focus on upskilling individuals in order to achieve global development and inclusive growth.

Despite consensus on the benefits of basic digital technology, there are obstacles to the availability of finance and infrastructure in both domestic and international policies that hinder the spread of digital technology to those communities and businesses that

need it the most. The technological revolution necessitates skill enhancement alongside economic development. There are platforms and policies that can accelerate this process, especially for small businesses, and digitisation can improve the resilience of communities and access to supply chains. The panel discussion titled Bytes of Promise: How Can Technology Lift Communities? at the Raisina Dialogue 2023 highlighted the impact of technology and knowledge sharing on all levels of society.

Technology can and should uplift communities, stressed Yael Wissner-Levy as the panel discussion began. The impact of digital technology has been transformative for small businesses around the world. MSMEs can now improve their efficiency and productivity, expand their markets, improve customer engagement, reduce costs, and access finance due to technological advancements. However, MSMEs still lack access to digital technologies.

M. U. M. Ali Sabry recognised the impact of barriers to access to technology in his home country and many emerging economies around the world. Sri Lanka faces challenges in its digital transformation due to a lack of consistent policy and affordability of technology and devices. However, despite these challenges, Sri Lanka has enormous potential to benefit from the digital economy. It can drive economic growth, promote innovation, and improve access to information and services. Sri Lanka has a vibrant tech start-up scene, and the country's young and talented workforce is well-positioned to drive innovation in the digital economy.

The development of new internet connectivity technologies, such as Starlink, presents a significant opportunity for the global community, stated Omar Bin Sultan Al Olama. Governments have an important role to play in supporting this development by provid-

ing the basic infrastructure necessary to connect communities and organisations to new technologies. This will require investment in broadband infrastructure, particularly in rural and underserved areas, as well as policies to promote competition and innovation in the telecommunications industry. By investing in basic infrastructure and supporting the development of new technologies, governments can help bridge the digital divide, improve access to information, and promote economic growth and development. This will enable individuals and communities to leverage the power of the internet to create new opportunities and drive progress in the 21st century.

Technology has transformed the way we live, work, and interact with each other. As we continue to rely on technology for our global development goals, Gautam Aggarwal, highlighted the importance of three important pillars—accessibility, problem-solving, and safety. These pillars are essential to ensure that technology benefits all individuals and communities, without causing harm or creating inequalities. Ayoade Alakija reiterated the same and highlighted the importance of focusing on the basics and taking technology and policy down to the community level. Real accessibility and inclusivity are only possible at the community level. Additionally, knowledge sharing is critical to the development of the Global South as it enables individuals and communities to acquire the skills, expertise, and knowledge needed to address complex challenges and seize opportunities. Alakija also stressed the importance of Global South platforms that enable knowledge sharing, and also create a larger sense of camaraderie among developing countries. We must do away with barriers to access to technology; it must work for us, and we must not work for it.

Baijayant Panda described the important role of JAM—Jan Dhan, Aadhaar, and Mobile—in India's economic growth and development. The Jan Dhan Yojana enabled millions of people to open bank accounts, providing access to formal financial services for the first

time. Aadhaar, India's unique identification system, made it possible to link bank accounts with biometric identification, reducing fraud and improving financial inclusion. Finally, mobile technology has made it possible to access banking services from anywhere at any time. JAM has created opportunities for MSMEs to access formal credit, insurance, and other financial services, reducing their reliance on informal and often exploitative sources of financing. For the agriculture sector, JAM has the potential to improve supply chain efficiency, reduce wastage, and increase access to credit and insurance, leading to increased productivity and profitability.


Countries can be deeply rooted in their culture and still have an entrepreneurial spirit, and India and the UAE are case in point for AI Olama. For instance, the Unified Payments Interface (UPI), that has been highly successful in India, is now gaining adoption in other countries. The UPI is a real-time payment system that enables users to transfer funds instantly between bank accounts via a mobile device. It has transformed the payments landscape in India, enabling millions of people to make cashless transactions and promoting financial inclusion. Its success has caught the attention of other countries and there is growing interest in adopting the technology. Countries like Singapore, Bhutan, and the UAE are already testing or implementing UPI-based systems, and other countries are likely to follow suit. This is perfectly in line with India's theme of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam" or "One Earth. One Family. One Future" for the G20 this year. Knowledge sharing, technology development, and innovation are critical components of economic development. Countries that are able to effectively harness these drivers can create more opportunities for their citizens and achieve long-term economic growth.

—Sauradeep Bag


**MODERATOR**


 **Yael Wissner-Levy,**  
Vice President, Communications, Lemonade,  
Israel


**PANELLISTS**

 **M. U. M. Ali Sabry,**  
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sri Lanka

 **Omar Bin Sultan Al Olama,**  
Minister of State for Artificial Intelligence, Digital  
Economy and Remote Work Applications, UAE

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

 **Ayoade Alakija,**  
Co-Chair, African Union's African Vaccine Delivery  
Alliance; Special Envoy and Co-Chair for ACT-  
Accelerator, World Health Organization

 **Gautam Aggarwal,**  
Division President, South Asia, Mastercard, India

[Watch the full session here](#) 

## Panel Discussion

# The Old, The New, and The Unconventional: Assessing Contemporary Conflicts

THE panel discussed the conflict in Ukraine and how it is making the world reassess the conduct and consequences of conventional wars in the third decade of the 21st century. The panellists deliberated upon the lessons learned from the European war in terms of importance of stockpiling, logistics, internal industrial capacity, changing technology and battlefield conditions as well as the changing concept of deterrence. They also discussed the possible escalation ladder when a nuclear power is involved.

While assessing the conflict in Ukraine as it stands

### SCENE SETTER



**Randy Howard,**  
Vice President, Lockheed Martin Aeronautics, USA

### MODERATOR



**Palki Sharma,**  
Managing Editor, Network18, India

### PANELLISTS



**General Angus J. Campbell,**  
Chief of the Defence Force, Australia



**General Anil Chauhan,**  
Chief of Defence Staff, India



**General Jim Mattis,**  
Former Secretary of Defense, USA



today and the direction it has taken in the last one year, General Angus J. Campbell called the crisis “illegal, unjust, outrageous, and an invasion, violation of territory, and integrity of a sovereign nation, waged by Russian forces in an unethical and immoral fashion.” He described the war as a “clash of wills” and commended the Ukrainians’ will. Although he was pleased by the support that the Ukraine issue was receiving among democracies across the world, he was concerned that unless Putin’s will changes, the war was going to continue, even though it meant disaster for the people of Ukraine as well as the rest of the world. He also cautioned against what he called a Russian propaganda effort of portraying the war in Ukraine as a NATO vs Russia war. Instead, he reiterated that this was a war for Ukraine’s defence, and members of the NATO and the international community were only seeking to assist Ukraine and build its capacity to defend. Although this was being played up by Putin and his regime as an international coalition against Russia, this remained “an unprovoked attack on an indepen-

dent sovereign nation by a brutal regime”.

General Jim Mattis stated that “nations with allies thrive, nations without wither.” He further noted that we are watching Russia wither before our eyes, and democracies are turning overwhelmingly to alliance. He argued that the United States was adamant about its support for Ukraine because China has been watching. If Russia is successful in violating the sovereignty of Ukraine, China, that has declared a friendship without limits with Russia, will only feel tempted to move against India at the Line of Actual Control, Vietnam, Philippines in the South China Sea, or the people of Taiwan. Credibility, he said, was not divisible, and that the international community should show credibility as per the UN Charter and stand by Ukraine. “If we want to dissuade China, we must make sure that they see dictators cannot be successful in offensive operations,” he added.

General Anil Chauhan highlighted how India was watching the war in Europe and reconsidering its priorities and preparedness. The biggest lesson for India, according to him, was to be more self-reliant, to meet

its Atmanirbhar goals so that it doesn’t have to be dependent for supplies of weapon system from outside. He further noted that we are living in an uncertain world where global peace is in flux and all nations are preparing for contingency. He also elucidated how earlier, nations thought wars would be short and swift, but the Ukraine War is a one of attrition, reminiscent of World War I, trench warfare. This raises the question on what kind of conflict should nations prepare for—short intense war or long stagnated war—as each require different technology and weapon sets. In case of India, a healthy mix of both is being aimed at. In other words, for India, the priority is self-reliance, so that it can produce what is required in large numbers, and for technology, it will continue to depend on friends and allies.

—Antara Ghosal Singh

[Watch the full session here](#)

## Panel Discussion

# Heart of the Matter: LiFE (Lifestyle for Environment) for our Common Future

**A**N all-encompassing “lifestyle for environment” agenda is a chance to encourage environmentally conscious consumption and production behaviour—to hasten the transition to clean energy in the face of the world’s energy challenges and climate change. The International Energy Agency estimates that the global adoption of LiFE measures would reduce CO2 emissions to the tune of 2 billion tonnes annually by 2030, or about one-fifth of the reductions required to reach a net zero pathway.

Lisa Jackson started the discussion by illustrating the best practices of Apple in maintaining a sustainable value chain and the journey of becoming carbon neutral. It indicated how the private sector must meet more than halfway in demonstrating a thriving business community while embracing the climate goals.

Abdulla Shahid stressed that the Small Island Developing

States (SIDS) are becoming the most vulnerable nations despite having the necessary policy framework to mitigate the impacts of climate change. However, it is encouraging and high time that the Indian presidency has taken up the responsibility to voice the concerns of SIDS on global platforms like the G20 forum.

Tandi Dorji seemed glad that the Indian presidency put forth sustainable consumption at the centre stage of the G20 discussions, similar to how the monarchs of Bhutan prioritised and pushed for the Gross National Happiness that indicated that the purely non-economic factors are equally important for the wellbeing of the people, rather than just measuring the market value of finished products in the country. Sustainable economic development, conservation of the environment, preservation of culture, and good governance form the four strong pillars of Bhutan that command the entire government policymaking. Bhutan is also one of the, if not the only, carbon-negative nations globally.

Kate Hampton mentions how climate change affects water availability, which is of great concern as many cities are running out of water. Angelo George talked about the importance of water as a crucial resource; India accounts for 90 percent of groundwater consumption going into agriculture, while the domestic consumption and industry trend are at 5-6 percent each. Therefore, responsible extraction of groundwater is the primary business strategy for Bisleri. Robust rainwater harvesting systems, working with the local communities to recharge the groundwater, recycling 90 percent of used wastewater, and working with farmers to build, maintain, and repair the check dams are some of the significant initiatives that the company takes up to become one of the few water-positive companies in India.

George lauded the Indian government’s initiatives like water conservation fees and the healthy Environmental



Impact Assessment of projects as directed by the National Green Tribunal. The discussion also introduced the concept of water credits along the lines of carbon credits to promote water conservation by private entities and other stakeholders.

Amitabh Kant highlighted that the developed world occupies 90 percent of the existing carbon space. However, India envisions industrialisation without carbonising, which has given birth to the concept of LiFE. India’s urbanisation is at a rapid pace, and the path of urbanisation that India creates with the local communities must be critically examined. It needs to adhere to the concept of liveability while urbanising; the cities are to be made for the people and not for the industries and private vehicles only. Walkability, electric mobility, transit-oriented development, and mass transportation facilities are crucial features that need more focus. Such initiatives should also be accompanied by a drastic behavioural change to adapt to sustainable development patterns.

Lisa Jackson focused on innovation in various areas that industries need to drive towards Agenda 2030. For instance, using green aluminium to reduce carbon emissions is one such project that Apple is heavily involved in. In addition, local communities play an essential role, and Apple is also working with the mangrove community for its restoration.

Angelo George shed light on the mechanism of plastic recycling. Irresponsible disposal is at the heart of the problem, and plastic recycling is an important focus area that governments must work on. 3Rs—Reduce, Reuse, Recycle—should be the way forward for plastic usage. There also needs to be value addition in repurposing, that helps in plastic recyclability.


Tandi Dorji raised the importance of aligning climate action with development finance. The climate-vulnerable and developing countries like Bhutan and Maldives are facing the brunt of climate change while their contribution to pollution is much lower than the larger countries. Therefore, the Climate Pledge Fund needs to be materialised as quickly as possible, and a more potent transparency mechanism must be established to know where the funds are going.

Finally, Amitabh Kant raised the importance of blended finance and new forms of credit instruments to tackle the Global South’s risks that are region-specific. The Bretton Wood institutions should now become the agencies for financing climate change, supporting the Sustainable Development Goals, and bringing in the multiplier impact of indirect financing.


—Soumya Bhowmick


[Watch the full session here](#)


**MODERATOR**


 **Kate Hampton**,  
CEO, Children’s Investment Fund Foundation, UK


**PANELLISTS**

 **Amitabh Kant**,  
G20 Sherpa, India

 **Abdulla Shahid**,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Maldives

 **Tandi Dorji**,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs and External Trade, Bhutan

 **Lisa Jackson**, Vice President,  
Environment, Policy and Social Initiatives, Apple

 **Angelo George**,  
CEO, Bisleri, India

## Panel Discussion

# Materials that Matter: Battle for Securing Critical Supply Chains

WITH digital transformation and sustainable modernisation hinged on access to key resources and technology, the security of global supply chains has become central to security agendas. Discussing the intensity of the battle for securing critical supply chains, diverse perspectives were presented by the panellists. Janka Oertel firmly characterised the current scramble to secure critical resources and materials as a battle, while Tobias Billström viewed the same phenomenon as an opportunity for cooperation and engagement. Pegging the scenario as a competition rather than a battle, Rajeev Chandrasekhar highlighted the emergence of a new world order on the back of electronics and semiconductors, paving the way for cooperation among

likeminded nations.

Elaborating on the geopolitical background of current supply chain dynamics, Oertel stressed the need to view the scenario as a battle, just as China does. Viewing supply chains as an area for fierce competition, she opined that Beijing is aggressive in its push to enhance global dependency on China. She further emphasised that the issue stretches far beyond critical raw materials, as the entire supply chain is plagued with risks that threaten innovation and industry.

Focusing on the perspective of the European Union (EU) and its trade relations, Billström endorsed the swift conclusion and execution of trade agreements with countries across the Indo-Pacific, including Australia, Indonesia, and India. He discussed the importance of forums such as the EU-US Trade and Technology Council in promoting cooperation and stressed the need for the EU to look further afield and form alliances, particularly with countries like India.

Echoing Oertel's views on China's motivations, Tony Abbott pointed out the need for countries to view supply chains strategically and cautiously, particularly in an era of potential conflict, as opposed to one of globalisation and connectivity. He further questioned resource rich countries' internal frictions and green preoccupations that may hamstring their contribution to global supply chains, shedding light on falling investment in traditional natural resource projects in Australia. Furthermore, he added that under the impetus of globalisation, much of the world has prioritised short term financial gain over long term strategic benefit, possibly expecting benevolence from the Beijing government. Buying cheap from China, unfortunately, has resulted in an unhealthy dependency that will be expensive to escape. Countries must, therefore, pay a price to secure themselves against an increasingly aggressive



China and look to purchase from markets like India and Vietnam or manufacture domestically.

Tadashi Maeda underlined the vulnerability and threat generated by the geographical concentration and monopolisation of certain elements of key technological supply chains. He further stated that the vulnerability stems primarily from China's use of scarcity as a weapon, particularly in the case of pivotal minerals and rare earths. Additionally, he also emphasised the need to diversify international supply chains geographically, invest away from long established monopolies, and work in tandem with likeminded countries to create free and transparent supply chains.

Acknowledging the global environment of fierce competition, Chandrasekhar iterated the need for cooperation among democracies to shape the future of technology. Aligning closely with the theme of India's G20 Presidency, 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam' or 'One Earth, One Family, One Future', he called for democracies globally to come together and develop a long-term perspective on technology, innovation, talent, risk, and resources. With semiconductor fabrication facilities being set up domestically, India too is keen to expand its electronics ecosystem and grow its digital economy,

working with likeminded nations to build a secure future for technology.


The panellists unanimously agreed on the need for cooperation and collective action to establish secure and democratic value chains. Although diversifying away from autocratic players such as China is a key step forward, Oertel added that absolute, complete decoupling is indeed a myth. With their investment in innovation for the future, such as in green technology and energy alternatives, there may be lessons to be learnt from China about strategic, early investment that generates leadership positions in the future.

The discussion concluded with the consensus on global supply chains' requirement to be de-risked in its entirety and rebalanced with a new equilibrium, free from geographic concentration and economic monopolies. Supply chains of the past, built on short-term profit and opportunism are being redesigned, now anchored by trust and cooperation, to fuel just, inclusive, and sustainable innovation and growth.

–Gopalika Arora and Diya Dixit

[Watch the full session here](#)

### SCENE SETTER

 **Anirudh Bhagchandka,**  
Founder, Global Trade Observer, India

### MODERATOR


 **Stormy-Annika Mildner,**  
Executive Director, Aspen Institute, Germany

### PANELLISTS

 **Tobias Billström,**  
Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sweden

 **Tony Abbott,**  
Former Prime Minister, Australia

 **Rajeev Chandrasekhar,** Minister of State for Skill Development and Entrepreneurship, Electronics and Information Technology, India

 **Janka Oertel,**  
Director, Asia Programme, European Council on Foreign Relations, Germany

 **Tadashi Maeda,**  
Chairman of the Board, Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC), Japan

## Panel Discussion

# Rhythm of the Left: Understanding Latin America's Choices

THE discussion began with the key question—as the new global order is discussed at various summits, there are countries that would like the old order to survive whereas others who see this as an opportunity to reposition themselves—where are Latin American countries in these discussions and where do they place themselves in the next decade?

Commenting on the path that Mexico is forging for itself, especially given its proximity to the United States geographically, Marcelo Ebrard Casaubón highlighted that while Mexico has very important commercial relations with the US, it has its own unique voice in the world. Mexico believes in Latin American and Caribbean unity more now than ever. There is a need to build on its own capacities to prevent and react to the global situation. This has been the main lesson from the pandemic—unity,

cooperation, and coordination among the Latin American countries.

Taking the argument further on Latin American unity in the global order and new emerging order, Mauro Vieira said Latin America has shown unity on many occasions, especially in the moment of crisis as was the case during the pandemic. He added that apart from unity, Latin American countries have to promote multilateralism. Defence of multilateralism is now part of the constitutions and what drives the foreign policies of the countries in the region. While discussing different orientations of the governments in the region and its impact on the regional unity, Vieira pointed out that despite different political orientations, positions, and ideologies, unity has been possible. The main goal for any government is to defend their national interest, and the countries have been able to formulate common positions despite the inherent differences.

Nicolas Domingo Albertoni Gomez added to the discussion by emphasising that for Latin American countries, multilateralism is the remedy for major issues of the world. With 33 regional initiatives, Latin America is probably the most integrated region in the world. Given the uncertainty in the world, there is a need for more dialogue and to work together to push this integration both quantitatively and qualitatively.

On India's outlook on Latin America and the idea of Latin American unity, Saurabh Kumar pointed out that it is for the countries of Latin America to decide how to organise themselves. In recent years, the attention and importance given to the region by India has increased. Indian businesses are particularly showing interest in the region; pharmaceuticals, chemicals, IT, fertilisers, pesticides, automobiles, and hydrocarbons are major sectors of cooperation. The trade between the region and India

has touched almost US\$ 50 billion.

To the question on how democracies make the region more attractive to the investors, María Elena Agüero pointed that in the early 2000s, there was an understanding that the democracies were on the rise and would continue to do so. However, that has not come to fruition and now, many democracies are under threat. In Latin America, there is a need to realise that democracy and democratic practice is under threat; in some cases, the democratic institutions have been strengthened, but there are several shifts in other countries towards populism and authoritarianism. The recent elections in Brazil have raised hopes of recuperation of democracy in the region, however, there are countries like Nicaragua, that has taken a turn towards authoritarianism. Despite several serious challenges such as inequality, development, and growth, several countries in the region are continuously working towards strengthening democratic institutions and principles.

Regarding the investment environment in the region, Casaubón said that moving of manufacturing lines to the region is a positive thing, calling it as near-shoring or friend-shoring. Tesla and BMW are working towards establishing manufacturing lines in Mexico. This fits in the country's agenda for energy transition and towards e-mobility in the country. There are opportunities in a variety of fields for the Latin American countries as the global economic supply chains and economic structures shift. In this regard, India is an important partner. Mexico and India are working together on new medical breakthroughs and the pharma sector. The relations are based on trust and common vision in the partnership. Gomez added that India and Uruguay are celebrating 75th anniversary of their diplomatic relations and that Uruguay has opened a Chamber of Commerce in India to promote the relations between the two. Regional integration is the anchor for development and the political and trade relations with India is the new focus in Asia.


On the question of geopolitics and the role that Brazil can play in the Ukraine-Russia conflict, Vieira pointed out that Brazil and Russia have 195 years of relations.

President Lula has called attention towards the need to find alternatives to the crisis and to generate a momentum towards the solution. Brazil is ready to work with all the countries that have the desire to work towards finding a solution to the crisis. While talking about the influence of China in the region, Agüero pointed out that there is a need to continue a dialogue and understand the needs of both the regions. Chinese presence in the region is a reality and this is visible through the massive investments made by Beijing in the countries. Kumar added that it is for the countries of Latin America to decide and choose their partners in the region. However, India hopes that they assess their national interests; take into some of the realities and experience of other countries around the globe; and assess the risks due to over-dependence on particular countries. As far as India is concerned, it is working towards further strengthening its relations on broad based issues. In terms of trade, Brazil is the largest trading partner of India in the region followed by Mexico. With Argentina, India is in process of expanding relations, recent developments include production of radioisotope to be used in the pharma sector. India is also importing crude oil from Mexico and cooking oil from Brazil.


The panel concluded with Casaubón stating that he was optimistic about the actions and reactions of the countries of the region towards various global and regional issues. Vieira said unity, multilateralism, cooperation, and brotherhood was the way forward for the countries of the region to make an impact globally; while Gomez added development needs to have both economic and political dimensions as bolstering the economic-political values was the way forward for the region. Agüero opined that there was synergy and willingness to collaborate so as to find that unity to make the region stronger. The social development agenda was also very important for the region apart from the economic and political agendas.


—Ankita Dutta


**MODERATOR**


 **Carolina Chimoy,**  
Correspondent, DW, USA


**PANELLISTS**

 **Marcelo Ebrard Casaubón,**  
Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mexico

 **Mauro Vieira,**  
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Brazil

 **Nicolas Domingo Albertoni Gomez,**  
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Uruguay

 **Saurabh Kumar,**  
Secretary (East), Ministry of External Affairs, India

 **María Elena Agüero,**  
Secretary-General, Club de Madrid, Spain

[Watch the full session here](#) 



## Panel Discussion

# The India Lighthouse: Piped Water to All

As a key driver for sustainable growth, water remains one of the critical sources of survival for humanity. Achieving and ensuring basic water security for all by harnessing its productive potential has continued to be a constant struggle for mankind. Furthermore, compounded by the lack of access to clean and good quality drinking water, water resource management is one of the significant challenges faced by a large part of the emerging economies. In fact, better access to clean water is undoubtedly a progressive strategy for ensuring economic growth and contributes towards poverty eradication. In India, almost 70 percent of the existing water resources are utilised by the agrarian sector. This underscores the need to introduce innovations in water storage, boosting underground water resources, and managing the supply and demand for water. It also reflects the intersec-

tionality of climate change and water security that relies heavily on mobilisation of capital, technology, finance, and most importantly, capacity-building. Launched in 2019 as a US\$ 51 billion programme, India's Jal Jeevan Mission ensuring piped water supply to every household by 2024, and has been fared as a decent model to be emulated by other developing countries. Given the speed and scale of the issue is massive, India still has a long way to go in achieving water security for all.

Moderated by Bharat Lal, this session attempted to address pertinent questions surrounding effective and efficient water service delivery, catalysing sustainable investments in the water sector, introducing new and innovative technological solutions, and involving female workforce in water conversation. In the context of climate change, as aptly pointed by Lal, the source and systems are continuously being challenged. With unplanned urbanisation putting pressure on the system, the international community needs to delve into devising a way forward for developing a robust and resilient system ensuring clean piped water supply for every household.

Raising the issue of safeguarding long-term finance for water management, Maria Shaw-Barragan highlighted the need to look at water from a holistic angle. As a multifarious entity impacting health, energy, food systems, etc, the investments in the water sector need to be climate proofed. In fact, planning for water investments retrofitted in an urban environment is extremely challenging. This means it involves the environmental and social regulations, for instance, how it will affect the water basin or the sustainability of water investments for demographics. Hence, investments in water need to be robust to match the needs of the present and future population, keeping in mind the variable weather patterns and the changing climate. However, embedding the responsible use of water resources also needs to be encouraged.

With the massive increase in population and rapid



urbanisation, Auguste Tano Kouamé rightly stated that the fresh untreated water available is going to gradually decrease. This means that we will have to look beyond what the nature provides; in fact, assist nature to make more water. Best practices like recycling used water and putting it back into the river bed, building institutional mechanisms functioning in an integrated manner to foster sustainable water, developing finance models for not only clean water but also 24X7 supply to all, and encouraging the private sector to pump in innovative finance should be promoted. Here, bringing a behavioural change in utilising water resources is essential. The communities need to work together to exert societal pressure through exchange of information, creating robust systems in place to welcome finance in the sector. Kouamé also underscored the importance of involving women in the entire process since they face the brunt of both climate and water crisis.

As Sara Roversi emphasised, accelerating technology and digital transition for water systems is essential, for instance, initiating regenerative farming techniques. Also, advocacy helps in changing the habits and behaviour of communities towards water consumption. Roversi highlighted the significance of being innovative in water saving techniques—creating value out of a dormant practice. Furthermore, to achieve SDG 6 (ensure access to water and sanitation for all), SDG 17 (partnerships for the goals) is inextricably linked. Cooperation is essential, as water management is a multigenerational and cross-cultural issue.

However, lack of data systems on testing and analysing water creates a major hurdle, as stated by Hadas Mamane. This results in water contamination that

further hampers the progress towards ensuring good quality water in piped supply. Mamane pointed out that governments need to look at ways for reducing the cost of water analysis, which is an expensive affair for the developing economies. Apart from the dearth of data on water management, lack of participation of women in the decision-making process reflects the need for an inclusive governance model.

On the other, Rohan Mishra underlined the link between water management and good governance. What are the right governance steps to galvanise investments in this sector? Mishra stated the need to energise the existing investments to make them more scalable and sustainable in nature. One also needs to look at monetising assets. As India rides the digital wave, technology adoption is a crucial piece of the water management puzzle, such as utilising hydro maps or Artificial Intelligence-based technology in agriculture. In fact, effective adoption of technology, enabled and embedded in our water strategy, is required to create resources and optimisation for the future. Here, blended finance can be a useful tool for achieving water security. Mishra further stated the need to attract the right kind of financing balanced by a good governance model. Given its current G20 Presidency, India can lead the water story by sharing some of its best practises with the rest of the world

—Swati Prabhu

[Watch the full session here](#)

### SCENE SETTER



**Csaba Kőrösi**,  
President of the UN General Assembly

### MODERATOR



**Bharat Lal**, Director-General, National Centre for Good Governance (NCGG), India

### PANELLISTS



**Maria Shaw-Barragan**, Director, Lending Operations in Asia, Africa, Caribbean and Pacific, and Latin America, European Investment Bank



**Auguste Tano Kouamé**,  
Country Director, World Bank, India



**Sara Roversi**,  
President, Future Food Institute, Italy



**Rohan Mishra**, Senior Director, Public Policy and Government Affairs, Coca-Cola, India



**Hadas Mamane**,  
Associate Professor, Tel Aviv University, Israel

## Panel Discussion

# Deadline 2024: Defending Democracies in the Digital Age

WITH four major democratic powers, the European Union, India, the United Kingdom, and the United States, going into elections, 2024 will be a historic year. Depending on how these four geographies rise to the challenges to their democratic processes presented by disinformation, manipulation, and disruptive foreign influence, next year could either be a watershed moment in proving the resilience of democratic systems or it may open up a new battlefield for open societies.

With this background, the Raisina Dialogue 2023 hosted a session seeking to answer the following questions: What are the ways in which governments, regulators, and companies are working to defend the democratic process? Are the risks from election manipulation overstated, or have we not seen its true potential as yet? Where does the fight against dis-

information stop, and the fight to prevent incumbent governments from misusing censorship begin?

Democracies are under siege on multiples fronts. The first, outlined by Sumit Seth, is the mind space of their citizens. Our behaviour and preferences are continually monitored by companies through our cell phones: The choices social media algorithms have made in prioritising clicks and screentime have been to the detriment of the mental and social health of individuals. Malicious actors, in turn, leverage this incentive structure to peddle extremist or anti-democratic views.

The second, highlighted by both Manuel Muniz and Rachel Rizzo, is the attack on the legitimacy of democratic institutions. "Disinformation campaigns," said Muniz, "do not forward a particular view of the world: What connects all of these campaigns is a desire to undermine our trust in our institutions, our belief in our ability collectively to attain objective truths by attacking the legitimacy of the press, parliaments, and political parties." The Capitol Hill riots of 2020 were, said Rizzo, a manifestation of the dangers of such campaigns, a worrying signal of the erosion trust of Americans in the legitimacy of democracy and their willingness to be governed by persons for whom they did not vote.

The third, related to the first two, is the ability of democracies to act upon the preferences of their people. As Muniz concisely summarises, "Democracies listen". A free press, free expression, and the right to vote are mechanisms by which the preferences of people are injected into the decision-making bodies. Yet, when the public sphere is muddied by coordinated campaigns that prevent people from making informed choices, they attack the heart of deliberative democracy. Many present trends and events, including political polarisation in the world's major democracies, lead

to a decision freeze in democratic institutions.

All these threats coalesce around a critical question plaguing regulators: Are digital platforms, and the emerging technology tools they use, inimical to the health of democracies?

Lisa Singh saw benefits of social media: "For candidates that want to target who they want to reach; platforms are very effective." Indeed, the early promise of social media platforms was the democratisation of the public sphere, and the closing distance between ordinary individuals and elected officials. People could now directly communicate their needs to key decision makers, and access limitless knowledge to make informed choices. However, the question is no longer whether social media intermediaries should be more accountable but rather how to hold them accountable, and what is the role of governments in regulating these actors. "Governments," said Singh, "must lead the way because digital platforms are not going to."

Shivnath Thukral agreed with the premise that tech companies must be responsible for ensuring that the content they host is not unlawful or harmful. He highlighted the scale of the challenge: In 2022, Facebook identified and took down 200 Coordinated Inauthentic Behaviour networks across 68 countries and in 42 languages. In just Q4 2022 alone, they identified 1.3 billion accounts on Facebook and 9.6 million on WhatsApp that were fake. At the same time, Thukral held that while, "[I]t is our problem, we did not create it. The problems come from the outside world: Bad actors have been here since before Facebook arrived." As intermediaries, he further emphasised, "we cannot decide that one is true and the other is false."

Thukral's point epitomises a debate within multiple democracies about whether social media companies are platforms or publisher, that is, whether they simply host content or curate it. This debate directly links to the question of accountability, and Muniz believes that regulators are finally rethinking liability, in a similar vein to how traditional media was held


accountable for what they publish: "If you are in the business of structuring the public debate, you have to have high responsibility over what you distribute. In the coming years, we are going to rebuild an entire liability architecture on social platforms, equivalent to the one we had for traditional media."

Seth, pondering responses to the disinformation virus, proposed focusing on "immunising democracy" and building resilience through digital hygiene campaigns and coursework in schools. Rachel Rizzo also emphasised a grassroots response, stressing that companies "should build relationships early with people on the ground working on elections, which provides time for feedback in building effective tech responses and contingency planning." Thukral stated that the role of companies is to provide technological solutions, not solve social and political problems. He highlighted a three-pronged approach to coordinated disinformation: Remove, reduce, and inform. Platforms, he said, leave many decisions about content to their users, who can report and block content. Here, Kanchan Gupta chimed in to contend that this approach places the burden disproportionately on individuals over companies.


As the session drew to a close, the panel deliberated the core differences between autocracies and democracies. "Autocracies", said Seth, "can wall-off their internet," and democracies cannot. Muniz similarly spoke about the ongoing systemic clash between autocracies and democracies. Just as democracies enable individuals and communities to express their needs through its institutions, autocracies infer preferences from surveillance of their behaviour. Ultimately, the question that arose was this: Does emerging tech change the balance of sustainability between autocracies and democracies? In other words, do they make autocracies easier to sustain?


—Trisha Ray


**MODERATOR**


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


**PANELLISTS**

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

 **Lisa Singh**, CEO, Australia-India Institute, Australia

 **Shivnath Thukral**, Director and Head, Public Policy, Meta India

 **Manuel Muniz**, Dean, School of Global and Public Affairs, IE University, Spain

 **Rachel Rizzo**, Senior Fellow, Europe Centre, Atlantic Council, USA

[Watch the full session here](#)

## Panel Discussion

# From Karachi to Kandahar: Is the Arc of Terror Aflame Again?

**K**ARACHI to Kandahar, Kandahar to Kabul, and from Kabul to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa—the arc of terrorism is aflame again. Following the two decades of War on Terror and nearly 18 months after the United States’ withdrawal from Afghanistan, the challenge of terrorism continues to loom large in the region. Evolving strategic calculations and interests of major powers, geopolitics, domestic politics, and inefficient counter-terror-financing strategies have deterred the international community from forming a common front and combating terrorism. The result is an immortal transnational ideology that is metastasizing and challenging an already stained world order.

Terrorism has evolved in different phases—from Al-Qaeda, to vivid terror franchises, and now, to lone wolves—but the threat has persisted. Geoffrey Van Orden pointed out that even today, the United Kingdom

faces challenges from returning ISIS Jihadists and the Irish Republican Army. A decrease in terror attacks, Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, and the Left’s censure of Right-Wing Extremist groups might have distracted the public, but the threats from Islamist terrorism are significantly larger. Governments will have to engage people and encourage them to understand the threats posed by Islamist terrorism. However, the diasporic population might compel democratic governments to act ambivalently when it comes to coercing terror-sponsoring states, as seen with British citizens of Pakistan origin. Democratic governments are often exposed to a dilemma where they will have to prioritise national security while also not antagonise certain sections of their society.

Mahbouba Seraj underscored the fate of Afghans in today’s Taliban-governed Afghanistan. Despite being created and supported by Pakistan, the Taliban of today has become more vocal and critical of Islamabad. In addition to border clashes with Pakistan, and sheltering Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan, the economic situation in Afghanistan is turning dire, and women have been banned from education and employment. International aid is not reaching the people either—Afghan families have no money, food, and good healthcare facilities. With changing geopolitical priorities, the international community and partner countries of the past are less active in Afghanistan today. The US has abandoned Afghanistan, and India too has adopted a pusillanimous approach.

Sushant Sareen agreed that the world has forgotten the Af-Pak region. There is hope that following the US’s withdrawal from Afghanistan, the region will not pose any new problems. However, transnational terror attacks emanating from the region are inevitable. The Taliban should be judged for their expansionist ideologies and not just their policy for women’s education and employment. Their ideology will promote new spill over



challenges to the world. The US had a chance to address this challenge by scrutinising Pakistan, but it failed by turning a blind eye to Islamabad. On the other hand, the idea of a “benign” and “reformed” Taliban that was promoted rigorously, has now fallen flat. Unless there is an address to the core challenge, Kandahar and Karachi will continue to be the epicentres of terror.

Money runs the world; money runs terrorism, remarked Shlomit Wagman. One of the major challenges in limiting terrorism is the lack of awareness and infrastructure in counter-terror financing. There is a need for countries to develop internal infrastructure and technology, display political will, educate their financial systems, and collaborate internationally. Only with this coherent approach can countries trace “dirty” and “small” money used to fund terrorism. Such a robust mechanism is required for countries neighbouring terror-affected and terror-sponsoring states, otherwise, they risk being exploited. Another major challenge remains that counter-terror financing bodies like the Financial Action Task Force are plagued by a lack of resources to assess the situation on the ground. Politics and double standards of certain countries have also contributed to this challenge.


Rexon Ryu explained that there is no change in the US’s interests when it comes to dealing with terrorism. The US cannot risk keeping its eyes off terrorism, despite the changes in its posture and presence in Afghanistan. Moving away from its concerns of nation-building and maintaining law and order, Washington is designing its approach in collaboration with other countries. Its approach to terrorism in the region and also Pakistan will largely be defined by the US’s growing trust and cooperation with India.

Overall, the panellists concurred that the threat of terrorism continues to persist. The US’s abrupt withdrawal from Afghanistan and the end of the War on Terror have not ended the threats and challenges of terror after all. Province after province in the region is now witnessing an increase in terror attacks—Karachi, Kandahar, Kabul, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. How can the international community overcome their differences to combat this transnational challenge remains an unanswered question.


—Aditya Gowdara Shivamurthy


[Watch the full session here](#) 


**MODERATOR**


 **Smita Prakash**,  
Editor, Asian News International, India


**PANELLISTS**

 **Shlomit Wagman**, Former Director-General, Israel Money Laundering and Terror Financing Prohibition Authority (IMPA), Israel

 **Rexon Ryu**,  
President, Asia Group, USA

 **Geoffrey Van Orden**,  
Former Member of the European Parliament, UK

 **Sushant Sareen**,  
Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

 **Mahbouba Seraj**,  
Journalist, Afghanistan

## Panel Discussion

# As the Donetsk Flows: Armageddon, Resolution, or Irrelevance?

THE Russian invasion of Ukraine has visited considerable death and destruction on the latter. More than a year of bloody fighting between Ukrainian and Russian forces shows no signs of ending. Sharp divisions persist between the United States-led Western countries who have extended both economic and military support to Kyiv, whereas the Russians have received military support from Iran. The Chinese have thus far avoided extending direct military aid to Moscow, but tacitly and diplomatically continue to support Russia, and the Sino-Russian relationship is mutually beneficial with the Russians supplying oil at discounted prices and in return securing a close economic and trading relationship with Beijing. As



Vlada Galan made clear, Ukraine requires a complete ceasefire, before any negotiations can begin. Peace talks, she argued, cannot happen if fighting between the belligerents persists. Galan observed that Kyiv only considers the US, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany to be honest brokers. For the Russians, it could be Xi Jinping of China or Narendra Modi of India. China can be a peace broker, but it cannot be the sole peacemaker.

On the other hand, Feodor Volotolovskiy said that it is premature to halt hostilities at this juncture. Russia has a stronger position on the battlefield currently and has little incentive to stabilise the contact line based on Ukrainian terms. Moscow is economically stronger since the war began and will seek the Dnieper River, that is further West and well within Ukrainian control as the contact line on which negotiations could begin. He sees the Ukrainian military position as weak resulting from starvation. The minimum conditions for the Russian Federation to negotiate must include security guarantees that Russian territory will not be threatened. There needs to be political guarantee that Ukraine will not become a member of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and a sanctuary for interests inimical to Russia.

Jane Lute Holl noted in a material sense Russia may be stronger, but not from a moral standpoint or when viewed through the prism of legitimacy. There are questions regarding accountability, amidst which Russia has launched catastrophic war and China's rise has serious consequence. Despite the Russian invasion of Ukraine, Washington did not take its eye off the ball on the consequences of the rise of China. In anything, there is strong bipartisan consensus in Washington on tackling the strategic consequences of China's strategic conduct and Eeva Eek-Pajuste saw Russia as the aggressor and drew attention to Estonia's colonisation by Russia. It is up to the two warring parties to decide how they resolve the conflict and achieve peace. Ultimately, Ukraine has the right to decide their own future. It is up to Kyiv to define victory and peace. Estonia would prefer that Russia return to its 1991 borders. The future for Europe is not positive; the ongoing military confrontation between Ukraine and Russia will continue into the future, but it will assume the form of a low intensity war.


Manish Tewari drew attention to how irrelevant the United Nations has become in preventing outbreak of war between Russia and Ukraine. While Ukraine may have been a part of the erstwhile Soviet Union, but when

the latter collapsed in 1991, Ukraine emerged as an independent country with clearly defined borders. The Budapest Convention effectively defanged Ukraine by divesting it of nuclear weapons. Russia consented to respecting Ukraine's borders in 1992 and despite this commitment, violated it. When it comes to brokering peace between Russia and Ukraine no country including China, India, Turkey, or Israel can bring it about, if the two warring parties do not want it. Tiwari noted that peace between Ukraine and Russia cannot come at the cost of the former conceding one-fourth of its territory. If conceding one-fourth or more territory by Kyiv is going to be the terms on which peace is going to be attained between Moscow and Kyiv, it will only serve to incentivise aggression. Thus, there are more fundamental questions about the terms on which peace must be established. The long peace in Europe has been shattered for the second time in Europe with the Russian invasion of Ukraine after the two Balkans wars in 1990s.


—Kartik Bommakanti


[Watch the full session here](#)


**MODERATOR**


 **Ajay Bisaria,**  
Former High Commissioner of India to Canada


**PANELLISTS**

 **Manish Tewari,**  
Member of Parliament, India

 **Jane Holl Lute,** Former Deputy Secretary, US  
Department of Homeland Security, USA

 **Vlada Galan,**  
International Political Strategist, Actum, USA

 **Feodor Voitlovsky,** Director, Primakov Institute of  
World Economy and International Relations, Russian  
Academy Of Sciences, Russia

 **Eeva Eek-Pajuste,** Director, Lennart Meri Conference,  
ICDS, Estonia

## Panel Discussion


# Trends at Raisina: Musings Over Millets

### The EU at 2030: What are the threats, opportunities, and drivers for the transformation of the continent?

Wladyslaw T. Bartoszewski, Member of Parliament, Poland

Challenges and threats for Europe are mostly contingent upon the developments in Ukraine. There are three possible scenarios: A Ukrainian victory; a World War I scenario where Ukraine is pounded over the years, and it gradually becomes a state without any infrastructure, business, or people; or a Ukrainian defeat which is the biggest threat to the future of the European Union (EU). Such a situation would compel European nations to increase their spending to 8 percent of their GDP on defence, reminiscent of the days of the Cold War.

**MODERATOR**

 **Sarah Bressan**, Research Fellow, Global Public Policy Institute, Germany

**PANELLISTS**

 **Wladyslaw T. Bartoszewski**, Member of Parliament, Poland

 **Rory Medcalf**, Head, National Security College, Australia National University, Australia

 **Jenny Mander**, Professor, University of Cambridge, UK

 **Thomas Greminger**, Director, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Switzerland

 **Lara Setrakian**, President, Applied Policy Research Center of Armenia, Armenia

 **Louise Van Schaik**, Head of Unit, EU & Global Affairs, Clingendael, Netherlands



Wladyslaw reiterated that the growing populism, increasing disparity, and potential paralysis in the decision-making between 27 European members is a formidable challenge. On the other hand, if Europe can transform into a more balanced economy based on green hydrogen, it will reduce cost and increase investments over time. European countries, like Germany, should also look to embrace digitalisation because Europe is still a sophisticated market of 450 million people. Going forward, it is in Europe's interest to cooperate and form alliances with countries like India, South Korea, and Vietnam to diversify and increase the resilience of supply chains for various products and services. However, if the Russia-Ukrainian war continues to be protracted, European military spending on gears, equipment, and weapon systems is likely to increase.

### Solomon's Choice: Can the Indo-Pacific reclaim the Pacific?

**Rory Medcalf**, Head, National Security College, Australia National University, Australia

There is a very strategic contest for influence in the Indo-Pacific region across this two-ocean system that is the centre for global growth. Parallels can be drawn between Russian aggression against Ukraine and the challenge to its sovereignty, and the challenge to the rules-based order globally and regions like the South-Pacific that are a vital part of our global commons. However, this region is witnessing two intersecting trends that are both chalked through with risks—rising seas and a rising China. Small states in the Pacific are having to engage with both sets of these risks. Until recently, small states in the region

wanted to avoid the reality that strategic competition has come to their doorstep. Although development and dealing with the impacts of climate change are their priorities, the reality of strategic competition in the region cannot be overlooked.

From an Australian perspective, China's strategic interests in the Pacific portrays a neo-colonial dynamic for small states that are vulnerable to infiltration and exploitation. Such type of engagement may begin with a commercial footprint or economic objective but might also have a security footprint that follows. In such a scenario, it is incumbent upon countries like Australia, India, and the United States to work together to provide viable alternatives for such small states to develop in way that reflect their democratic choices.

## Planet on the Move: Will globalisation recognise the importance of migration?

Jenny Mander, Professor, University of Cambridge, UK

Migration is as old as humanity but is inextricably linked with globalisation. It is the oldest form of international relations positively correlating peace and stability. It is an overwhelmingly positive force for the common good. In 2020, there were 3.6 percent of the world's population who were living in a country other than their place of birth, with a vast majority of them crossing international borders in a safe, orderly, and regular way for the purpose of finding work or pursuing studies. Migrants support the Sustainable Development Goals and since the 1990s, international remittances have far outstripped foreign aid. However, migration continues to be a polarising topic.

In regions like Europe, irregular or involuntary migration has been the overwhelming focus of public discourse and policy debate. In 2020, over 89 million were living in displacement, of which only 26 million were documented refugees and 4 million were asylum seekers. These numbers are set to increase not only due to prevailing conflicts but also due to climate change. According to the World Bank, 143 million people are expected to move in-between countries by the year 2050 due to the adverse impacts of climate change. This will subsequently impact some of the poorest countries in Africa, South Asia, and Latin America.

Mander reiterated that an international resolve is currently woefully insufficient to address the universal human rights of the stateless. If we are to preserve our common future, we must direct our efforts to preserve not only our biodiversity but also our cultural diversity. An increasing hostility towards cultural diversity not only impacts migration but also the interconnectivity on which globalisation depends. An emerging trend is that the territorial frontiers are being increasingly aligned with simplistic notions of cultural identity. The technological revolution is changing the patterns of migration and its governance in fundamental ways. Digital connectivity does not automatically translate into sensitive, reciprocal, intercultural relations any more than highways or shipping lanes. Leaving culture from our policy frameworks

will result in a vacuum that is easily filled with essentialising notions of cultural identity that are rooted in narrow and superficial understandings of a nation's past. Such notions could be easily weaponised to serve political agendas.

## Synthetic Humanity: How will the democratisation and accessibility of AI, such as with ChatGPT, impact national politics and international relations?

Thomas Greminger, Director, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Switzerland

ChatGPT is an artificial intelligence (AI) chatbot that uses deep learning techniques to generate human-like responses to text inputs in various languages and styles. AI, including ChatGPT, has many risks and benefits for the democratic process. Democracy is fundamentally a human way of organising our society. An AI, whether it is writing human texts or figuring human strategies, can do it in a speed and scale that humans cannot. This could either be beneficial for society or it could take over the entire processes and subvert the intent of this human-centred system. ChatGPT has the potential to equalise information asymmetries between different societal levels as it facilitates access to contextualised information to the public.

In highly unequal societies, AI and ChatGPT have the potential to bridge knowledge divide, granted there is digital literacy and individuals have access to these tools. It is a matter of concern that the capabilities of AI could lower the costs of disinformation campaigns and aid in the pursuit of monetary gain, political agenda, or a desire to create confusion. On international relations, little sustained attention has been paid to the effects of AI or how the technology affects the work of diplomats and policymakers. This is unfortunate because foreign policy is transforming rapidly as countries turn to algorithms to predict events relevant to business and geopolitics. AI can indeed prove useful in analysing past negotiations and predicting the outcomes of present discussions and negotiations. Many countries like China, the US, Russia, and Canada use AI as an instrument to conduct international diplomacy in areas like international security, cyber security, threat monitoring, autonomous weapons system, and military power and warfare. In recent years, nuclear states are engaged in a race to deploy AI

to enable the operation of new types of weapons like hypersonic missiles or unmanned submarines. The increasing use of AI for military purposes have opened possibilities of cyber wars and disguised attacks on nuclear weapons' command and control systems. Such developments could lead to confrontation by accident, incident, or intent. One way to negate the potentially negative impact of AI systems like ChatGPT is to open its Blackbox to regulate open AI systems and ensure that each answer includes the information sources and database used to generate knowledge.

## Calm in the Caucasus: What are the drivers of the conflict in the region? Beyond the apparent, who are the key actors, and what are their aims and objectives?

Lara Setrakian, President, Applied Policy Research Center of Armenia

The issues prevailing in the Caucasus are not just a small neighbourhood squabble but has major global interests at play and dynamics that are impacting how it plays out. For the past three years, the region has witnessed a breakdown in international norms and is being subjected to a 'might is right' dynamic, where the risk of ethnic cleansing is looming large. According to Lara, the retraction of US diplomacy in 2020 and significantly reduced interest in diplomatic engagement and active peacebuilding are one of the original reasons for the current prevailing conflict in the region. As a result of the power vacuum that was created, Azerbaijan broke away from negotiations and used force to resolve the status of the Nagorno-Karabakh region. Peacebuilding and peacekeeping were outsourced to Russia, that eventually proved unwise.

Rather than what was traditionally a tripartite diplomacy, became more like a horse-trading between Russia and Turkey, that has been previously witnessed in the context of Syria and Libya. The world requires global diplomatic mechanisms to work, not negotiations based on narrow, political interests of specific players. The lack of meaningful interaction between the West and Russia fragments the field of peace-making and peacebuilding, which subsequently, like in the case of the Nagorno-Karabakh, results in competing tracks of peace negotiations. The South Caucasus region needs wise and continuous diplomacy in configurations that

do not disappear based on the political will of Washington. The cause of peace and stability needs new partners and additional weight to them. The challenge remains to think beyond the US, West, and Russia paradigm to include what other powers could contribute towards the enforcement of rules and norms at this point in human history.

## Conflict at the Border: Can we save the climate without trade wars?

Louise Van Schaik, Head of Unit, EU & Global Affairs, Clingendael, Netherlands

The EU's Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM), that was passed in the European Parliament in November 2022, is a tool to put carbon tariff on carbon-intensive products, such as cement, steel, fertilisers, and electricity, that are imported by the EU. Since the EU has an ambitious climate policy target for 2030 and beyond, the price of carbon goes up, thereby rendering it difficult for the European companies to compete in the global market. Essentially, the CBAM is to ensure a level playing field for European companies that are covered by the carbon price. Other climate measures have potentially a trade distorting impact like the Inflation Reduction Act in the US and the EU's Green Industrial policies.

The CBAM is about using the European market power to enact climate policies and hope other countries that produce steel, cement, etc., can escape paying a big levy at the borders of the EU. According to Van Schaik, there are two ways of doing that. Countries need to have their carbon price or policies that may have similar implications like that of the EU, and reshuffling is another way to go about it. For example, in India, Green Hydrogen can be considered for steel production or manufacturing of cars. CBAM can only be applied to sectors that, in the EU, are covered by emissions trading or else it will not be compatible with the World Trade Organization.

—Abhishek Mishra

[Watch the full session here](#) 

## Experts Meeting

# Sustainable Finance in the Indo-Pacific: A Network for Action

The Indo-Pacific has emerged as the world's economic and geopolitical hub and the center of global power and wealth. Broadly defined as the interconnected space between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, it comprises of almost 40 countries. The region accommodates about 65 percent of the world population, accounts for 63 percent of the world GDP, and around two-thirds of world trade moves through the region. Although the region faces a number of shared development challenges owing to its size and geography, the Indo-Pacific narrative has so far been driven by securitisation. The COVID-19 pandemic has further magnified these existing challenges. It has affected much of the global population across continents, with governments and institutions grappling to deal with the devastating social and economic consequences. Moreover, it has set back progress on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

Against this backdrop, this roundtable discussion marked the launch of Sustainable Finance in the Indo-Pacific (SUFIP) Network, a joint collaboration between the Agence Française de Développement (AFD) and the Observer Research Foundation (ORF). This Network seeks to establish cooperation and knowledge-sharing for strengthening collaboration and build coalitions on the development agenda in the region, with a focus on the Indo-French strategic partnership.

**SCENE SETTER**



**Noor Rahman**, Joint Secretary (Economic Diplomacy), Ministry of External Affairs, India

**MODERATOR**



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

The discussion pertinently raised key driving points on the challenges and opportunities on sustainable financing faced by this region.

Noor Rahman aptly pointed out the critical role of securing supply chains in the Indo-Pacific that were badly disrupted during the pandemic. Here, development cooperation plays an important role in facilitating progress on the sustainable development goals, such as energy transition, food security, gender, etc. Trilateral initiatives, for instance, the recent one kicked off by India, France, and the UAE

to undertake projects in Africa or India and Australia involved in the Pacific Islands, could prove to be useful. On the latter, Philippe Orliange, Executive Director of Geographies, AFD, France reiterated the imperative role that the Indo-Pacific can play in meeting the goals of the Paris Agreement. However, the discussion shed light on a significant aspect— combining the development and resilience agenda that urgently needs to be put in place for the Indo-Pacific.

Another key aspect highlighted during the discussion related to channelising the finance. It has been observed that almost US\$ 2.4 trillion of investments need to be generated by 2030, out of which US\$ 1.4 trillion is required for energy transition. Nicholas Stern, IG Patel Professor of Economics and Government, London School of Economics, UK rightly pointed out that the financial flows from the multilateral development banks need to scale up and treble quite realistically in the next five years to deal with the economic repercussions of the pandemic. Here, risk apportionment is necessary. This gains traction, particularly in the run up to Agenda 2030.

When it comes to defining the development road-



map of this region, debates are rife on whether there is a lack of development finance or absence of bankable projects? As pointed out by one of the experts from the Asian Development Bank, there is a lack of enabling environment and risk-sharing when it comes to distribution or allocation of finance. Similarly, the private sector players appear to be more interested in taking up climate change mitigation projects vis-à-vis adaptation. There is a need for risk management when it comes to monitoring the flow of revenues. Moreover, engaging with public development finance institutions (DFIs) is crucial since they are in touch with the grassroots reality. One also needs to utilise the right channel to identify public projects that might already be in place.

Another critical angle raised by a representative from Japan International Cooperation Agency pertained to the lack of dialogue between the donor and recipient countries. In fact, bilateral talks do take place between the partner countries but not with recipient. This can be attributed to several reasons; one of them being conflict of interests or geopolitics. Moreover, governments are not keen to borrow for adaptation be-

cause it does not create cash. It also came to the fore that there is an unhealthy competition between donor players where projects get affected.

In fact, the increasing tendency to politicise development projects could deeply affect the sustainability progress of several of the smaller nations of the Indo-Pacific, as pointed out by an expert from Bangladesh. As observed, many pockets in the small island developing states, such as Papua New Guinea, face severe governance challenges making it difficult for sustainable finance to penetrate. There are numerous political impediments encountered by the recipient nations questioning their capacity to absorb projects.

One of the key takeaways of the discussion highlighted the mismatch in how a project is defined by the DFIs and how it is interpreted by the recipient countries. Convergence can be brought if all the stakeholders, including the civil society, development practitioners, and the DFIs are brought together at the table.

—Swati Prabhu

[Watch the full session here](#)

## Panel Discussion

# BRICS Think Tanks Breakfast—Sustainable Development and Growth Agenda

THE panel discussed how the BRICS countries are in a unique position this year as the G20 will have three consecutive presidencies from the grouping—India, Brazil, and South Africa. “Can the grouping take advantage of this rare opportunity to turn the global governance narrative into one that is more responsive to the needs of the developing world? Can BRICS seize this development-first moment, or will geopolitics come in the way of a coherent approach? Has BRICS lived up to its potential as an alternative source of global norms and regulations than those developed in the G7 and Global

North? If not, how can these three G20 presidencies be leveraged to do so? What are the BRICS success stories that can form the basis of significant and sustainable reforms?”— these were some of the questions that figured prominently during the discussion.

Renato Coelho Baumann das Neves was of the opinion that although the group was meant and created for influencing global governance, however, going by the summit declarations, the actual objective of influencing global governance has become blurred over the years. This, he adds, affects the very way the five countries identify themselves as a group striving to influence the international scenario. While BRICS has a number of success stories like the New Development Bank to Contingent Reserve Arrangement, even twenty years after, it is not quite clear how strong the BRICS are to actually influence global governance. Given the fact that it is not a homogenous group and there are big differences between the member states, it is still not clear to what extent the five countries agree on regarding issues that have to be changed in the international norms.

Victoria Panova was of the opinion that since the starting of BRICS, there have always been predictions about the demise of the grouping. There has always been this notion that the members are so different, however, twenty years later, the fact remains that the BRICS, as a comprehensive mechanism, has survived and is still together. In fact, since last year, various countries like Algeria, Iran, Argentina, etc. have expressed interest to join the grouping, recognising its format and having faith in new nonconfrontational ideas for multilateralism. The fact that BRICS has not only survived but also got stronger amidst all the turbulence and geopolitical conundrum, is the grouping’s biggest success so far.

Suranjali Tandon had her scepticism about the com-



monality and cohesiveness within the BRICS. She argued that if one puts on the trade lens/investment lens, one can see that the BRICS economies essentially compete with each other for the money that’s floating worldwide, as well as to cater to markets, in terms of goods and services. Therefore, there is only as much cooperation that one can expect within BRICS. However, she noted that stress emanating from the changes in the international situation can bring the member states together and generate cooperation. As it is being seen during the Ukraine war, how Russia and China and Russia and India have developed ways of transacting with each other, so that there is an alternative to the payment mechanisms that already exists. Similarly, the European Union’s carbon border adjustment mechanism, that is going to be levied on all these economies that are struggling to transition away, also has the potential to unite the BRICS grouping and bring the member countries together.

Hongqiao Liu talked about China’s pledge to reach “carbon neutrality” by 2060 which can potentially prevent 0.2 to 0.3 degree of further global warming. She also mentioned about India’s NDC that would add up to another 0.1 degree of prevention of further global warming. She argued that although these are very significant steps taken by these countries, however, BRICS, as a block, is often seen as a hindrance to climate negotiation, preventing more ambitious pledges.

Caleb Kay brought a youth perspective to the BRICS discussion. He highlighted the need to build up on BRICS-Africa partnership, that is to represent the views and knowledge of other African countries that are often left out in major global discussion.

—Antara Ghosal Singh


[Watch the full session here](#) 

**SCENE SETTERS**

 **Ninad S. Deshpande**, JS (MER), Ministry of External Affairs, India and Sous Sherpa, BRICS, India

 **Sarah Mosoetsa**, CEO, Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa


**MODERATOR**

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


**PANELLISTS**

 **Renato Coelho Baumann das Neves**, Researcher, Institute of Applied Economic Research, Brazil

 **Victoria Panova**, Vice-Rector, HSE University, Russia

 **Suranjali Tandon**, Assistant Professor, National Institute of Public Finance and Policy, India

 **Hongqiao Liu**, Director, Shuang Tan, China

 **Caleb Kay**, Youth Policy Committee, South African Institute of International Affairs, South Africa



## Ministerial Remarks

# Meenakashi Lekhi

Minister of State, Ministry of External Affairs, India

**M**EENAKASHI LEKHI, in her remarks at the Raisina Dialogue 2023, started with the question of whether a lighthouse exists, or we need to create it. She stated that the history of conflict is as old as humanity and the Indian perspective is to anchor oneself in the Indian values of morality and righteous conduct of dharma. Whenever dharma is abrogated, natural law will produce a solution to correct the same. This is what sustains civilisation, continuum of human beings, and propagation of humanity.

The recent geopolitical conflicts and the pandemic have brought to fore the fault lines in our existing systems. What the world lacks today is true multilateralism. Minister Lekhi pointed out that post-World War II, multilateralism was created to deal with two issues—avert conflicts by pre-empting them and ensure peace and prosperity. Today, we have failed on both these principles. Therefore, the need of the hour is to introspect and reform the pre-existing structures. Highlighting the four Rs—recognise, respond, reform, and respect—Minister Lekhi said that we must recognise the problem, redress it, and then reform ourselves.

She continued that India's foreign policy is aligned with this philosophy. While India is a country of the East, with its democratic and liberal principles, it is also a country of the West. Thus, India plays the pivotal role of acting as a bridge between the North and the South. This gives India the position of a lighthouse, and throughout history, we have undertaken challenges and turned them into lessons that have further helped us with this incredible role. She added that at the end of the day, there will be a continuity in conflict, war, and the tempest. There has never been a time in history that is completely peaceful and devoid of



conflict. However, we need to find resilience in the face of uncertainty, and that is what India stands for. Our civilisational value system acts as a lighthouse, and we must throw light from our own experiences as a nation to encourage peace and prosperity.

Minister Lekhi explained that the Indian culture pro-

motes the principle of oneness of humanity. And as no human being or country can exist in isolation and no individual can thrive in a vacuum, we all must work together in this globalised world to build a better and more peaceful world order for ourselves. She concluded by stating that once we recognise that humanity is one and the pursuit of

individual happiness is fruitless, we will begin to share and aspire for collective prosperity and peace.

—Ashita Singh

[Watch the full session here](#) 

## Panel Discussion

# Peace in Pieces: New Pathways for a UN that Works

THE last few years have ushered in a sea change in how the world views and perceives multilateral institutions and their role in international governance. While the COVID-19 pandemic did accelerate the fast-growing disenchantment with their functioning and how they respond to new and complex challenges, doubts and concerns about their potential to give everyone a seat at the table and their ability to effectively respond during a crisis have persisted since the inception of the United Nations in the aftermath of the Second World War. With the war in Ukraine entering its second year, the cleavages among different countries have come to the surface, making cooperation difficult. The growing intransigence of revisionist powers and their quest to reshape the world order as per their narratives has also dealt a blow to cooperation. Multilateralism's potential to succeed increases when countries are at peace with each other and there is

a modicum of stability globally. But considering the myriad challenges that the world is now facing, the space to cooperate has decreased further.

Given this context, the panel attempted to understand on what lines smaller and developing countries think about the idea of a more inclusive and reformed multilateralism. Starting off with the basic idea of how a reformed international system should look like, Tanja Fajon exhorted the need for embracing the Global South. To come together to address the transnational challenges and risks posed by climate change and pandemics, there is an immediate need for countries to listen. The onus for this should be on the powerful countries who must bury their differences and work in tandem for the smaller, more vulnerable countries.

Categorised as the great equaliser in the initial days, the pandemic showed us how it impacts each nation differently, sometimes exacerbating their structural fragilities and consequently denting their capability to address their problems. From border closures to vaccine apartheid, it showed us how in times of crisis, the inequities and inadequacies persist with all countries seeking to protect their interests. But while securing national interests should be a nation's priority, it is also times like these that necessitate an international organisation or a multilateral body to take leadership, build consensus, and try and work to make countries adopt a more coordinated response.

Highlighting the disproportionate impact global events have on their economies, Kojo Opprong Nkrumah argued how Ghana and other countries in Africa have been facing an escalated cost of living with their economies in a dire strait and a high debt burden. For them, support and assistance from international financial institutions is crucial to ensure stability. But over the last few years, the way these organisations have responded



to these issues has fallen short, in either preventing the situation from worsening or containing it effectively. This sub-optimal response is a manifestation of the completely different contexts in which these institutions emerged and the kind of challenges they were programmed to take on. The same institutions cannot be considered adequate in responding to the challenges of the 21st century without a genuine attempt at reforming them.

This question of reforming international organisations has been a contested topic because at its core lies the transfer or redistribution of power, expanding the agency of emerging and developing countries in responding to global issues. The global financial institutions were formed particularly to assist in the reconstruction of Europe after the devastation wreaked by the Second World War. But the challenges that the countries of the Global South are now facing, with rising debt levels, necessitate an overhaul of how these institutions prescribe policy prescriptions and the reforms that they suggest.

In the context of India, Lakshmi Puri underscored India's leadership in advocating for a new and reformed multilateralism. Pointing at the crisis of relevance that the UN is facing, she stressed how a body like the UN is needed to reach at 'good peace' to deliver the global public goods of peace and security. India has been a consistent advocate of reforming the multilateral institutions, majorly the UN Security Council (UNSC), calling for making it


more representative. A complete restructuring and reformation of the body, that has been ineffective in reaching at decisions on major issues lately, can lead to durable peace. Apart from making it broader based, a necessary overhaul of its working methods is also needed with a shift to a more stable funding system that would make the body demand driven. There is also a need to streamline the coordination between the UNSC and the UN General Assembly, as the latter's relatively more representative.

For India, the presidency of the G20 could be a gateway to shape global opinion on reforming the UN and other organisations and addressing the crisis of multilateralism. While a scaffolding of international governance frameworks to temper the actions of states to ensure that they respect each other's sovereignty and integrity are in place, violations still happen. These violations persist as there is still no commitment towards responsible state behaviour, as pointed by Ivan Korčok. A consensus on what comes under responsible state behaviour and how states interpret the same is needed. Only when countries adopt a forward-looking approach on the question of reforms and are willing to cede space to other countries to work together, can the current and future challenges be effectively addressed.


–Shivam Shekhawat


[Watch the full session here](#) 

**MODERATOR**


 **Peter Grk**, Secretary-General, Bled Strategic Forum, Slovenia


**PANELLISTS**

 **Mnatsakan Safaryan**, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Armenia

 **Kojo Opprong Nkrumah**, Minister for Information, Ghana

 **Tanja Fajon**, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Slovenia

 **Ivan Korčok**, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Slovak Republic

 **Lakshmi Puri**, Former Assistant Secretary General to United Nations; Former Ambassador, India

## Panel Discussion

# Navigating a Debt Crisis: Towards a New Development Partnership Agenda

**S**ANJEEV Krishan kicked off the conversation by highlighting that the continuing COVID-19 crisis, expanding geopolitical inequality, and technological disruptions are the most influential factors that are affecting lives across the globe. Most importantly, many countries are experiencing a severe debt crisis—Sri Lanka missed their external debt payments; Ghana has a debt to the tune of 93 percent of their GDP; global debt is as high as US\$ 300 trillion—which is quite concerning.

Jenny Bates discussed the need for investing in the future. She mentioned that debt itself is not a bad thing; the ability to bring new investments is the cornerstone of a thriving nation. The choice of instruments becomes important for lending in this regard. Concessional instruments must be at a lower capacity to borrow, and as the countries move towards higher tax revenues, the instruments become less concessional. An economy's

capacity and policy framework will decide how easy or challenging it is to access capital markets. Determining who bears the risk and how that risk is being balanced between creditors and borrowers becomes another essential focal point.

Vera Songwe highlighted the importance of moving towards blended financing, because solely relying on markets for investment purposes would push down both the private and public players into severe debt. Contrary to common understanding, middle-income countries are sometimes in more complicated financial situations than low-income countries, and this calls for establishing ways to ease the accessibility, affordability, and availability of financing to serve the larger Sustainable Development Goals.

Maria Shaw-Barragan advocated for a balance between self-reliance and multilateralism. Global challenges like healthcare issues and climate change require all hands on-deck to find tailored solutions. However, there is also enormous scope for creating new partnerships, and focusing on bringing the private sector to be part of the solutions is essential.

Dammu Ravi shared his thoughts on the scope of development partnership models and their focus. The recipient countries' interests must be prioritised over donor countries' ideas of providing funds. Creating long-term value at the local level becomes crucial, and only through this channel can we move towards other instruments like a line of credit and grants. India envisions Global North-South outreach to work together in order to address welfare goals across the nations. He stressed how the private sector can significantly push for concessional and blended financing options.

Philippe Orliange highlighted the importance of strengthening and greening the domestic financial system. Sovereign lending operates on low risk, but it is time for an increase in non-sovereign lending to various actors



like municipalities. Jenny Bates opined that the countries should be able to borrow more in their domestic currency, which balances the risks and deepens the capital markets. In addition, linking lending to policy reforms and constructive development forms another significant core area. She also stressed the need for genuine collective action from all the nation-states to deal successfully with the debt challenges.

Dammu Ravi encouraged countries to look beyond solving issues of hard currency and to enhance trading in their own currencies. There is also scope for multilateral institutions to develop capital markets across economies. In addition, there needs to be a focus on capacity building, education, and training to help countries tap their domestic resources for development projects. The concept of universal payment interoperability is the need of the hour with a low-cost solution that all countries can adopt.

Vera Songwe pushed for developing countries to have access to temporary liquidity. There needs to be liquidity

institutions at international and national levels to prevent governments from being termed as being in a debt crisis rather than addressing it as a liquidity issue. Developing secondary capital markets in low-income countries is essential, and the discussion on debt and liquidity needs to be distinctly separated. As the G20 leader right now, India can help restructure the financial framework of low-and-middle-income countries to prevent a cutdown of finances to welfare sectors like education, health, and gender equality.

Maria Shaw-Barragan stressed the rechanneling of Special Drawing Rights to address the existing vulnerabilities due to climate change. Finally, approaches similar to the European Union's Global Gateway Project that focus on quality partnership and not dependencies must be adopted.


—Soumya Bhowmick

[Watch the full session here](#)

### MODERATOR

 **Sanjeev Krishan**,  
Chairman, PwC, India

### PANELLISTS

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

 **Maria Shaw-Barragan**, Director, Lending Operations  
in Asia, Africa, Caribbean and Pacific, and Latin  
America, European Investment Bank

 **Jenny Bates**, Director General, Indo-Pacific, Foreign,  
Commonwealth and Development Office, UK

 **Philippe Orliange**, Executive Director of Geographies,  
AFD, France

 **Vera Songwe**, Founder and Chairwoman, Liquidity  
and Sustainability Facility, UK


## Panel Discussion

# Democracy's Eleven: Protecting our Technology Future


THE panel discussed the importance of critical and emerging technologies, how democratic states can use them to improve access to free speech, societies, and strategic environments, and how they are at risk of weaponisation.


The panel started with Rajeev Chandrasekhar highlighting the role of democracies to cooperate in technologies to leverage each other's strengths and the role of multilateral organisations to work together in this pursuit. He pointed out that pre-pandemic, the supply chains were based on blind faith. However, the fundamentals of this have now changed. A framework based on cooperation and tangible output is now encouraged, and India explicitly promotes trade based on this ideology. In the post-COVID world, that there is a need for an institutional framework, a like-minded approach, and partnerships with like-minded nations.


**MODERATOR**


 **Danielle Cave**, Director - Executive, Strategy and Research, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia


**PANELLISTS**

 **Rajeev Chandrasekhar**, Minister of State for Skill Development and Entrepreneurship, Electronics and Information Technology, India

 **Frank Müller-Rosentritt**, Member of Parliament, Germany

 **Leslie Miller**, Vice President, Government Affairs & Public Policy, YouTube, USA

 **Mihoko Matsubara**, Chief Cybersecurity Strategist, NTT Corporation, Japan

 **Kris Lovejoy**, Global Practice Leader for Security & Resiliency, Kyndryl, USA

Leslie Miller added that even corporates are responsible for the management and spreading of information. Thus, it is essential to collaborate with governments and civil society, especially where there is a shared understanding of law and information.

Frank Müller-Rosentritt continued that with countries like Germany, competition is often posited with larger countries with more human resources, like China. He added that Germany's participation in the Raisina Dialogue 2023 indicates its interest in displaying care and investment in India and other democracies in the coming years. He added that the most important output of conferences like this is collaboration, that is, not only focusing on competing with countries that surround the D11 countries but also including them in their solutions.

Mihoko Matsubara added that to achieve the goals of a technology-based future in democracy, countries have been told to be transparent, open, and market-driven. She said that combining these three is enough only if the countries are energy friendly. In addition to climate focus, she also added the necessity for international communication that prioritises business growth and economic stability and lives and livelihoods under situations like the Ukraine crisis and the Covid-19 pandemic. She also echoed Minister Chandrasekhar's view on collaborations, not only for countries but also for private sector organisations to increase ICT capacities for 5G and any further innovations.

Matsubara explained that creating technology is only the first step; encouraging acceptance and absorption of this technology requires creating the right ecosystem for consumers. She called India a leader of the democracies in the Global South that could encourage such collaboration and lead an equitable distribution of technology for everyone.

Kris Lovejoy began by quoting how democracies thrive



in competition but excel in cooperation. However, in cybersecurity, she mentioned that there exist certain blockages to collaboration. One of these is how populism has affected conversations around data sovereignty, data privacy, data localisation, and regulations. While she validated every country's concern around protecting their data, she furthered by saying data localisation is not a solution in its absolute. She continued that conservative regulations on data localisation impact the nation states' ability to compete and the private sector's ability to import emerging technology. She further emphasised the need for collaborating on internationally framed and accepted standards and moving this conversation beyond stakeholder conferences into actual implementation to encourage authentic collaboration.

The conversation then shifted to information protection, including elections, cyberspace, and privacy. Minister Chandrasekar spoke on how there exists a mirrored effect between governments and technology innovation. He mentioned that in the past, governments ignored innovation to allow for naturalised growth; this was now being corrected with regulation and how the government uses technology. He further illustrated how the government had created norms for user interactions governed by two principles: Allowing the internet to be open, safe, and trusted space, and creating accountability.

Building off this, Leslie Miller spoke on what constitutes free expression and harmful status in a digital framework. She added that with respect to misinformation and disinformation, a more nuanced conversation needs to be undertaken so that global platforms can hold users and Big Tech accountable. She mentioned that while these actions have internal and governmental policies that investigate them, due to the innovative nature of technologies and bad actors who exploit them, these are constantly changing and, thus, constant deliberation is encouraged in this field.

Kris Lovejoy concluded that technology is also fallible, calling for cooperation, education in media literacy, and research that ensures correct information is generated before it can be incorrectly spread.

Overall, the panel touched on many topics ranging from emerging technologies to the possible access to technology at grassroots levels. While the conversation on technology futures is far from closed, the panel did bring in diverse views and points of information worth consideration from stakeholders across the board.

—Shravishtha Ajaykumar

[Watch the full session here](#) 

## Panel Discussion

# The Future of Conflict: Lessons from the Third Decade

REFLECTING on the last decade is important to understand the next decade—conflict in Ukraine, global pandemic, escalating competition dynamics that is specifically sharp in the Indo-Pacific, disruptions of supply chains etc. have led to the need to re-visit the strategic and operational concepts.

To the question of maritime security and new technologies and whether the oceans will become transparent in the near future, Adm. R. Hari Kumar said that there are new technological developments being witnessed. In the maritime domain, space-based surveillance, communication, are some of the areas where substantial improvement is happening. Indian Navy is interested in seeing what is beyond the horizon and tech innovation is driving this. He added that transparency at ocean is difficult due to its

large space and to cover the entire spectrum of ocean would require a large number of assets and is cost-intensive. There is a need to harness the tech that is available.

Adm. Sir Ben Key added that the real game changers in the tech domain are in the broader commercial space and not in the military. One of the interesting aspects to this is the green field; shipping industry is yet to make this shift in order to meet the climate change obligations. The speed at which the military will adapt to these changes will define whether they can maintain their operational advantages. Initially, military technology advances were the preserve of the governments because the threshold for entry was very high and expensive; now, the threshold for entries are retained in the large commercial organisations or with the SMEs.

To the question on the possibility that all the military communications can be intercepted, interfered with, or potentially even manipulated, Gen. Koji Yamazaki said that adding to the traditional communications domains, outer space, cyber, and electromagnetic spectrum domains are the new areas that Japan is looking at for future conflicts. Due to these developments, the warfare is becoming multi-domain and cross-domain. Vice Adm. Angus Topshee added that we have achieved the feat of over-classifying as well as under-classifying the information. There is a tendency of making information sensitive which makes it difficult to de-classify and share with the allies and partners. Today, the big difference between a human and an algorithm is the human instinct of questioning and mission commands.

Adding to the debate on Artificial Intelligence (AI) in military, Adm. John C. Aquilino said that the benefit of AI in the short-term is decision-superiority in real-time, however, it is important not to lose sight that the military has a human dimension to warfare and interaction as the world moves towards AI and machine learning. Leveraging the capabilities to the best way possible to inform one's actions and operations is the current way forward. Adm. Key



added that AI will give us data crunching at a faster rate than a human is capable of; however, it is not capable of human instinct, intuitiveness, tolerance, and understanding of the risk. Until and unless, the algorithm can consider the human emotion and the trust that has been built over the years among partners, it will be difficult to take out the command role out of warfare decision-making process.

On the question of agile coalitions, both formal and informal, Vice Adm. Topshee said that Canada is always working with its allies and partners on a range of issues and is part of multiple alliances ranging from bi-national alliance NORAD to ad-hoc exercises with different countries. What is important is the opportunity to interact with other Navies provides access to various perspectives to formulate a comprehensive way forward. Fundamentally, naval operations are the same; it is proven ability to work together and develop a shared understanding of a given situation.

Adm. Kumar added that in the maritime domain, the challenges are not just traditional or non-traditional rather they are trans-national in nature, therefore, it is not possible for one country to solve. India believes in the concept of all countries in the region prospering together. Therefore, the Indian Navy's approach towards working with its partners is based on 5 S's—Samman (honour), Samvad (dialogue), Sahyog (cooperation), Shanti (peace), and Samridhi (prosperity).


On human-centric warfare, human-capability, and the use of unmanned vehicles, Gen. Yamazaki said that the cur-


rent warfare, using AI and robo-technology as well as the unmanned capabilities, are critical technologies to save lives. At the same time, the current warfare requires the multi-layered synchronisation among the national, regional, and strategic, operational, and tactical aspect. Moreover, countries cannot solve issues alone, there is a need for the like-minded to work together to safeguard the rules-based order.

On increasing the military-industrial capabilities, Adm. Key said the role of the government is to facilitate the economic prosperity and growth for its citizens. If peace is ensured, then there are multiple economic structures that would provide the prosperity. Today, the Ukraine crisis has raised concerns over this security of economic, military, agriculture, and industrial bases. The economic model of 'Just Enough-Just in time' appears to be fragile, especially when the assumptions regarding what the war would look like appears to be wrong. There is a need for the military leaders to engage with the various industrial bases to work out an effective model to push forward national resilience. He said that India is a good example of how it is approaching partnerships while ensuring its own resilience through various initiatives such as Make in India. This is what the major countries are looking for themselves today, growth and resilience to go together.


—Ankita Dutta


[Watch the full session here](#)


**SCENE SETTER**  
 **Vivek Lall**, Chief Executive, General Atomics Global Corporation


**MODERATOR**  
 **Bec Shrimpton**, Director, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia


**PANELLISTS**

 **Gen. Koji Yamazaki**, Chief of Staff, Ministry of Defence, Japan

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

 **Adm. John C. Aquilino**, Commander, US Indo-Pacific Command, USA

 **Adm. Sir Ben Key**, First Sea Lord and Chief of Naval Staff, UK

 **Vice Adm. Angus Topshee**, Commander, Royal Canadian Navy, Canada

## Panel Discussion

# New Frontiers: Linking India, Europe, and the World

THIS session focused on how trade can be streamlined to be a smooth and sustainable process while being inclusive of international standards in the context of a renewed attempt at a free trade deal between India and Europe. India has already signed new trade agreements with Australia and the United Arab Emirates; has existing agreements with Japan, South Korea, and ASEAN; and is engaged in wide-ranging discussions with, among others, Canada and the European Union (EU). The session began with looking at India's views and then moved on to European views before welcoming Canada,

South Korea, and Sweden into the conversation.

Sanjay Verma started the session by pointing out the trade trends of goods and services in India that have increased by US\$ 25 trillion and US\$ 7 trillion respectively. In 2022, India crossed US\$ 1 trillion in trade in goods and crossed US\$ 450 billion in services. Economic growth in India, since liberalisation in 1991, took 31 years to reach US\$ 3 trillion in GDP while it will probably take just seven years to double it to US\$ 6 trillion, demonstrating the compounding growth rate in India. New Delhi is, therefore, well positioned to leverage these developments vis-à-vis enhancing trade ties with the EU. The challenge, argued Sanjay Verma, is the asymmetry in meeting standards in sustainability, gender participation in labour, and public procurement between European goods entering India and Indian goods entering Europe with the latter facing greater hurdles. It is, therefore, crucial to remember the complexities of these large trade agreements that just keep becoming larger because of the changing dynamics of requirements as Alicia Garcia Herrero pointed out.

Andreas Scheuer observed that there is a new order and thus, it is time for new partnerships as well because the Russia-Ukraine war is a wake-up call to make new settlements in trade strategies. He emphasised the difficulties faced in reaching the highest standards of trade agreements while enunciating that the Asia-Pacific region is of vital importance to the EU and the world order of the 21st century. As the President of Asia Bridge, he recounted that while Asia comprises dynamic countries with India as the fifth largest world economy, the trade balance is still quite not close to desired levels. He underscored the onus being on Germany to improve this situation given that the EU is India's third-largest trading partner. He also acknowledged that the highest standards of trade in terms of sustainability need to be addressed by the EU first.



Anna Stellingher expanded on the business perspective of the India-Europe trade deal. First, it is abundantly clear that we are currently living in a world of turbulence, high inflation, high energy prices, lack of inputs, lack of semiconductors, broken value chains, and a very challenging multilateral trading system. The last time a free trade agreement was negotiated between India and EU was in 2006, when the world was a very different place. She urged engagement and adaptation by countries, governments, and companies. She reiterated that no company, country, or organisation can succeed alone in this time of disruption making cooperation imperative. Second, diversification from a business perspective is now more crucial than ever before, best demonstrated by the inherent vulnerabilities in Europe's huge dependency on China. The pandemic and the Russia-Ukraine war have clearly shown a key element for protecting supply chains was a reduction in over-dependency on any particular country. She called for a robust, mutually beneficial, and ambitious free trade agreement between the EU and India that will signal to the world that India is open for business. Agreeing with Anna Stellingher, Alicia Garcia Herrero sought to drive home the message the EU does not just have a market problem, but a sourcing problem as well, with 89 percent

of EU's solar panels being sourced from China, with India being the best substitute in this issue, going on to say that even Canada and South Korea have similar problems.

Scott Moe talked about desires and ambitions in a free trade agreement and the intricate balance of fulfilling regional and local trade requirements. He highlighted the geopolitical benefits of the Saskatchewan region in terms of agricultural exports, uranium, and fertilisers with the business deliberations at the Raisina Dialogue paving the way for broader free trade agreements between India and Canada.

Alicia pointed out that trade needs to be pushed and promoted through political institutions to make it free in reality. Heungchong Kim observed that the changes in traditional and conventional methods of trade, since the global financial crisis and the advent of new developments such as digital and green supply chain issues, made it essential to encourage greater cohesion in multilateral trade talks and bringing in the World Trade Organization at these conversations.


—Pratnashree Basu

[Watch the full session here](#)

### SCENE SETTER

 **Tony Abbott**, Former Prime Minister, Australia

### MODERATOR

 **Alicia García Herrero**, Chief Economist Asia Pacific, Natixis, France

### PANELLISTS

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


 **Scott Moe**, Premier, Government of Saskatchewan, Canada

 **Andreas Scheuer**, President, Asia Bridge; Member of Bundestag, Germany

 **Heungchong Kim**, President, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, Republic of Korea

 **Anna Stellingher**, Deputy Director General, Confederation of Swedish Enterprise, Head of International and EU Affairs, Sweden

### WRAP-UP

 **Nicolas Köhler-Suzuki**, Associate Researcher, Jacques Delors Institute, France

## Panel Discussion

# The Quantum Gulf: Seeking Congruence within the QUAD

THE weaponisation of technology and the weaponisation of interdependence has created a global fault line in cyberspace. Challenges like the lack of attribution of cyber-attacks, lack of international law and regulatory efforts in the cyber domain, and delay of the 'mutual legal assistance treaty' gives global cyberspace place for cybercrime. Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Rajesh Pant stressed on the point that cyberattacks are the immediate biggest man-made economic risk for nation-states. Thus, nation-states must rely on groupings of like-minded nation-states for protected systems or firewalls, as there is a circadian need for cyber-intelligence with a record of four lakh malwares created every month. This forms the fundamental essence of the QUAD's collaboration in cyberspace. He further remarked that the QUAD working group on emerging and critical tech has identified three areas of strategic workstreams: Artificial Intelligence

(AI), Quantum, and Biotechnology (synthetic tech).

In addition to the collaborations, Martijn Rasser stated that the United States is optimistic about the international partnership in cyber security and cyber defence, as also mentioned in their recently released National Security document, working groups of the QUAD in emerging and critical technologies and collaborations to counter information warfare. He further acknowledged that there is an increasing effort to harmonise policymaking through transparent and bias-free planning along with private sectors in the negotiations.

It is critical to find a balance between data sovereignty and data localisation and the QUAD can play a role in the balancing act, argued Amy Hogan-Burney, bringing a private sector perspective. Further, she pointed out the importance of differentiating between attribution for geo-political reasons and attribution at the deep technical level. The major digital infrastructure is privately held, so government initiatives involving the private sector can offer expertise and assistance in cyberspace. The private sector can support the QUAD by joining various initiatives like the cybersecurity tech accord or supporting the standards of the 'Paris Peace Form'.

How does the Big Tech view the G2G collaboration? Is the private sector aiming to fulfil any development needs of the QUAD? Amy Hogan-Burney highlighted that Microsoft has a government security program signed with the member countries of the QUAD where it shares information about threats in the regions of the countries involved and a software security program to review the software code for security assurance purposes by the government. Johanna Weaver argued that Australia is not only engaged in the regulation of Big Tech at the national level, but it is also simultaneously achieving technology capability objectives at the strategic level.

Thus, it is important to find common grounds for concerns among the QUAD countries and then extrapolate these negotiations to larger groupings of other countries.

Consequently, Martijn Rasser highlighted that the US policymakers are concerned about the increasing influence of China in the operability of consumer-focused social apps that serves as a major line for information warfare and cyberattacks. He pointed out that China is claiming to be the world leader in AI, hence it will be critical for the QUAD to collaborate on joint R&D, efficient algorithms models, greenfield technology, and setting standards of transparency in AI. Regarding quantum technologies, Johanna Weaver stressed on the point to focus on quantum encryption rather than on quantum computers. Thus, private sector companies leading the charge in the 'encryption to quantum resilience' can become critical in this decade.

Satoru Nagao argued that the QUAD is a strategic grouping including military cooperation, and if Japan sought to transfer technological advancement into a

military advantage, Japanese scholars and policymakers will distance themselves due to Japan's pacifism. However, Lt. Gen (ret.) Rajesh Pant pointed out that the QUAD is less of a military alliance, but rather strategic cooperation for the Indo-Pacific region to have a safe, secure, and rules-based order.

In conclusion, Johanna Weaver claimed that the QUAD has moved beyond just conversations and has solidified cooperation in terms of norms and international law as reflected in the agreement of international humanitarian law, that now applies to state conduct in cyberspace. She further argued for strong cooperation of the QUAD, in terms of technical, practical, and apolitical issues like attributions for cyber malicious behaviour, computer emergency response team cooperation, and ransomware cooperation.

—Sagar K Chourasia

[Watch the full session here](#)

**MODERATOR**

 **Arvind Gupta**, Head and Co-Founder, Digital India Foundation, India

**PANELLISTS**

 **Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Rajesh Pant**, National Cyber Security Coordinator, Prime Minister's Office, India

 **Johanna Weaver**, Director, Tech Policy Design Centre, Australian National University, Australia

 **Martijn Rasser**, Senior Fellow and Director, Technology and National Security Program, Center for a New American Security, USA

 **Amy Hogan-Burney**, General Manager and Associate General Counsel for Cybersecurity Policy and Protection, Microsoft, USA

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

## Panel Discussion

# Beyond the Entanglements: Resolving the Food, Fuel, and Fertiliser Conflict

As the world grapples with a combined food-fuel-fertiliser crisis, the panel discussed the future of the crisis, its permanency, the unequal impact it has had on countries and people, and the role of the G20 in addressing it.

While the panellists agreed that this disruption in the movement of food, fuel, and fertiliser would take time to normalise, Gwendoline Abunaw highlighted the unequal impact of the crisis with a focus on Africa. She mentioned that a lot of the countries in Africa do not have the right infrastructure in place, and many depend on imports for food as well as fuel despite being oil producers. The crisis also had a cascading effect and negatively affected jobs in the informal sector, including those concerning loading and off-loading goods, and other jobs that were completely dependent on imports. This, in turn, negatively impacted the economy. She also highlighted

that the crisis had an adverse social and political impact, and even led to increasing demands for self-reliance especially in the agriculture sector.

Dino Patti Djalal, stated that the world faced multiple crises, namely, the pandemic, the food crisis, the financial crisis, and then the fuel crisis. He mentioned that some countries also faced the additional burden of a climate crisis. The cost of these crises was primarily on human security, and social and political stability. He highlighted the impact of the crisis on Asia, and mentioned why some countries were more vulnerable than others.

Paolo Magri highlighted that these combined crises were forecasted during the pandemic, and he cautioned that countries must continue to remain vigilant. Taking the discussion further, he asked Sachin Chaturvedi how countries, international organisations, and international communities can respond and adapt to interrupted supply chains to reduce the impact of the crisis?

Sachin Chaturvedi stated that the pandemic resulted in countries further increasing production of specific goods and even gearing national policies towards such increased production. Giving the example of India, he highlighted the case of Active Pharmaceutical Ingredients and how India was able to reduce reliance on its imports. Thus, in this case, supply chain disruption led to increased capacity. Giving the example of the Consultative Group on International Agriculture Research that is enabling countries to grow crops of their choice, and the African Continental Free Trade Area that has a greater emphasis on investment, he mentioned that there is a shift from old patterns.

Further, Magri stated that in the 'old world', asking someone from NATO to provide their opinion on food and fuel shortage would have been unthinkable, however, in a world of weaponised inter-dependence, listening to what NATO thinks on the issue becomes important.



To this, Benedetta Berti mentioned how growing strategic competition and growing instability has challenged certain basic assumptions. She added that a tool of cooperation can also be a tool of contestation. She highlighted how non-military means are increasingly weaponised, and critical dependencies will continue to be weaponised. Food, fuel, and fertiliser are currently being used actively as a tool of war. She stated this in the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict and said that Russia is deliberately targeting Ukraine's critical infrastructure, energy grid, and its food production and supply chain. She mentioned that the lesson from this has been to not have one-sided dependences on potential adversaries or competitors. The lesson has also been to build resilience of infrastructure, critical technologies, and critical supply chains. She clarified that it is not protectionism but building better cooperation with like-minded partners.

Magri then asked the panellists how the conflict and its effects are viewed in different parts of the world. Abunaw noted that whether the crisis has been weaponised or not does not change that fact that a food and fuel cri-

sis existed in the aftermath of the pandemic. Djalal mentioned that the Western governments have found it difficult to engage with the Global South on the issue of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, and many in the Global South are critical of the West. However, he added that if Russia abides by the United Nations' resolutions and withdraws from Ukraine, a great part of the food insecurity will be lifted. Chaturvedi cautioned against taking a sweeping view and highlighted how the current crisis is a result of many combined challenges. Dieter mentioned that one of the key factors that led to supply shortages during the pandemic was hoarding. He further mentioned the unequal cost of the sanctions on the world's poorest people, as well as the long-term negative impacts of the sanctions. Magri concluded by highlighting the impact of the crisis on Europe and the consequent rise in inflation and reiterating that diversity of ideas and views and listening to each other remains crucial in today's world.

—Urvi Tembey


[Watch the full session here](#)

**MODERATOR**


 **Paolo Magri**, Director, Italian Institute for International Political Studies, Italy

**PANELLISTS**

 **Sachin Chaturvedi**, Director General, Research and Information System for Developing Countries, India

 **Benedetta Berti**, Head of Policy Planning, Office of the Secretary General, NATO

 **Dino Patti Djalal**, Founder and Chairman, Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia (FPCI), Indonesia

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

 **Gwendoline Abunaw**, Managing Director, Ecobank, Cameroon



## In Conversation

# Nirmala Sitharaman, Minister of Finance, India

**W**E, as citizens of the global order, are now witness to one of the most tumultuous voyages in time, navigating choppy waters of an interminable pandemic that induced contraction in supply chains and a relentless war that triggered off worldwide inflation and sluggish growth. Amidst this turmoil, India emerged out to be quite the surprise package, staging a full recovery in the aftermath of the pandemic, and is now poised to be on track to position itself as the world's third largest economy in under less than a decade from now.

Explaining the very resilience of the Indian economy, despite these global headwinds, Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman stated that as the pandemic hit the country, the government as well as the administration deployed a people-centric approach with open lines of communication, collecting inputs and listening to the voices of various people which then resonated in resultant policies. Highlighting that India has the right blend of components that build confidence in ensuring economic growth and financial stability, the Minister invoked youth-power, and a burgeoning middle class with adequate purchasing power and a captive market. She added that technology-driven public investment and public infrastructure in the digital world can serve as the driving forces.

She further elucidated that as the world's largest elected democracy, India draws strength from its transparent yet understated rule of law, with the Constitution of India providing for robust mechanisms through its ju-

diary to safeguard the equality and rights of people, freedom of expression, and protection against arbitrariness. The contestations in authoritarian political regimes are a far cry from the stability and cohesion that India offers through its democratic system, cultivating business enabling environment that accords respect and recognition to its leadership communities. The Minister elaborated that government owned professionally run companies will continue to operate in broad strategic sectors such as atomic energy, space, and defence; transport and telecommunications; power, petroleum, coal, and other minerals; and banking, insurance, and financial services. In strategic sectors, a bare minimum presence of the existing public sector commercial enterprises at the holding company level will be retained under government control.

Lauding the role of the states in facilitating efforts to ensure investments, Minister Sitharaman articulated that India is fast becoming an attractive destination for businesses. The notion of Atmanirbhar Bharat is not to be misunderstood as a protectionist measure but is aimed at promoting Indian manufacturing, providing jobs, and taking the country's brand offshore. The policy announced in 2020, during the peak of the pandemic, was a reform measure to ensure that the country's forex reserves are spent for import of essential raw materials and intermediary goods that are used in manufacturing. The bustling business climate in India has found immense support from several G20 leaders including the US Secretary, Janet Yellen, who has hailed the country's strategic partnership bolstering in 'friendshoring'. This concept constitutes a critical component of the United States' business strategy that aims to strengthen alliances with trusted political and economic partners to boost resilience of supply chains.

Tuning into the current conversations within the G20 members, she emphasised that the differences



on the war in Ukraine have not in any manner overshadowed the problems of the Global South. Talks on debt vulnerabilities continued as a matter of concern in the G20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors (FMCBG) Meeting in Bengaluru with unanimous support for low- and middle-income countries struggling with debt stress, with India taking up the case of Sri Lanka in particular. The Chair and Outcome Document of the FMCBG, while recognising the pivotal role of Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs) in development financing, have called upon reformatory measures that can help these institutions traverse complexities of transnational challenges and catalyse private financing.

The G20 Finance Ministers have also agreed upon strengthening the MDBs and closely follow the World Bank's roadmap, its operational approach, and financial capacity within their country engagements. India, on its part, has proposed to set up an expert panel on scaling

up responses of multilateral development institutions to be able to take on the disruptions of the future. As the voice of the Global South, the Minister declared that India will also keep alive the momentum of the 'pandemic-fund' constituted by the Joint Finance Health Task Force during the Italian Presidency. In response to the challenges on climate finance, she stated that there is greater readiness within the G20 to discuss both adaptation and mitigation measures across countries.

In her concluding segment, Minister Sitharaman acknowledged that technology such as Artificial Intelligence has greatly enabled the G20 endorsed Common Reporting Standard for Automatic Exchange of Tax Information, 2014 to monitor tax evasion, money laundering, and financing for terror.

*—Arundhatie Biswas Kundal*

### MODERATOR



**Ashok Malik,**  
Partner and Chair of India Practice,  
The Asia Group, India

[Watch the full session here](#)

## Panel Discussion

# The Strategic Poser: Dragon's Manoeuvre in the Taiwan Strait

WHILE Russia's aggression against Ukraine rages on in Europe, the strategic community is also waking up to the prospect of another conflict brewing in Asia over Taiwan. In recent years, China has stressed upon its intention to reunify the island with the mainland. Now, having secured an unprecedented third term at the helm of China, Xi Jinping has given this mission new vim and vigour. A panel of academics and leaders deliberated on issues like what could trigger a crisis in the Taiwan straits and the reaction in different regions of the world to Beijing's belligerence.

Commenting on the prospects for China's invasion of Taiwan, and a probable timeline, Carl Bildt cautioned that a major crisis in the Taiwan straits could not be ruled out, since China was determined to press its territorial claims and the Taiwanese independence sentiment gathering momentum could trigger a sharp response

from the Communist Party. Pointing out that a former United States Indo-Pacific commander had predicted that China's invasion of Taiwan was likely by 2027, Lynn Kuok said variables like China's military capacity and the intentions of the Chinese elite were likely to influence its decision to invade Taiwan. Adding that, in its plans, China would also have to factor in how Taiwan will hold the fort in the face of an invasion.

Sujan Chinoy observed that Taiwan was China's historic mission, and that it could not declare that it had achieved success in its national objectives without Taiwan reunification, but it risked the prospect of drawing nations like the US, Japan, and even Australia into the conflict. Peter Beyer echoed the same sentiment, presaging that Beijing would have to consider that there will be international solidarity on the issue of Taiwan, and that the global community had a duty to help Taiwan become resilient against China.

China invading Taiwan would lead to sanctions against the former, hurting its economy. Bildt explained that China was deeply entrenched in the international economy and dependent on global trade. A conflict in East Asia would shut down maritime trade routes, which would affect China's import of food grain; this, in turn, could have an impact on China's internal stability, the Sweden politician added.

But the discussion posited the prospect of cooperation. Danilo Türk said that strategic competition could be tackled through cooperation, which had been managed earlier on issues like climate change and global financial stability. While the Cold War in the 20th century witnessed great discord, there was some cooperation in the security sphere. Türk added that the erstwhile Soviet Union and the US had an agreement on avoidance of incidents on the high seas, and that precedents show that it was possible to build cooperation to have peace.



China has used its economic statecraft as a weapon at times to blunt opposition. On the question of Germany's reaction to China's designs, Beyer contrasted the approaches of chancellors Angela Merkel and Olaf Scholz, saying while the former had raised issues of human rights, minority rights, and rule of law with the Beijing mandarins, Scholz's decision of going to China with a business delegation was wrongly timed. He emphasised that Germany must ensure that automakers are not over-dependant on China.


Grey-zone warfare has become a key feature of China's behaviour in this situation. Sujan Chinoy alerted the panel to the likelihood of China annexing islands belonging to Taiwan that were not covered by treaty obligations. In such a scenario, he calculated that China's actions in this case may not elicit a response from

the US, and that even earlier, there were differences between the US and allies on the issue of Taiwan. On the question of the role that Southeast Asian nations can play on the issue of Taiwan, Lynn Kuok said that countries in the region must make it tougher for China's People's Liberation Army to operate in the area, and they must signal to China that they may not remain neutral in the event of a conflict. Thus, as the crisis on the Old Continent drags on and the new Cold War gets a lot hotter, it has managed to cast a long shadow on Asia—and in its wake—bolstered the need to revive existing alliances and create new ones.


—Kalpit A Mankikar


[Watch the full session here](#) 


**MODERATOR**


 **Rajeswari Pillai Rajagopalan**, Director, Centre for Security, Strategy and Technology, Observer Research Foundation, India


**PANELLISTS**

 **Carl Bildt**, Former Prime Minister, Sweden

 **Danilo Türk**, President, Club de Madrid; Former President, Slovenia

 **Peter Beyer**, Member of Parliament, Germany

 **Sujan Chinoy**, Director General, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, India

 **Lynn Kuok**, Shangri-La Dialogue Senior Fellow for Asia-Pacific Security, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Singapore

## In Conversation

# Piyush Goyal,

Minister of Commerce & Industry, Consumer Affairs, Food & Public Distribution, and Textiles, India

**S**PEAKING of the India story amidst global uncertainties, Piyush Goyal, in conversation with Zakka Jacob, gave insights into India's transformational measures that have positioned the country to withstand the COVID-19 pandemic and become a prosperous and developed nation.

Goyal stressed on initiatives that made a difference for India such as the Swachh Bharat Mission. The Mission was started a decade back to ensure that India has proper sanitation, along with 24/7 electricity in villages and households in the remotest parts of India, while commencing a transformation to renewable energy. He emphasised that the availability of electricity led to the empowerment of individuals, due to which India could withstand the COVID-19 pandemic. He also highlighted how the Indian government provided proper homes to 34 million people.

Further, India spent ₹50 billion crores providing double the amount of food grain during COVID-19 to safeguard every household. Moreover, 500 million people were given free healthcare, and 2.2 billion doses of free vaccines were provided, that helped the nation to get back on its feet. Goyal underlined the exemplary leadership of India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi, who he said, had laid the foundation for managing such black swan events and relentlessly pursued better ways to convert the pandemic crisis into an opportunity.

In terms of trade, Goyal highlighted that India had already crossed the previous years' trade figures in February 2023 while thanking the vision of Modi and

S. Jaishankar, Indian Minister of External Affairs, to make the government's missions work. These numbers are expected to scale up by the end of India's 75th year, wherein goods and services exported from India will cross 750 billion dollars. Stating the reason for this advancement, he stated that "we focused on quality—Zero Defect, Zero Effect—and we took sustainability seriously."

Goyal noted that the Indian government has also steadily focused on food security. While the world was focused on meeting its food requirements, Modi foresaw the need for fertilisers in the future. India is self-sufficient in this area and will be able to produce greater quantities in the coming years. The Indian government is closely working to support the farming community to ensure that they are least affected due to increase in fertiliser prices and to avoid any food grain crisis.

Goyal also emphasised the need to create an enabling environment to attract foreign investment into India. India not only offers a huge domestic market but also vast export opportunities. He noted a huge market opportunity with 4.1 billion aspirational people in India and the government's efforts to empower them to be a part of India's growth story.

Goyal remarked how Indian manufacturing capabilities were decimated due to the onslaught of Chinese goods. India's trade with China till 2001-02 was negligible, but this trade grew rapidly between 2014-2014 swelling the trade deficit by 30 times—a 3000 percent increase in the deficit in 10 years. However, he stressed that the Indian government has currently taken steps to augment India's domestic capacities.

India's efforts to reduce its dependence on imports and build a robust domestic manufacturing sector have laid a strong foundation for future economic growth. With a focus on quality, sustainability, and innovation,



India is well-positioned to become a global leader in various sectors, including semiconductors, aviation, and renewable energy. For instance, considering India's transparent economy and vibrant democracy, companies are progressively investing in the country's semiconductor chain ecosystem.

Goyal underscored that there isn't a more trustworthy partner than India for the world. As the world faces numerous challenges such as climate change, geopolitical tensions, and pandemics, India's leadership and partnership are more critical than ever before. He stated that the Raisina Dialogue served as a reminder that countries must come together, share their experiences and expertise, and collaborate to overcome these challenges.

India's vision for the future, he stated, is more than its

economic growth story—it is for creating a better world for all. With a focus on sustainable development and quality consciousness, India is poised to emerge as a leader in the global community. Goyal added that India is presently laying the foundation for the next 25 years (Amrit Kaal)—to become a US\$ 5 trillion economy in the next four-five years, as the world's third largest economy by 2027-28. He concluded, "As we move forward, let us continue to build on the successes of the past and work together to create a brighter future for all."

—*Samridhi Diwan and Anusha Kesarkar-Gavankar*

[Watch the full session here](#)

### MODERATOR




**Zakka Jacob,**  
Managing Editor,  
CNN-News18, India

## Panel Discussion

# Eastern Promise: The Power Shifts in EU Politics

IN February 2022, when the Russia-Ukraine war broke out, divided and weakened Europe could not agree conclusively with coherence. Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Baltic countries broke the taboo, supplied weapons, and visited Kyiv to lift the morale of the people of Ukraine. Soon after, France, Germany, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) joined the call for help and aided Ukraine resist the aggression. The Central and Eastern Europeans worked as a lighthouse in the Ukraine crisis. The countries also encouraged coordination, cooperation, and dialogue between the NATO and the European Union (EU); credit for joint procurements to supply weapons goes to Central European countries. This growing collaboration between the NATO and a divided EU is very positive, given the increased bonhomie with other powers in the Indo-Pacific for rules-based world order. Cooperation is emerging on an extensive geopolitical landscape and Europe is focused on the Indo-Pacific, especially in the Taiwan Strait.

### MODERATOR

 **Róbert Vass**,  
Founder and President of GLOBSEC,  
Slovak Republic

### PANELLISTS

 **Gordan Grljić Radman**, Minister of Foreign and  
European Affairs, Croatia

 **Rastislav Káčer**, Minister of Foreign and European  
Affairs, Slovak Republic

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

 **Alica Kizeková**, Senior Researcher,  
Institute of International Relations,  
Czech Republic

 **Theresa Fallon**, Director,  
Centre for Russia, Europe and Asia Studies, Belgium

The Ukraine crisis has evolved into a crisis multiplier, amplifying the already cumbersome energy crisis and the food crisis. The war has affected the world in tangible, measurable, and quantifiable ways, and so, any war with global consequences cannot be treated as a purely European problem. Many people in Europe think India's stance towards the war in Ukraine was not strong and clear because of its historical and economic ties to Russia. India has had a long relationship with Russia; before that, the erstwhile Soviet Union was a strong backer of India on many global political issues. However, over time, India has diversified its defence procurement and dependence on Russian technology, that has significantly decreased from 85 percent in the 1970s to 45 percent recently. India needs services, maintenance, and parts for Russian-made defence technology and will not suddenly disrupt a relationship with the country. Also, while Russia offers India oil at a discounted rate, it does not mean that New Delhi endorses the war.

Russia has argued that Europe and NATO never kept their promise and countries continued to push for membership. Russian aggression has had serious global consequences, weakened international rules-based order, and led to global polarisation. We need cooperation and collaboration in the global arms race and nuclear security order.

At the Munich conference, China came up with a 12-point peace plan on Ukraine and while some European countries were optimistic about it, Beijing emerged more belligerent in the South China Sea. The Chinese peace plan did not have an actual prospectus for peace but seemed full of platitudes that could have been prepared in Moscow. Russian Foreign Minister even suggested that India, China, and Russia should work together, however there is a lot of mistrust. China should learn from the Ukraine crisis that the world will not remain



silent. At the same time, the world must remind China to uphold the principles of the Shanghai spirit of the SCO on another state's territorial integrity and sovereignty. If Beijing invades Taiwan, the international community will respond more coherently.

The growing convergence of the international community has made China somewhat reluctant to rush for a military invasion of Taiwan. China will try to close the gap militarily first to increase its capabilities. However, they are resorting to harassment in the region. Beijing

may influence elections via misinformation campaigns and increase cyber-attacks. Europe can provide moral support to Taiwanese people to uphold their freedom of operation and presence in the world. If the Chinese attack Taiwan, the world should come together to tame the growing belligerence and autocratic Beijing.

—Ayjaz Wani

[Watch the full session here](#)

## Panel Discussion

# The Android Dream: A Collaborative Approach to Building Digital Public Infrastructure

THE conversation began with a keen observation of what Digital Public Goods (DPGs) mean for the world and how they have become an integral requirement for the global economy. Amitabh Kant pointed out that in the last two decades, all technological innovations have come out from the Big Tech companies like Microsoft, Google, Meta, etc. This was due to their ability to gather and capitalise on user data. In subsequent years, Europe overcorrected this trend by prioritising privacy at the cost of innovation. He continued how India has created a public-owned infrastructure where private-sector innovations can operate without compromising confidentiality or invention and allowing accessibility. One of the most prominent examples, in the Indian context, is the move from traditional banking to UPI-based, online banking. India now has 11x payments compared to the United States, and 4x digital payments compared to China. Vaccinations during the COVID-19 pandemic

were also expedited due to online platforms like CoWin. Many other platforms for insurance, purchase of goods, etc., have also assisted in the enormous digital leapfrogging of India.

Andreas Schaal then added to the conversation by highlighting the importance of a framework for digital infrastructure. This framework ensures parallel growth in the public and private sectors. The frameworks built around the DPGs will also address the urban-rural divide and ensure human-centric innovation and trust in technology and digital identity. Finally, he pointed out how in all these systems, while countries like India are leading and innovating, interoperability needs to be ensured to a global audience.

Keyzom Ngodup Massally said how the digital world is no longer an enabler and has become a systemic part of the economy and development. She then added the importance of including climate, environment, rights, and inclusion in the conversation around digital innovation. Further, there was a resurgence of the need for a framework that would permit countries to share reusable technologies and innovations that would in turn permit a greener way to achieve the SDGs and development in general.

The historical disadvantage Africa has compared to the rest of the world was then pointed out by Usta Kaitesi. She included the necessity for Africa to learn how to make citizen centric Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI). She elaborated on how a digital system was integrated during the vaccination stages of COVID-19 and how this databasing allowed for easier rolling out of vaccines and privacy and comfort for the user. The definition of governance should include accessibility and inclusion, Usta Kaitesi surmised, allowing transparency and efficiency. The collaboration and knowledge sharing between India and Rwanda was also highlighted in her talk.



All panel members reflected on the position India has taken in the development of DPGs. Arvind Gupta furthered the conversation by enquiring about the reception of DPGs in other G20 countries and worldwide.

Amitabh Kant then discussed how, worldwide, over 4 billion people still need access to fast payment mechanisms and digital solutions spread across 133 countries. He also underlined the importance of government support, with which technology and innovation will see equal adoption in countries like India.

In response to Kant, Andreas Schaal added that infrastructure was not a reality yet, across the world, and the network still needed to be expanded and made more inclusive. He then reiterated the importance of interoperability and international agreements to ensure that apps do not become new versions of documents. Finally, he stated that while digital systems might exist, they must be utilised for people's ease and efficiency.

Keyzom Ngodup Massally then spoke on barriers to creating standards in the field of digitalisation and

technology. She stated that for the United Nations Development Programme, the technology is not what is at the heart of DPIs but rather the interoperability and reusability of said technologies. Usta Kaitesi discussed how the SDGs are about partnership, and partnership is represented in diversity. She furthered this thought by including the need to educate the population on technology, like the Connect Rwanda campaign. She summarised her beliefs by poignantly stating that the issue's core is permitting access.

The conversation overall discussed the necessity of DPIs and India's journey so far in developing and incorporating the same across different sectors, how the world sees India as a leader in the field of DPIs, and is using this stance to build partnerships that will help in global growth, development, inclusion, and accessibility.

—Shravishtha Ajaykumar

[Watch the full session here](#)

## Ministerial Remarks

# Rajkumar Ranjan Singh, Minister of State for External Affairs, India

**S**PEAKING of the India story amidst global uncertainties, Piyush Goyal, in conversation with Zakka Jacob, gave insights into India's transformational measures that have positioned the country to withstand the COVID-19 pandemic and become a prosperous and developed nation.

Rajkumar Ranjan Singh, in his ministerial remarks, highlighted the trying times that we find ourselves in and placed India as the catalyst for transformative change. He spoke about the significance of forums like the Raisina Dialogue and emphasised on the need for such conversations. Not only do they offer a platform to address the political upheavals, rivalries, and ambitions that cast a shadow on the promise of a peaceful world, but also allow conversations on partnerships, alliances, and coalitions that navigate turbulent multilateral waters and provide stability and new ideas to global governance frameworks.

At a time when war, geopolitical conflict, and terrorism have plagued our societies as we continue to deal with severe economic hardships, natural disasters, and shortage of food and energy, the conversations at the Raisina Dialogue 2023 offered a sense of optimism—an optimism that the Minister attributed to India's role on the world stage.

Heralding the slogan for the G20 Presidency, India carries a civilisational view of universal oneness. Enriched by an ancient belief that all living beings are composed of the same five elements, India is well-positioned to serve as the 'lighthouse in the tempest.' Its expertise is geared towards decentralising globalisation while hedging against the risks it carries with it and working towards human-centric development.

There is a strong precedent for India's role as the



catalyst for change. India has deployed digital public goods in universal identification, financial payments, direct benefit transfers, digital health, commerce, industry, and logistics. It has also spearheaded projects and initiatives like the International Solar Alliance, Coalition for Disaster Resilient Infrastructure, Mission LiFE, and boasts noteworthy capacity building programmes related to humanitarian assistance and disaster relief. More-

over, during the time of crisis, India exported COVID-19 vaccines and medicines to over 150 countries.

As the Minister highlighted, India's foreign policy is people-centric wherein values of accommodation and representation blossom, giving it a strong character. A democracy through and through, India's foreign policy is inspired by its citizens' views, aspirations, and choices. India seeks a demand-driven, transparent, empowerment-oriented, and environment-friendly de-

velopment approach with its development partners while ensuring respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity. It looks forward to simple, stable, scalable, and sustainable solutions from all over the world to ensure the betterment of people.

—Parag Dass

[Watch the full session here](#) 

## Panel Discussion

# Showstopper: Currencies of Power and Persuasion: Reflections on the Future

THE panel discussion explored the idea that the future may be determined by how countries manage technology and digital platforms, economic instruments, and new-age supply chains. Introducing the session, Justin Bassi observed that in the decades of globalisation following the Second World War, a dominant view emerged that interconnectedness through trade would result in less conflict. In recent years, however, it has become evident that once interconnectedness becomes economic interdependency, a power imbalance forms, and different value sets or acts of coercion could in fact lead to conflict. Similarly, while there is much to be gained from the new technological age, instances of interconnectedness are leading to tech dependency, which in turn are giving rise to “acts of coercion at a super-charged level across societies”.

Reinhard Bütikofer pointed to the dangers of scientific and technological collaboration with authoritarian regimes, and the latter’s reach into democratic societies

through various means, including the export of malign technologies. Bütikofer noted that we “do have a positive future, but only on one strategic condition”—that we “fully appreciate the cultural, philosophical, and political framing of the necessary battle against authoritarian regimes.” He cited a recent study by the Australian Strategic Policy Institute that showed that China leads in 37 out of 44 critical technology sectors. He felt that advanced and middle-income countries could do much more to protect their industrial base by cooperating with one another and entering into strategic raw material partnerships with other resource-rich developing nations. It is important, Bütikofer argued, that “we do not find ourselves defending the traditional privilege of the industrialised North against societies in developing nations that would like to rise.”

According to Jane Holl Lute, governments today are struggling to define their roles with respect to technology, and to address two questions in particular: How do we architect systems we trust from technological components we can’t? And how do we safeguard information and identities in a milieu where data centrality is a reality, but data liquidity is imperative? Lute felt that globally not enough attention was being paid to the need to strengthen cybersecurity, despite the growth in cyber-threats. Two additional areas in which she said governments must act swiftly are to prevent the exponential use of lethal weapons by hostile governments and individuals; and to help curb the spread of disinformation and misinformation. She concluded that people expect governments to tell the truth in a timely manner, and governments, for their part, expect citizens to seek information and not entertainment.

Isaiah Wilson III commented that geopolitically and geostrategically, the world is experiencing a moment of dramatic change today; “this change is of a type, scope, and scale that is outpacing the ability of institutions and leaders to adapt, innovate, and respond.” Historically, each technological revolution has created a lag between



societies and governments, and also caused shifts in governments’ social compacts with one another. These are perilous moments, and could lead to great power conflicts, particularly because the tendency in these circumstances is to withdraw from multilateralism and collective approaches and to resort to ‘self-help solutions’ instead. Ultimately, Wilson observed, it is not the fundamental nature of contemporary war that has changed but its character. The key danger of emerging technologies is their demonstrated ability to overtake the capacity of governments to act.


Gunda Reire focused on the war in Ukraine and emphasised that Russia has perpetrated crimes and violence in Ukraine for several decades now. She felt that the sanctions imposed against Russia had already begun to have the desired effect on its ability to finance its war machine, and consequently to a weakening of its military capabilities. According to her, Russia was “running out of technology” or its capacity to import or manufacture combat drones, vehicles, and chemicals. A firm decision not to supply dual-use technology to Russia, she argued, could contribute to the eventual restoration of peace and justice in Ukraine.

The session concluded with the interventions of Vinay Mohan Kwatra who outlined the process and impacts of digital transformation in India. He observed that India’s digital transformation is pegged to two


binaries—open versus closed technologies, and public goods versus private gain. In the former case, India has consciously opted for openness when it comes to digital technologies. In the latter case, India has deliberately prioritised the creation of digital public infrastructure and the ‘digital public goods’ approach. These foundations have underlain India’s efforts to integrate technology into society and built on PM Modi’s core belief that digital technologies could play a transformative role in the delivery of governance. Kwatra pointed out that India’s digital transformation journey has led to greater accountability; an extraordinary increase in transparency; a reduction in corruption; the widespread use of open-source technologies that has boosted trust in people and processes; and the empowerment of individuals through seamless public service delivery. Financial inclusion is one of the many areas in which tech interventions have benefited citizens. Kwatra ended by noting that the adoption or adaptation of some of these approaches by other developing countries could prove beneficial for their citizens as well.


—Anirban Sarma


**MODERATOR**


 **Justin Bassi**, Executive Director, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia


**PANELLISTS**

 **Vinay Mohan Kwatra**, Foreign Secretary, India

 **Gunda Reire**, Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Latvia

 **Reinhard Bütikofer**, Member of European Parliament, Germany

 **Jane Holl Lute**, Former Deputy Secretary, US Department of Homeland Security, USA

 **Isaiah Wilson III**, President, Joint Special Operations University, USA

[Watch the full session here](#) 







**RAISINA**

DIALOGUE 2023

PROVOCATION, UNCERTAINTY, TURBULENCE:  
**LIGHTHOUSE  
IN THE TEMPEST?**

AGENDA



# Raisina Dialogue 2023 Agenda

DAY ONE Thursday, March 2, 2023	
1830-1930	<b>Inaugural Session at Durbar</b>
1930-1945	Transition
1945-2145 Inaugural Dinner (By Invite Only)	<p><i>Shahjehan</i> <b>Lessons and Look Ahead: Black Swans and Lighthouses</b></p> <p>The world is witnessing the very war it had built institutions to prevent. We have emerged from a pandemic that could have been mitigated had relevant institutions acted quickly and decisively. And our institutions are fumbling in their response to climate change. Mis-steps, mis-assessments, and misunderstandings have defined the better part of this century. From the Global Financial Crisis to today's multiple crises, nations and global institutions are struggling to align strong short-term impulses with longer-term obligations to community, society, and planet.</p> <p>This panel will explore the lessons that can be drawn from this long third decade of the 21st century. What dangers lurk and what opportunities must be seized? What must be discarded, whether institutions or approaches? And what frameworks, partnerships, and ideas must be incentivised and invested in? Who are the actors best placed to do this?</p> <p><b>Welcome Remarks:</b> <b>Vinay Mohan Kwatra</b>, Foreign Secretary, India</p> <p><b>Dinner Discussion:</b> <b>Catherine Colonna</b>, Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs, France <b>James Cleverly</b>, Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Affairs, UK <b>Lars Løkke Rasmussen</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Denmark <b>Retno Marsudi</b>, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Indonesia <b>Bill Gates</b>, Co-Chair, Bill &amp; Melinda Gates Foundation, USA Moderator: <b>Samir Saran</b>, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1945-2145	<p><i>Mumtaz</i> <b>Equitable, Accessible and Quality Healthcare: Responding through Investments, Partnerships and Technology</b></p> <p>The world is acutely aware that social, economic, and human resilience requires new systems and partnerships. These allow the benefits of technology and innovation to flow to those that need them most. This panel will discuss a blueprint for an inclusive global health model—one that catalyses knowledge-sharing and technology transfer from R&amp;D hubs to populations in the developing world. Such a model should not only expedite access to vaccines, therapeutics, diagnostics, digital public goods, and telemedicine amid a health crisis, but also bridge the global gap between research and product delivery for existing health issues.</p> <p>What have been the learnings from the pandemic regarding access to life-saving technology? How can we create a global framework for technology transfer, financial commitments, and corporate responsibility? What role do platforms such as the G20 and IPEC play? How do we ensure marginalised groups, women, and under-served geographies are at the centre of efforts around access? How can the relationship between government and private enterprise be strengthened to ensure that access to the latest medical innovations can be scaled swiftly across countries?</p> <p><b>Keynote Address:</b> <b>Mansukh Mandaviya</b>, Minister of Health and Family Welfare, India</p> <p><b>Dinner Discussion:</b> <b>V. K. Paul</b>, Member, NITI Aayog, India <b>Sachiko Imoto</b>, Senior Vice President, Japan International Cooperation Agency, Japan <b>Shamika Ravi</b>, Member, Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, India <b>Ricardo Baptista Leite</b>, Member of Parliament, Portuguese National Parliament, Portugal <b>Rajat Khosla</b>, Director, United Nations University, International Institute on Global Health Moderator: <b>Anjali Nayyar</b>, Executive Vice-President, Global Health Strategies, India</p>

## DAY ONE Thursday, March 2, 2023

	<p><i>Roshanara</i> <b>Affordable Aspirations: Mitigation, Adaptation and Finance</b></p> <p>Global poverty cannot be the world's mitigation strategy: The biggest contributor to keeping emissions low is poverty and energy insecurity in the developing world. Urgent, substantial, and affordable finance is needed for a climate adaptation that serves communities under stress, even as pools of capital are deployed for climate mitigation globally.</p> <p>How do we align the energy transition imperative with the development agenda? Can financial commitments to climate action be enhanced without cannibalising financing to broader development priorities? How can pools of global capital—public, private, institutional, multilateral, and philanthropic—be synergised to maximise adaptation and resilience of vulnerable geographies?</p> <p><b>V. Anantha Nageswaran</b>, Chief Economic Advisor, Government of India, India <b>Mallika Ishwaran</b>, Chief Economist, Shell, UK <b>Nathalie Tocci</b>, Director, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Italy <b>Amar Bhattacharya</b>, Senior Fellow, Global Economy and Development, Brookings Institute, USA <b>Vera Songwe</b>, Founder and Chairwoman, Liquidity and Sustainability Facility, UK Moderator: <b>Kira Vinke</b>, Head, Center for Climate and Foreign Policy, German Council on Foreign Relations, Germany</p>
1945-2145	<p><i>Jehangir</i> <b>Planet Interrupted: Ransomware, Malware, Wolfwarriors</b></p> <p>The question of who controls the information pipes—private companies, governments, professional editors, or algorithms—is one that disproportionately affects what is broadcast on media platforms. Ubiquitous algorithms have dehumanised speech, reporting, and, indeed, journalism, with traditional media companies working overtime to keep pace with rapid-fire digital and social media cycles, often compromising on norms and ethics in the process.</p> <p>What safeguards do democracies need to counter threats from algorithm-driven invisible censors while retaining the core values of a free society? Must individuals, companies, and the state be mutual adversaries or should they be persuaded to be allies in the effort to keep the public square open, free, and civilised? Can a new consensus be forged to protect the integrity of liberal democracy?</p> <p><b>Sanjay Bahl</b>, Director General, Indian Computer Emergency Response Team, India <b>Manon Le Blanc</b>, Head of Cyber Policy, European External Action Service <b>Hoda A. Al Khzaimi</b>, Director of Emerging Technologies, NYU, UAE <b>Mallory Knodel</b>, Chief Technology Officer, Center for Democracy and Technology, USA <b>Kamilia Amdouni</b>, Public Policy Advisor, CyberPeace Institute, Switzerland Moderator: <b>Kaja Ciglic</b>, Senior Director, Digital Diplomacy, Microsoft, USA</p>
2145-2220	Break
2220-2310 Conversations over Kahwa	<p><i>Mumtaz</i> <b>The Liberal Conundrum: Whose Democracy is it Anyway?</b></p> <p>Elections and liberal institutions need not always go hand-in-hand. Institutions can wither without public accountability. Equally, an assault on the legitimacy of elections and popular mandates can lead to the decay of democratic nations. Electoral autocracy, a term made popular by a section of the commentariat, is as persuasive and yet as feckless as anarchic mobilisations.</p> <p>Is the liberal elite criticism of supposed institutional decay fundamentally undemocratic? Is the rise in populism globally a threat to democracy, or is it instead an indication of its strength and resilience? Is there any one model of functional democracy, or are there ways in which the emerging world challenges eurocentric conceptions of democratic functioning?</p> <p><b>Sanjeev Sanyal</b>, Member, Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, India <b>Balázs Orbán</b>, Political Director, Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, Hungary <b>James Carafano</b>, Vice President, Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy, The Heritage Foundation, USA <b>Velina Tchakarova</b>, Founder, For a Conscious Experience, Austria <b>Tripurdaman Singh</b>, Postdoctoral Fellow, University of London, UK Moderator: <b>Marya Shakil</b>, Senior Political Editor, CNN News18, India</p>

## DAY ONE Thursday, March 2, 2023

### Roshanara **Red, White or Blue: The Divided States of America**

The United States has become one of the world's most politically and socially divided countries. The limitations of a compulsive binary political choice between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party have exacerbated political contestation. Issues like immigration and abortion have upended the course of political options and voting in the US. Worryingly, these divisions have an impact on domestic and foreign policy choices, and on America's global role.

How will the sharp political and social divisions in American society impact its global image? How does a divided Congress impede Biden's agenda? Can the Republicans reclaim the White House in 2024? Will that heal or worsen divisions? And what does all this mean for the "systemic competition" with China?

**Mariam Wardak**, Founder, Her Afghanistan, USA

**Dhruva Jaishankar**, Executive Director, Observer Research Foundation America, USA

**Leslie Vinjamuri**, Director, US and the Americas Programme; Dean, Queen Elizabeth II Academy, Chatham House, UK

**Paul Kapur**, Professor, Naval Postgraduate School, USA

**Rachel Rizzo**, Senior Fellow, Europe Centre, Atlantic Council, USA

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

## DAY TWO Friday, March 3, 2023

0900-0910

### Ministerial Remarks

**V. Muraleedharan**, Minister of State for External Affairs, India

0910-0950

Panel Discussion

### The Quad Squad: Power and Purpose of the Polygon

The Quad evokes images of security partnership, of a development alliance, and even of a consultative committee. One and a half years since the first Leaders' Summit, the Quad is now facing a choice between focusing on its core identity, or seeking the benefits that might come from being a more amorphous and reactive grouping.

As nations shift their attention to growth and the reconfiguration of their global economic partnerships, how will the Quad remain relevant? How does the re-emergence of land war in Europe implicate the future of a maritime grouping in the Indo-Pacific? The US has signed an ambitious tech partnership with Australia and the UK; is part of the I2U2 focused on West Asia; has entered into a new bilateral technology agreement with India; and has a close tech alliance with Japan. How do these overlapping agreements and partnerships integrate with the Quad's tech agenda? What path can it pick between a tight, action-focused coalition and a relatively minimalist ambition that might more easily incorporate other actors in the Indo-Pacific?

**Antony J. Blinken**, Secretary of State, USA

**Hayashi Yoshimasa**, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Japan

**Penny Wong**, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Australia

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

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

0950-1040

Panel Discussion

### The New High Table: Realigning the G20 in a Changing World

The G20 has a history spanning decades. But it truly emerged as a global power forum through its response to the Global Financial Crisis. Fifteen years on and in the post-Covid world, the challenges of 2008 have given way to new global problems that vie for the G20's attention.

How can a grouping traditionally driven by technocratic approaches to global finance reimagine itself as a platform where practicable solutions to multi-dimensional problems can be identified and implemented? How can the G20 initiatives be redefined, made more inclusive, and sustained across multiple presidencies? Do conversations within the G20 accurately reflect the broader fault lines in geopolitics?

**Josep Borrell Fontelles**, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, and Vice-President of the European Commission

**Marcelo Ebrard Casaubón**, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mexico

**Mélanie Joly**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Canada

**Md. Shahriar Alam**, State Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bangladesh

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

1040-1110

Break

1110-1150

Panel Discussion

### A Region of Opportunities: From the Mediterranean to the Arabian Sea

With a new vision for the future, countries in West Asia and North Africa are focussed on creating new opportunities for their people and for others who engage with them.

What are the creative partnerships that are shaping the region and what is driving this cooperation? What are the forms and formats of collaboration that are most prolific? How can the region transition from being an area often identified with the energy trade to one that is the hub of innovation and growth? Finally, are the national aspirations of individual countries reconcilable into a regional roadmap?

**Sameh Hassan Shoukry Selim**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Egypt

**Sayyid Badr bin Hamad bin Hamood Albusaidi**, Foreign Minister, Oman

**Reem Ebrahim Al Hashimy**, Minister of State for International Cooperation, UAE

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

Moderator: **Mina Al-Oraibi**, Editor in Chief, The National, UAE

1150-1205

Break

**DAY TWO Friday, March 3, 2023**

1205-1235	<p><b>In Conversation</b></p> <p><b>Sergey Lavrov</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Russia  <b>Sunjoy Joshi</b>, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1235-1435 Lunch Conversations (By Invite Only)	<p><i>Shahjehan:</i> <b>Just Transitions: Old Fuels, New Energy, and Persistent Aspirations</b></p> <p><b>Scene Setter:</b> <b>Suman Bery</b>, Vice Chairman, NITI Aayog, India</p> <p><b>Panel Discussion:</b></p> <p>An unimaginative approach to energy choices can result in mass deprivation, energy insecurity, rising fuel bills, and political instability. There are lessons the world can draw from the past year to reconfigure energy baskets that allow affordable and on-tap energy to a planet that now hosts 8 billion people, where trust in globalisation is in retreat, and energy flows have been weaponised.</p> <p>As political discourse pursues new fuels and energy options—such as hydrogen, solar, and wind—what is the rational space for coal, gas, oil, and other hydrocarbon sources? How can energy policy minimise collateral damage for developing countries? Restive and aspirational populations in search of energy access will demand a new paradigm; what could that look like? What are the interests driving contemporary propositions of incumbent energy behemoths and new energy actors? And how do political leaders navigate these complementary and competing choices?</p> <p><b>Tharman Shanmugaratnam</b>, Senior Minister, Singapore  <b>Jo Tyndall</b>, Director, Environment Directorate, OECD  <b>Nicholas Stern</b>, IG Patel Professor of Economics and Government, London School of Economics, UK  <b>Nitin Prasad</b>, Chairman, Shell India  <b>Ebtesam Al-Ketbi</b>, President, Emirates Policy Centre, UAE  Moderator: <b>Jayant Sinha</b>, Member of Parliament, India</p>
	<p><i>Mumtaz:</i> <b>The Startup Planet: Reclaiming Half The Sky</b></p> <p><b>Scene Setter:</b> <b>Jagannatha Kumar</b>, CEO, Reliance Foundation, India</p> <p><b>Panel Discussion:</b></p> <p>Policymakers around the world are mobilising the start-up sector to catalyse a more dynamic and inclusive form of growth. Start-ups, especially those fostered by strides in digital connectivity and innovation, are turning individuals previously detached from the global economy into 21st-century entrepreneurs. This might be especially true for women.</p> <p>How can the start-up community be made more diverse and inclusive? How can governments and corporations provide an impetus to women-led founders in starting and scaling up their ventures? Globally, what examples exist of supportive infrastructure and policies to facilitate a gender-friendly start-up ecosystem?</p> <p><b>Priyanka Chaturvedi</b>, Member of Parliament, India  <b>Laura Lane</b>, Executive Vice President and Chief Corporate Affairs and Sustainability Officer, UPS, USA  <b>Sandhya Devanathan</b>, Vice President, Meta India  <b>Rebecca Razavi</b>, Head of Public Policy &amp; Economic Graph, Asia-Pacific, LinkedIn, USA  <b>Neira Dali Chaouch</b>, Secretary General, Algerian Tech Women &amp; Women in AI, Algeria  Moderator: <b>Vanita Sharma</b>, Advisor, Strategic Initiatives, Reliance Foundation, India</p>

**DAY TWO Friday, March 3, 2023**

1235-1435 Lunch Conversations (By Invite Only)	<p><i>Roshanara:</i> <b>The Double Engine of Growth: India, Bangladesh, BIMSTEC, and the Indo-Pacific</b></p> <p>Together, India and Bangladesh will motivate an entrepreneur-led economy and set the development agenda for an entire region. Their experience in poverty reduction, women-led growth, and governance innovation will help propagate new models of bottom-up policy design relevant for the Global South. Greater integration between their economies will allow for new models of trade and investment; together, the two countries can also reshape the connectivity map of the region by catalysing sustainable investment into quality infrastructure.</p> <p>As growth models are shaped by the region for the region, this high-level discussion will consider how this crucial “double-engine” partnership can strengthen institutional arrangements in the region to ensure widespread prosperity.</p> <p><b>Farzana Mahmood</b>, Advocate; Member, Awami League Sub-Committee on Environment, Bangladesh  <b>Tania Amir</b>, Advocate, Bangladesh  <b>Mohammad Arafat</b>, Professor, Canadian University of Bangladesh; Chairman, Suchinta Foundation, Bangladesh  <b>Sreeradha Datta</b>, Professor, Jindal School of International Affairs, O.P. Jindal Global University, India  <b>Nilanjan Ghosh</b>, Director, Centre for New Economic Diplomacy, Observer Research Foundation, India  Moderator: <b>Pankaj Saran</b>, Convenor, NatStrat, India</p>
	<p><i>Jehangir:</i> <b>Ministerial Interaction with the Raisina Young Fellows: Healing a Divided World</b></p> <p>How should we, in democratic societies, respond to polarisation? What kind of leadership is required in this moment of upheaval, turbulence, and division?</p> <p><b>M.U.M. Ali Sabry</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sri Lanka  <b>Naledi Pandor</b>, Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa  <b>Tanja Fajon</b>, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Slovenia  Moderator: <b>Shashi Tharoor</b>, Member of Parliament, India</p>
1435-1515 Panel Discussion	<p><b>Turbulence, Temperament, and Temerity: Leadership in the Age of Uncertainty</b></p> <p><b>Tony Blair</b>, Former Prime Minister, UK  <b>Kevin Pieterse</b>, Former Captain, Men’s Cricket Team, England  <b>S. Jaishankar</b>, Minister of External Affairs, India  Moderator: <b>Palki Sharma</b>, Managing Editor, Network18, India</p>
1515-1605 Panel Discussion	<p><b>The Emerging Consensus: G20 &amp; the Development Imperative</b></p> <p>While the G20 has long deliberated on development-related issues, we are in an unprecedented moment when all three members of the Troika are dynamic, emerging economies. The issues the G20 prioritises and its approaches to solving them will change to reflect this reality.</p> <p>Do the developed members of the G20 feel that they have a significant stake in development-oriented issues being discussed by the grouping? Given the G20 has demonstrated its competence in dealing with issues pertaining to international financial architecture, how can these instruments be oriented towards the needs of emerging economies? How can the G20 escape those disputes between the developed and developing world that have paralysed or constrained other multilateral forums?</p> <p><b>Alan Ganoo</b>, Minister of Land Transport and Light Rail, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Regional Integration and International Trade, Mauritius  <b>Mauro Vieira</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Brazil  <b>Naledi Pandor</b>, Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa  <b>Elisabetta Belloni</b>, Director General, Security Intelligence Department, Department of Information for Security, Italy  <b>Kyungjin Song</b>, Executive Director, Innovative Economy Forum, Republic of Korea  Moderator: <b>Chandrika Bahadur</b>, CEO, The Antara Foundation, India</p>
1605-1625	Break

**DAY TWO Friday, March 3, 2023**

1625-1715	<p><b>Bytes of Promise: How Can Technology Lift Communities?</b>  <b>Launch of Report: Micro Matters: Using Data for Development in the Era of 4th Industrial Revolution</b>  <b>Panel Discussion</b></p> <p>Access to technology remains central to the world's development effort. Yet, even today, almost half the world does not have access to basic digital opportunities, including the internet. Small and medium enterprises, in particular, would benefit from a more effective digital connection to the global economy. Individuals will need to be upskilled, and technology policy must be drafted with global development and inclusive growth in mind.</p> <p>What are the barriers to the availability of finance and infrastructure—in both domestic and international policy—that are preventing the spread of digital technology to those communities and companies that need it most? How can skills be upgraded alongside economies' adjustment to the technological revolution? What platforms and policies can speed up this process? How can digitalisation enhance resilience and access for both communities and supply chains?</p> <p><b>M. U. M. Ali Sabry</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sri Lanka  <b>Omar Bin Sultan Al Olama</b>, Minister of State for Artificial Intelligence, Digital Economy and Remote Work Applications, UAE  <b>Baijyant Panda</b>, National Vice-President, Bharatiya Janata Party, India  <b>Ayoade Alakija</b>, Co-Chair, African Union's African Vaccine Delivery Alliance; Special Envoy and Co-Chair for ACT-Accelerator, World Health Organization  <b>Gautam Aggarwal</b>, Division President, South Asia, Mastercard, India  Moderator: <b>Yael Wissner-Levy</b>, Vice President, Communications, Lemonade, Israel</p>
1715-1800 Panel Discussion	<p><b>The Old, The New, and The Unconventional: Assessing Contemporary Conflicts</b></p> <p><b>Scene Setter: Randy Howard</b>, Vice President, Lockheed Martin Aeronautics, USA</p> <p><b>Panel Discussion:</b></p> <p>For the past decade, security managers in many nations have been focused on emerging threats and concerns about maritime security. Those issues remain—but have been overtaken by the re-emergence of land war in Europe. The conflict in Ukraine has made us reassess the conduct and consequences of conventional wars in the third decade of the 21st century.</p> <p>What have we learnt about the importance of stockpiling, logistics, and internal industrial capacity? How have our conceptions of deterrence changed? Are there learnings about the dispersion and empowerment of command and control systems? What do we now understand better about joint operations across air, sea, land, cyber, and space? What of the speed-skilling of soldiers at the frontline, to adopt and adapt to changing technology and battlefield conditions? What does this conflict tell us about the escalation ladder when a nuclear power is involved?</p> <p><b>General Angus J. Campbell</b>, Chief of the Defence Force, Australia  <b>General Anil Chauhan</b>, Chief of Defence Staff, India  <b>General Jim Mattis</b>, Former Secretary of Defense, USA  Moderator: <b>Palki Sharma</b>, Managing Editor, Network18, India</p>
1800-1815	Break

**DAY TWO Friday, March 3, 2023**

1815-1905 Panel Discussion	<p><b>Heart of the Matter: LiFE (Lifestyle for Environment) for our Common Future</b></p> <p>According to the International Energy Agency, the worldwide adoption of LiFE measures would lead to an annual reduction of more than 2 billion tonnes of CO2 emissions by 2030, nearly one-fifth of the reductions necessary to reach a net zero pathway. Amid global energy crises and global warming, an all-encompassing "lifestyle for environment" initiative is an opportunity to promote and incentivise environmentally responsible consumption and behaviour to accelerate clean energy transitions.</p> <p>What are the nudges needed to mainstream more sustainable consumption? Can popular culture and a push to mobilisation help create a broad transition? How do we ensure households, communities, and the youth champion this cause? What are the linkages between sustainable consumption, the circular economy, and economic security? How can such developing-country priorities be incorporated into the agenda of international and multilateral organisations?</p> <p><b>Launch of Report: Climate, Community, Cooperation: An Indian Framework for Climate Adaptation in the Global South</b>  <b>Abdulla Shahid</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Maldives  <b>Tandi Dorji</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs and External Trade, Bhutan  <b>Amitabh Kant</b>, G20 Sherpa, India  <b>Lisa Jackson</b>, Vice President, Environment, Policy and Social Initiatives, Apple  <b>Angelo George</b>, CEO, Bisleri, India  Moderator: <b>Kate Hampton</b>, CEO, Children's Investment Fund Foundation, UK</p>
1905-2000	<p><b>Materials that Matter: Battle for Securing Critical Supply Chains</b></p> <p><b>Scene Setter: Anirudh Bhagchandka</b>, Founder, Global Trade Observer, India</p> <p><b>Panel Discussion:</b></p> <p>Trade, technology, and supply chains have become integral to the security agenda. Critical supply chains, including those of minerals that will define the future, need to be secured. Technology and inputs critical to digital transformation and sustainable modernisation may lead to a new "arms race".</p> <p>How will geopolitics driven by new-era tech be different from the previous century? How will countries and blocs navigate the emerging chips war between the US and China? What role will new-age trade agreements play? Do state-controlled economies have an advantage over democratic, market-led economies in such extractive industries, and how can countries compensate for this edge through diversifying and decentralising supply dependencies?</p> <p><b>Tobias Billström</b>, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sweden  <b>Tony Abbott</b>, Former Prime Minister, Australia  <b>Rajeev Chandrasekhar</b>, Minister of State for Skill Development and Entrepreneurship, Electronics and Information Technology, India  <b>Janka Oertel</b>, Director, Asia Programme, European Council on Foreign Relations, Germany  <b>Tadashi Maeda</b>, Chairman of the Board, Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC), Japan  Moderator: <b>Stormy-Annika Mildner</b>, Executive Director, Aspen Institute, Germany</p>

**DAY TWO Friday, March 3, 2023**

<p>2000-2200 Dinner Conversations (By Invite Only)</p>	<p><i>Shahjehan:</i> <b>Rhythm of the Left: Understanding Latin America's Choices</b></p> <p>Recent electoral outcomes in Latin America appear to have shifted the continent's political choices towards the 'left'. From Brazil to Chile, a trend is visible. This is redefining countries' approaches to trade, security, and technology.</p> <p>Is this driven by a millennial mobilisation, the assertion of indigenous identities, or by the fear of being left behind by globalisation? What are the implications for Latin America's external positioning? How will relations with superpowers, old and new, be altered by this political shift? What does this mean for Latin American growth and its positioning in global supply chains?</p> <p><b>Marcelo Ebrard Casaubón</b>, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mexico  <b>Mauro Vieira</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Brazil  <b>Nicolas Domingo Albertoni Gomez</b>, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Uruguay  <b>Saurabh Kumar</b>, Secretary (East), Ministry of External Affairs, India  <b>María Elena Agüero</b>, Secretary-General, Club de Madrid, Spain  Moderator: <b>Carolina Chimoy</b>, Correspondent, DW, USA</p>
	<p><i>Mumtaz:</i> <b>The India Lighthouse: Piped Water to All</b></p> <p><b>Scene Setter:</b> <b>Csaba Kőrösi</b>, President of the UN General Assembly</p> <p><b>Panel Discussion:</b></p> <p>Water availability and quality remain critical issues for countries in the emerging world and beyond. Water scarcity hinders human welfare, economic growth, and can have implications for social cohesion and international stability. The climate crisis and the water crisis are interlinked and both require mobilisation of technology, capacity, and finance.</p> <p>How can investments be catalysed into sustainable water infrastructure, bearing in mind variable weather patterns and long-term impact of climate change? How can responsible use of water resources be embedded into corporate governance models? How can water governance frameworks be developed to ensure inter-regional water allocation within and across countries? What lessons from India's water story are relevant for other parts of the world during India's G20 Presidency?</p> <p><b>Maria Shaw-Barragan</b>, Director, Lending Operations in Asia, Africa, Caribbean and Pacific, and Latin America, European Investment Bank  <b>Auguste Tano Kouamé</b>, Country Director, World Bank, India  <b>Sara Roversi</b>, President, Future Food Institute, Italy  <b>Rohan Mishra</b>, Senior Director, Public Policy and Government Affairs, Coca-Cola, India  <b>Hadas Mamane</b>, Associate Professor, Tel Aviv University, Israel  Moderator: <b>Bharat Lal</b>, Director-General, National Centre for Good Governance (NCGG), India</p>
<p>2000-2200 Dinner Conversations (By Invite Only)</p>	<p><i>Roshanara:</i> <b>A Time for Reset? How Can Democracies Partner for a Safe Future?</b> (Foreign Secretary's Dinner)</p> <p>This closed-door conversation will discuss the state of democratic partnerships from a geopolitical perspective. How are they responding to authoritarian states turning to expansionism and reshaping the rules-based order? This curated and yet freewheeling conversation will touch upon aspects of defence and security, economic and trade policy, and technology and climate change. It will tease out the role of individual nations, their postures and predilections, and seek to drive ideas that can strengthen the rule of law and its defence by democracies.</p> <p><b>Vinay Mohan Kwatra</b>, Foreign Secretary, India</p>

**DAY TWO Friday, March 3, 2023**

	<p><i>Jehangir:</i> <b>Deadline 2024: Defending Democracies in the Digital Age</b></p> <p>In 2024, four pillars of the democratic world will conduct general elections: India, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the European Union. This is the first time four such major elections will be held so close to each other in the digital age—or at least since disinformation, manipulation, and fake news have become major disruptors of the democratic electoral process mechanism.</p> <p>What are the ways in which governments, regulators, and companies are working to defend the democratic process? Are the risks from election manipulation overstated, or have we not seen its true potential as yet? Where does the fight against disinformation stop, and the fight to prevent incumbent governments from misusing censorship begin?</p> <p><b>Sumit Seth</b>, Joint Secretary (Policy Planning and Research), Ministry of External Affairs, India  <b>Lisa Singh</b>, CEO, Australia-India Institute, Australia  <b>Shivnath Thukral</b>, Director and Head, Public Policy, Meta India  <b>Manuel Muniz</b>, Dean, School of Global and Public Affairs, IE University, Spain  <b>Rachel Rizzo</b>, Senior Fellow, Europe Centre, Atlantic Council, USA  Moderator: <b>Kanchan Gupta</b>, Senior Advisor, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, India</p>
<p>2200-2230</p>	<p>Break</p>
<p>2230-2320 Conversations over Kahwa</p>	<p><i>Mumtaz:</i> <b>From Karachi to Kandahar: Is the Arc of Terror Aflame Again?</b></p> <p>From a state supporting terrorists to terrorists with a state of their own, the challenge for international security has only grown with the expanding footprint of religious radical organisations and the ambivalence of the international community. Instead of forging a common front to combat terrorism, states have chosen to see the phenomenon from the perspective of narrow interests and geopolitical rivalries. The result: Terrorism is metastasizing and the world is fighting it in a piecemeal, ad hoc manner.</p> <p>Is outsourcing the war against terror workable? Will assisting Pakistan, which continues to see the Taliban as a workable solution and not an intractable problem, help in containing the threat of terrorism emanating from Afghanistan? Is there any strategy in the fight against terrorism—beyond fire-fighting? Do existing mechanisms to counter terror financing work or have they become outdated and mired in competitive geopolitics?</p> <p><b>Shlomit Wagman</b>, Former Director-General, Israel Money Laundering and Terror Financing Prohibition Authority (IMPA), Israel  <b>Rexon Ryu</b>, President, Asia Group, USA  <b>Geoffrey Van Orden</b>, Former Member of the European Parliament, UK  <b>Sushant Sareen</b>, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India  <b>Mahbouba Seraj</b>, Journalist, Afghanistan  Moderator: <b>Smita Prakash</b>, Editor, Asian News International, India</p>
<p>2230-2320 Conversations over Kahwa</p>	<p><i>Roshanara:</i> <b>As the Donetsk Flows: Armageddon, Resolution, or Irrelevance?</b></p> <p>The war in Ukraine has transfixed the world. Countries have taken or are being urged to take sides, even when they have no direct stakes. And yet, no clear end can be seen or even imagined to the conflict. Even as Ukraine determines its nationhood and future, the prospects for Russia grow uncertain in the eyes of the world.</p> <p>What are the consequences for Eurasia and the wider global system of an unremitting land war in Europe? Has the world responded adequately? What does Russia's conduct of the war imply for its future as a great power and its relationship with other stakeholders?</p> <p><b>Manish Tewari</b>, Member of Parliament, India  <b>Jane Holl Lute</b>, Former Deputy Secretary, US Department of Homeland Security, USA  <b>Vlada Galan</b>, International Political Strategist, Actum, USA  <b>Feodor Voitovsky</b>, Director, Primakov Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy Of Sciences, Russia  <b>Eeva Eek-Pajuste</b>, Director, Lennart Meri Conference, ICDS, Estonia  Moderator: <b>Ajay Bisaria</b>, Former High Commissioner of India to Canada</p>

## DAY THREE Saturday, March 4, 2023

<p>0730-0900 Conversations over Breakfast (By Invite Only)</p>	<p><i>Mumtaz:</i> <b>Trends at Raisina: Musings Over Millets</b></p> <p>This roundtable provides food for blue-sky thought at breakfast time. It identifies trends and timelines that have emerged over the past years, and brings together experts, thought leaders, and practitioners to discuss our shared future.</p> <p><b>Wladyslaw T. Bartoszewski</b>, Member of Parliament, Poland</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The EU at 2030: What are the threats, opportunities, and drivers for the transformation of the continent?</li> </ul> <p><b>Rory Medcalf</b>, Head, National Security College, Australia National University, Australia</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Solomon's Choice: Can the Indo-Pacific reclaim the Pacific?</li> </ul> <p><b>Jenny Mander</b>, Professor, University of Cambridge, UK</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Planet on the Move: Will globalisation recognise the importance of migration?</li> </ul> <p><b>Thomas Greminger</b>, Director, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Switzerland</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Synthetic Humanity: How will the democratisation and accessibility of AI, such as with ChatGPT, impact national politics and international relations?</li> </ul> <p><b>Lara Setrakian</b>, President, Applied Policy Research Center of Armenia, Armenia</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Calm in the Caucasus: What are the drivers of the conflict in the region? Beyond the apparent, who are the key actors, and what are their aims and objectives?</li> </ul> <p><b>Louise Van Schaik</b>, Head of Unit, EU &amp; Global Affairs, Clingendael, Netherlands</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Conflict at the Border: Can we save the climate without trade wars?</li> </ul> <p>Moderator: <b>Sarah Bressan</b>, Research Fellow, Global Public Policy Institute, Germany</p>
	<p><i>Roshnara:</i> <b>Rethinking Security: New Battlefields, New Armies, New Technologies</b></p> <p>Defence planners face rapid technological shifts and new military emergencies, as well as shifting cost profiles and budgetary constraints. Re-emergence of land conflicts will inevitably affect defence strategies. The unexpected effectiveness of low-cost drone swarms may alter how heavy armour and other weapon platforms are evaluated. The balance between aircraft carriers and silent submarines, between private militias and regular infantry, is also in flux. This closed-door discussion will examine how national defence strategies are being reorganised to answer these questions.</p> <p><b>Vikram Misri</b>, Deputy National Security Advisor, India</p>
	<p><i>Sheesh Mahal:</i> <b>Sustainable Finance in the Indo-Pacific: A Network for Action-Experts Meeting</b></p> <p>Scene Setter: <b>Noor Rahman</b>, Joint Secretary (Economic Diplomacy), Ministry of External Affairs, India</p> <p>The Indo-Pacific is a developmental space, not just a location for securitised collaboration. How can defence of the rules-based order be expanded to include crucial questions of sustainable modernisation and welfare? Which groupings and coalitions can energise development partnerships and cooperation? What institutional arrangements and political actions will allow sustainable finance to flow into and across the region?</p> <p><b>Nilanjan Ghosh</b>, Director, Centre for New Economic Diplomacy, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>

## DAY THREE Saturday, March 4, 2023

<p>0730-0900 Conversations over Breakfast (By Invite Only)</p>	<p><i>Jehangir:</i> <b>BRICS Think Tanks Breakfast - Sustainable Development and Growth Agenda</b></p> <p>Scene Setters: <b>Ninad S. Deshpande</b>, JS (MER), Ministry of External Affairs, India and Sous Sherpa, BRICS, India</p> <p><b>Sarah Mosoetsa</b>, CEO, Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa</p> <p><b>Panel Discussion:</b></p> <p>The BRICS countries are in a unique position this year as the G20 will have three consecutive presidencies from the grouping—India, Brazil, and South Africa. The Indian G20 presidency's focus on 'Voices of the South' is also a main agenda item for the South African BRICS presidency this year. How do we take advantage of this rare opportunity to turn the global governance narrative into one that is more responsive to the needs of the developing world?</p> <p>Can BRICS seize this development-first moment, or will geopolitics come in the way of a coherent approach? Has BRICS lived up to its potential as an alternative source of global norms and regulations than those developed in the G7 and Global North? If not, how can these three G20 presidencies be leveraged to do so? What are the BRICS success stories that can form the basis of significant and sustainable reforms?</p> <p><b>Renato Coelho Baumann das Neves</b>, Researcher, Institute of Applied Economic Research, Brazil</p> <p><b>Victoria Panova</b>, Vice-Rector, HSE University, Russia</p> <p><b>Suranjali Tandon</b>, Assistant Professor, National Institute of Public Finance and Policy, India</p> <p><b>Haihong Gao</b>, Director, Research Center for International Finance, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences</p> <p>Moderator: <b>Navdeep Suri</b>, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
<p>0915-0925</p>	<p><b>Ministerial Remarks</b></p> <p><b>Meenakashi Lekhi</b>, Minister of State, Ministry of External Affairs, India</p>
<p>0925-1015 Panel Discussion</p>	<p><b>Peace In Pieces: New Pathways for a UN that Works</b></p> <p>The founding principle of the United Nations is to prevent war. Yet, its institutional ability to deal with emergent global issues has been hampered—as was evident during the pandemic and in the number of armed conflicts over past years. The solution to the current flawed multilateralism is not isolationism or bloc-formation, but a reformed multilateralism with greater representation and more inclusive norms. This is necessary to generate deeper regional stakes that minimise conflict, as well as to holistically address global issues.</p> <p>What reforms to the global system, including the United Nations and its decision-making bodies, can enhance credibility and efficacy? How can concerns of developing or smaller nations be best articulated at the highest levels of the multilateral system? How can actions and processes of the institutions that constitute the multilateral order be rendered accountable and transparent to the global community?</p> <p><b>Ararat Mirzoyan</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Armenia</p> <p><b>Kojo Oppong Nkrumah</b>, Minister for Information, Ghana</p> <p><b>Tanja Fajon</b>, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Slovenia</p> <p><b>Ivan Korčok</b>, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Slovak Republic</p> <p><b>Lakshmi Puri</b>, Former Assistant Secretary General to United Nations; Former Ambassador, India</p> <p>Moderator: <b>Peter Grk</b>, Secretary-General, Bled Strategic Forum, Slovenia</p>

## DAY THREE Saturday, March 4, 2023

1015-1105 Panel Discussion	<p><b>Navigating a Debt Crisis: Towards a New Development Partnership Agenda</b></p> <p>In the years since the pandemic, countries from the Pacific to the Caribbean have been brought to the brink of default. The global community's lacklustre response to the sovereign debt contagion underlines the need for reform of development partnerships and international financial institutions. Smaller nations are struggling with the dual burden of addressing climate adaptation and meeting an enhanced fiscal burden.</p> <p>In an age of increasing debt, how can governments balance sovereign autonomy and the need for investment? Are emerging development partnership models prioritising the needs of recipient countries while also supporting the broader geo-economic vision of donor economies? What role must be taken by official development assistance as a global policy at this time? What innovative mechanisms allow countries to escape some of their debt burdens while also moving forward on the green transition and maintaining access to financial capital?</p> <p><b>Dammu Ravi</b>, Secretary (Economic Relations), Ministry of External Affairs, India  <b>Maria Shaw-Barragan</b>, Director, Lending Operations in Asia, Africa, Caribbean and Pacific, and Latin America, European Investment Bank  <b>Jenny Bates</b>, Director General, Indo-Pacific, Foreign, Commonwealth &amp; Development Office, UK  <b>Philippe Orliange</b>, Executive Director of Geographies, AFD, France  <b>Vera Songwe</b>, Founder and Chairwoman, Liquidity and Sustainability Facility, UK</p> <p>Moderator: <b>Sanjeev Krishan</b>, Chairman, PwC, India</p>
1105-1120	Break
1120-1210 Panel Discussion	<p><b>Democracy's Eleven: Protecting our Technology Futures</b></p> <p>The eleven democracies that constitute the D11 need to provide a pathway for the tech-secure open societies of the future. They are faced with the requirement to defend elections, incubate public conversation, and prevent weaponisation of public spheres.</p> <p>How can democracies agree on norms on free speech, expression, and permissible content across national jurisdictions? How can gaming of technology platforms by bad actors be prevented and thwarted? Can rules designed in California transmute into acceptable global norms? Can the D11 agree on common action to deal with influence operations and authoritarian tech?</p> <p><b>Rajeev Chandrasekhar</b>, Minister of State for Skill Development and Entrepreneurship, Electronics and Information Technology, India  <b>Frank Müller-Rosentritt</b>, Member of Parliament, Germany  <b>Leslie Miller</b>, Vice President, Government Affairs &amp; Public Policy, YouTube, USA  <b>Mihoko Matsubara</b>, Chief Cybersecurity Strategist, NTT Corporation, Japan  <b>Kris Lovejoy</b>, Global Practice Leader for Security &amp; Resiliency, Kyndryl, USA</p> <p>Moderator: <b>Danielle Cave</b>, Director-Executive, Strategy and Research, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia</p>
1210-1310 Panel Discussion	<p><b>The Future of Conflict: Lessons from the Third Decade</b></p> <p><b>Scene Setter:</b> <b>Vivek Lall</b>, Chief Executive, General Atomics Global Corporation</p> <p><b>Panel Discussion:</b></p> <p>The future of warfare has become both politically contested and intellectually divisive. The ability of 20th-century militaries to fight 21st-century wars has been called into question. Technological innovation, trusted supply chains, and improvisation in the presence of the enemy have become crucial differentiators.</p> <p>Are unmanned vehicles hype or are they decisive? Are satellite communications a buzzword or the new frontier? Do admirals and generals still matter or are black-box algorithms the operational HQ?</p> <p><b>Gen. Koji Yamazaki</b>, Chief of Staff, Ministry of Defence, Japan  <b>Adm. R. Hari Kumar</b>, Chief of Naval Staff, India  <b>Adm. John C. Aquilino</b>, Commander, US Indo-Pacific Command, USA  <b>Adm. Sir Ben Key</b>, First Sea Lord and Chief of Naval Staff, UK  <b>Vice Adm. Angus Topsy</b>, Commander, Royal Canadian Navy, Canada</p> <p>Moderator: <b>Bec Shrimpton</b>, Director, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia</p>

## DAY THREE Saturday, March 4, 2023

1310-1500 Lunch Conversations (By Invite Only)	<p><b>Shahjehan: New Frontiers: Linking India, Europe, and the World</b></p> <p><b>Scene Setter:</b> <b>Tony Abbott</b>, Former Prime Minister, Australia</p> <p><b>Panel Discussion:</b></p> <p>Trading patterns are being reworked between countries and groupings on the basis of both trust and economic opportunities. India has already signed new-age agreements with Australia and the United Arab Emirates; has existing agreements with Japan, South Korea, and ASEAN; and is engaged in wide-ranging discussions with, among others, Canada and the European Union.</p> <p>What are the parameters of new-age trade agreements, and can they deepen existing strategic partnerships? Can they incorporate national and regional aspirations on sustainability, services trade, and digitalisation? How can geopolitical trust and geo-economic strategy create momentum for new-age trade agreements? Can trade and technology councils assist in modernising economies and deepening their shared autonomy?</p> <p><b>Sanjay Verma</b>, Secretary (West), Ministry of External Affairs, India  <b>Scott Moe</b>, Premier, Government of Saskatchewan, Canada  <b>Andreas Scheuer</b>, President, Asia Bridge; Member of Bundestag, Germany  <b>Heungchong Kim</b>, President, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, Republic of Korea  <b>Anna Stellingner</b>, Deputy Director General, Confederation of Swedish Enterprise, Head of International and EU Affairs, Sweden</p> <p>Moderator: <b>Alicia García Herrero</b>, Chief Economist Asia Pacific, Natixis, France  Wrap-Up: <b>Nicolas Köhler-Suzuki</b>, Associate Researcher, Jacques Delors Institute, France</p>
1310-1500 Lunch Conversations (By Invite Only)	<p><b>Mumtaz: The Quantum Gulf: Seeking Congruence within the Quad</b></p> <p>The Quad's central purpose is to create new avenues for cooperation for like-minded countries in an increasingly fractious Indo-Pacific. The grouping has extended its cooperation from its traditional focus on free and open oceans to new threats and shared security. Quad leaders have begun to co-operate on cybersecurity and ransomware and have created a working group focused on emerging threats.</p> <p>Does the Quad Cybersecurity Partnership have real potential? How can geopolitical trust be extended to new domains and create opportunities for economic collaboration? Can the countries of the Quad agree on a common approach to challenges like Big Tech regulation and privacy norms? China is pouring tens of billions of dollars into quantum technologies, including quantum cryptography: How can the Quad countries partner to shore up their defences against a potential quantum onslaught?</p> <p><b>Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Rajesh Pant</b>, National Cyber Security Coordinator, Prime Minister's Office, India  <b>Johanna Weaver</b>, Director, Tech Policy Design Centre, Australian National University, Australia  <b>Martijn Rasser</b>, Senior Fellow and Director, Technology and National Security Program, Center for a New American Security, USA  <b>Amy Hogan-Burney</b>, General Manager and Associate General Counsel for Cybersecurity Policy and Protection, Microsoft, USA  <b>Satoru Nagao</b>, Fellow (Non-Resident), Hudson Institute, USA</p> <p>Moderator: <b>Arvind Gupta</b>, Head and Co-Founder, Digital India Foundation, India</p>
	<p><b>Roshanara: Investing for India@100</b></p> <p>India has emerged as one of the fastest-growing economies and is close to its target of US \$100 billion in foreign investment a year. In a world turning towards greater self-reliance and stressing resilience after the pandemic, India too has to balance its desire for an "Aatmanirbhar Bharat" with the need to integrate with global financial markets and supply chains.</p> <p>How can developing countries like India redesign and decentralise the trading order so that their aspirations are prioritised? What underpins India's post-COVID recovery and how is this reflected in the recently announced Budget? Can small and medium enterprises be the target of foreign investment just as much as large companies? What role does digitalisation and geopolitics play in the flow of global investment?</p> <p>Conversation with <b>Nirmala Sitharaman</b>, Minister of Finance, India</p>



**DAY THREE Saturday, March 4, 2023**

	<p><i>Jehangir:</i> <b>Beyond the Entanglements: Resolving the Food, Fuel, and Fertiliser Conflict</b></p> <p>Conflict in Europe and elsewhere, trade tensions, and an over-reliance on sanctions have all interrupted the movement of goods like food, fuel, and fertiliser. Yet, their secure supplies are essential for human welfare and social stability.</p> <p>How can countries adapt to these interrupted supply chains by diversifying dependencies? Will the future of energy and food be less global? What will be the costs to vulnerable economies? What are the new threats, internal and external, caused by food and fuel insecurity?</p> <p><b>Sachin Chaturvedi</b>, Director General, Research and Information System for Developing Countries, India  <b>Benedetta Berti</b>, Head of Policy Planning, Office of the Secretary General, NATO  <b>Dino Patti Djalal</b>, Founder and Chairman, Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia (FPCI), Indonesia  <b>Heribert Dieter</b>, Senior Fellow, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Germany  <b>Gwendoline Abunaw</b>, Managing Director, Ecobank, Cameroon  Moderator: <b>Paolo Magri</b>, Director, Italian Institute for International Political Studies, Italy</p>
1500-1530	<p><b>In Conversation</b></p> <p><b>Nirmala Sitharaman</b>, Minister of Finance, India  <b>Ashok Malik</b>, Partner and Chair of India Practice, The Asia Group, India</p>
1530-1620 Panel Discussion	<p><b>The Strategic Poser: Dragon's Manoeuvre in the Taiwan Strait</b></p> <p>In the past year, we have witnessed mobilisation in the West and among some of its allies in the Pacific against Russia's actions in Ukraine. Will such collective resolve be at play if China decides to upset the status quo vis-à-vis Taiwan?</p> <p>Will China's overwhelming trade partnerships undermine democratic values that are at the centre of anti-Russian mobilisation? Will the North-South divide be sharper in this instance, and would an UNGA vote look very different to that on the Russia-Ukraine conflict? How can like-minded countries and democracies work together—with clear red lines and consequences articulated—to reduce the chances of a crisis in Asia of the sort that has unfolded in Europe?</p> <p><b>Carl Bildt</b>, Former Prime Minister, Sweden  <b>Danilo Türk</b>, President, Club de Madrid; Former President, Slovenia  <b>Peter Beyer</b>, Member of Parliament, Germany  <b>Sujan Chinoy</b>, Director General, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, India  <b>Lynn Kuok</b>, Shangri-La Dialogue Senior Fellow for Asia-Pacific Security, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Singapore  Moderator: <b>Veerle Nouwens</b>, Senior Research Fellow, Royal United Services Institute, UK</p>
1620-1640	Break
1640-1710	<p><b>In Conversation</b></p> <p><b>Piyush Goyal</b>, Minister of Commerce &amp; Industry, Consumer Affairs, Food &amp; Public Distribution, and Textiles, India  <b>Zakka Jacob</b>, Managing Editor, CNN-News18, India</p>

**DAY THREE Saturday, March 4, 2023**

1710-1800 Panel Discussion	<p><b>Eastern Promise: The Power Shifts in EU Politics</b></p> <p>The EU's response to armed conflict on its borders has been driven not by traditional centres of power but by Central and Eastern Europe. Faced with a war in which European values are perceived as being at stake, the EU itself has discovered a new solidarity.</p> <p>Will the European Union emerge from this crisis stronger or will constraints on its internal cohesion and its supply chain make it a less attractive partner? Will a Europe defined by values set in Warsaw, Budapest, and Bucharest be substantively different from one defined by the Franco-German condominium? How will the outside world rethink its engagements with Europe? Will the world adapt to Europe's new orientation—economic and military—and is the EU seen as a stronger strategic actor in consequence?</p> <p><b>Gordan Grlić Radman</b>, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Croatia  <b>Rastislav Káčer</b>, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Slovak Republic  <b>Shashi Tharoor</b>, Member of Parliament, India  <b>Alica Kizeková</b>, Senior Researcher, Institute of International Relations, Czech Republic  <b>Theresa Fallon</b>, Director, Centre for Russia, Europe and Asia Studies, Belgium  Moderator: <b>Robert Vass</b>, Founder and President of GLOBSEC, Slovak Republic</p>
1800-1820	Break
1820-1900 Panel Discussion	<p><b>The Android Dream: A Collaborative Approach to Building Digital Public Infrastructure</b></p> <p>With COVID-19 and other global crises having impacted hard-won development gains in the past two years, digital technologies are becoming even more crucial for turbocharging the Sustainable Development Goals. Technologies and meaningful connectivity enable access to vital services, but a concerted effort must be made to develop and implement an underlying digital public infrastructure that is inclusive, human-centric, and sustainable.</p> <p>Digital cooperation underpins this vision, whereby multi-stakeholder engagements such as the G20 can catalyse necessary frameworks for establishing a Global Digital Commons that support everyone, everywhere. But what will it take to get us there? Which existing challenges need to be addressed to bridge the digital divide? Are there opportunities for greater collaboration to boost resilience and deliver impact at population scale?</p> <p><b>Amitabh Kant</b>, G20 Sherpa, India  <b>Usta Kaitesi</b>, CEO, Rwanda Governance Board, Rwanda  <b>Andreas Schaal</b>, Director, Global Relations, OECD  <b>Keyzom Ngodup Massally</b>, Head of Digital Programmes, UNDP  Moderator: <b>Abhishek Singh</b>, President &amp; CEO NeGD, Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology, India</p>
1900-1910	<p><b>Ministerial Remarks</b></p> <p><b>Rajkumar Ranjan Singh</b>, Minister of State for External Affairs, India</p>

**DAY THREE Saturday, March 4, 2023**

<p>1910-2000 Panel Discussion</p>	<p><b>Showstopper: Currencies of Power and Persuasion: Reflections on the Future</b></p> <p>The future will be determined by how countries manage technology and platforms, economic instruments, and new-age supply chains.</p> <p>How should countries that are quick tech adopters, but also vulnerable digital societies, adapt to an interconnected landscape? What is the nature of these vulnerabilities, and how are they changing? When technology is both a theatre and a weapon of war, how should we think about the future of conflict and of technological competition? How should countries and blocs caught between corporate Big Tech and state-dominated Red Tech think through their economic and political choices? In the defence of liberal societies, how can we tell when acceptable and welcome levels of “soft power” open the way to unacceptable influence operations by ideological competitors?</p> <p><b>Vinay Mohan Kwatra</b>, Foreign Secretary, India  <b>Gunda Reire</b>, Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Latvia  <b>Reinhard Bütikofer</b>, Member of European Parliament, Germany  <b>Jane Holl Lute</b>, Former Deputy Secretary, US Department of Homeland Security, USA  <b>Isaiah Wilson III</b>, President, Joint Special Operations University (JSOU), USA  Moderator: <b>Justin Bassi</b>, Executive Director, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia</p>
<p>2030 onwards Dinner Discussions (By Invite Only)</p>	<p><i>Shahjehan:</i> <b>Why India Matters!</b></p> <p>Current Cohort of the Raisina Young Fellows Programme &amp; Alum of ORF Young Leaders’ Programmes engage with <b>S. Jaishankar</b>, Minister of External Affairs, India</p>
	<p><i>Mumtaz:</i> <b>Reclaiming Peace: Building Bridges in a Turbulent World</b> (Closed Door Dinner)</p>
	<p><i>Roshanara:</i> <b>India-Germany Business Dinner</b> (Closed Door Dinner)</p>

# Raisina 2023 Partners



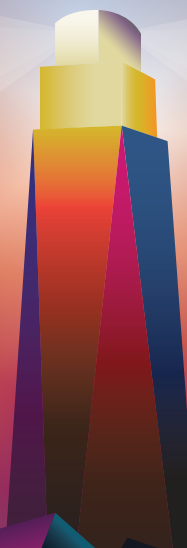


**RAISINA**

**DIALOGUE 2023**

2-4 MARCH, 2023 | NEW DELHI

**PROVOCATION, UNCERTAINTY, TURBULENCE:**  
**LIGHTHOUSE**  
**IN THE TEMPEST?**



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