



RAISINA

DIALOGUE 2023

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

CONFERENCE BOOKLET

2-4 MARCH, 2023 | NEW DELHI



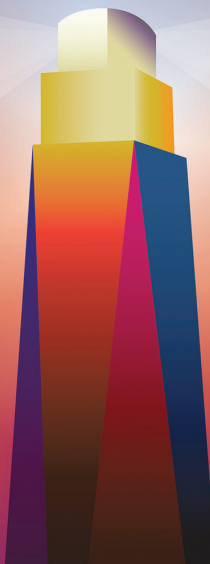


PROVOCATION, UNCERTAINTY, TURBULENCE:
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The Raisina Dialogue is India's flagship conference on geopolitics and geoeconomics and is hosted by the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) and the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India.

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 will gather at this ideas arena. They will share 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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Conference Information

This booklet is created by collating information from participants, speakers, and other key organisers of the event. Although due diligence has been applied while editing and publishing the book, inadvertant human errors are plausible and sometimes unavoidable. Since the speaker's schedule and other aspects of the programme can change at the last minute, the schedule and agenda published in this book might be different from the actual. Please check www.raisinadialogue.org/agenda for the latest agenda.

For any publishing or factual errors, please notify anahita.khanna@orfonline.org.

विदेश मंत्री
भारत



Minister of External Affairs
India



Message

The holding of the 8th edition of the Raisina Dialogue is a welcome development, being a gathering that is widely attended by the international community. This year, it seeks to capture the state of the world through its theme of **"Provocation, Uncertainty, Turbulence: Lighthouse in the Tempest?"**

This description, dramatic as it may seem, is by no means an inaccurate understanding of world politics today. The devastating impact of a once in a century pandemic is still being felt across geographies, especially developing ones. Rising debts and growing disruptions have also been more prominent, often translating economic fragility into political challenges. Climate events are occurring with ever greater frequency and need to be factored into every calculation. And of course, the Ukraine conflict has had knock-on effects in terms of fuel, food and fertilizer security that is making the world even more anxious. The behaviour of states has also contributed to greater tension and sharper polarization in an already difficult scenario.

Over the next few days, the Raisina Dialogue will host conversations on these and other pressing issues that we all face. From rising strategic ambitions to emerging geo-political concepts, from perilous economic models to heightened vulnerabilities, from contested sovereignty to threatened global commons-practitioners and analysts will ideate o~host of questions.

This is an opportunity for us to be future ready. To probe geo-political palpitations before they become tremors. To prepare to be first responders as much as effective solution providers. I look forward to the deliberations.

Dr. S. Jaishankar



Message from the Foreign Secretary of India

I am delighted to welcome you to the 8th edition of the Raisina Dialogue, India's premier conference on geopolitics and geostrategy.

Over the years, the Raisina Dialogue has established itself on the World stage as a major annual gathering of the most significant and powerful voices of the global strategic community. It has become a permanent mixture in the calendars of opinion shapers and decision makers across the World. I congratulate our partner, the Observer Research Foundation, for realizing the vision of making New Delhi an epicenter of debate, a confluence of ideas, and a landing zone for solutions that can transform the World we live in.

I find the conference to be reflective of India's growing confidence, ambitions and capacities. India has always propagated the spirit of dialogue and debate. India's theme for its G20 Presidency- '**Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam**', that is, 'One Earth. One Family. One Future', echoes the sentiment to seek collective solutions for common problems.

I am pleased to welcome distinguished Leaders, Ministers, journalists, academia, think-tankers and young scholars to the Raisina Dialogue- to share their vision, to ignite our minds and reach out to the world.

The theme of the Raisina Dialogue 2023: **Provocation, Uncertainty, Turbulence**—is indicative of the increasing faultlines and fragilities in the global ecosystem. In the words of our Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, "**our priorities will focus on healing our One Earth, creating harmony within our One Family and giving hope for our One Future**"—that is, to be a lighthouse, in this tempest.

I wish the delegates of the Raisina Dialogue 2023 a memorable stay, a thought-provoking conference and all success in their endeavors.



Vinay Kwatra

PROVOCATION, UNCERTAINTY, TURBULENCE:
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Message



From the Chairman, Observer Research Foundation

TWO 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

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Curator's Note



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.

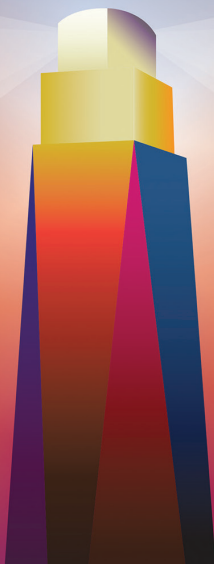
—Dr. Samir Saran



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PROGRAMME



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Programme

Raisina Dialogue 2023 is held under the auspices of **Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India** and **Observer Research Foundation**

DAY ONE Thursday, March 2, 2023

1830-1930

Inaugural Session at Durbar

1930-1945

Transition

1945-2145

Inaugural Dinner
 (By Invite Only)

Shahjehan **Lessons and Look Ahead: Black Swans and Lighthouses**

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.

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?

Welcome Remarks:

Vinay Mohan Kwatra, Foreign Secretary, India

Dinner Discussion:

Catherine Colonna, Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs, France

James Cleverly, Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Affairs, UK

Lars Løkke Rasmussen, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Denmark

Retno Marsudi, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Indonesia

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

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

1945-2145

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

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&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.

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?

Keynote Address:

Mansukh Mandaviya, Minister of Health and Family Welfare, India

Dinner Discussion:

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

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

Roshanara **Affordable Aspirations: Mitigation, Adaptation and Finance**

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.

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?

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

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

DAY ONE Thursday, March 2, 2023

1945-2145	<p><i>Jehangir</i> Planet Interrupted: Ransomware, Malware, Wolfwarriors</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>Sanjay Bahl, Director General, Indian Computer Emergency Response Team, India Manon Le Blanc, Head of Cyber Policy, European External Action Service Hoda A. Al Khzaimi, Director of Emerging Technologies, NYU, UAE Mallory Knodel, Chief Technology Officer, Center for Democracy and Technology, USA Kamilia Amdouni, Public Policy Advisor, CyberPeace Institute, Switzerland Moderator: Kaja Ciglic, Senior Director, Digital Diplomacy, Microsoft, USA</p>
2145-2220	Break
2220-2310 Conversations over Kahwa	<p><i>Mumtaz</i> The Liberal Conundrum: Whose Democracy is it Anyway?</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>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 Tripurdamani Singh, Postdoctoral Fellow, University of London, UK Moderator: Marya Shakil, Senior Political Editor, CNN News18, India</p>
	<p><i>Roshanara</i> Red, White or Blue: The Divided States of America</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>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</p>

DAY TWO Friday, March 3, 2023	
0900-0910	<p>Ministerial Remarks V. Muraleedharan, Minister of State for External Affairs, India</p>
0910-0950 Panel Discussion	<p>The Quad Squad: Power and Purpose of the Polygon</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>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</p>
0950-1040 Panel Discussion	<p>The New High Table: Realigning the G20 in a Changing World</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>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</p>
1040-1110	Break
1110-1150 Panel Discussion	<p>A Region of Opportunities: From the Mediterranean to the Arabian Sea</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>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</p>
1150-1205	Break

DAY TWO Friday, March 3, 2023

1205-1235	<p>In Conversation</p> <p>Sergey Lavrov, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Russia</p> <p>Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1235-1435 Lunch Conversations (By Invite Only)	<p><i>Shahjehan:</i> Just Transitions: Old Fuels, New Energy, and Persistent Aspirations</p> <p>Scene Setter: Suman Bery, Vice Chairman, NITI Aayog, India</p> <p>Panel Discussion:</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>Tharman Shanmugaratnam, Senior Minister, Singapore</p> <p>Jo Tyndall, Director, Environment Directorate, OECD</p> <p>Nicholas Stern, IG Patel Professor of Economics and Government, London School of Economics, UK</p> <p>Nitin Prasad, Chairman, Shell India</p> <p>Ebtesam Al-Ketbi, President, Emirates Policy Centre, UAE</p> <p>Moderator: Jayant Sinha, Member of Parliament, India</p>
	<p><i>Mumtaz:</i> The Startup Planet: Reclaiming Half The Sky</p> <p>Scene Setter: Jagannatha Kumar, CEO, Reliance Foundation, India</p> <p>Panel Discussion:</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>Priyanka Chaturvedi, Member of Parliament, India</p> <p>Laura Lane, Executive Vice President and Chief Corporate Affairs and Sustainability Officer, UPS, USA</p> <p>Sandhya Devanathan, Vice President, Meta India</p> <p>Rebecca Razavi, Head of Public Policy & Economic Graph, Asia-Pacific, LinkedIn, USA</p> <p>Neira Dali Chaouch, Secretary General, Algerian Tech Women & Women in AI, Algeria</p> <p>Moderator: Vanita Sharma, Advisor, Strategic Initiatives, Reliance Foundation, India</p>

DAY TWO Friday, March 3, 2023

<p>1235-1435 Lunch Conversations (By Invite Only)</p>	<p><i>Roshanara:</i> The Double Engine of Growth: India, Bangladesh, BIMSTEC, and the Indo-Pacific 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>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 Moderator: Pankaj Saran, Convenor, NatStrat, India</p>
	<p><i>Jehangir:</i> Ministerial Interaction with the Raisina Young Fellows: Healing a Divided World 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>M.U.M. Ali Sabry, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sri Lanka Naledi Pandor, Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa Tanja Fajon, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Slovenia Moderator: Shashi Tharoor, Member of Parliament, India</p>
<p>1435-1515 Panel Discussion</p>	<p>Turbulence, Temperament, and Temerity: Leadership in the Age of Uncertainty Tony Blair, Former Prime Minister, UK Kevin Pieterse, Former Captain, Men's Cricket Team, England S. Jaishankar, Minister of External Affairs, India Moderator: Palki Sharma, Managing Editor, Network18, India</p>
<p>1515-1605 Panel Discussion</p>	<p>The Emerging Consensus: G20 & the Development Imperative 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>Alan Ganoo, Minister of Land Transport and Light Rail, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Regional Integration and International Trade, Mauritius Mauro Vieira, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Brazil Naledi Pandor, Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa Elisabetta Belloni, Director General, Security Intelligence Department, Department of Information for Security, Italy Kyungjin Song, Executive Director, Innovative Economy Forum, Republic of Korea Moderator: Chandrika Bahadur, CEO, The Antara Foundation, India</p>

DAY TWO Friday, March 3, 2023

1605-1625	Break
1625-1715	<p>Bytes of Promise: How Can Technology Lift Communities?</p> <p>Launch of Report: Micro Matters: Using Data for Development in the Era of 4th Industrial Revolution</p> <p>Panel Discussion</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>M. U. M. Ali Sabry, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sri Lanka</p> <p>Omar Bin Sultan Al Olama, Minister of State for Artificial Intelligence, Digital Economy and Remote Work Applications, UAE</p> <p>Baijayant Panda, National Vice-President, Bharatiya Janata Party, India</p> <p>Ayoade Alakija, Co-Chair, African Union's African Vaccine Delivery Alliance; Special Envoy and Co-Chair for ACT-Accelerator, World Health Organization</p> <p>Gautam Aggarwal, Division President, South Asia, Mastercard, India</p> <p>Moderator: Yael Wissner-Levy, Vice President, Communications, Lemonade, Israel</p>
1715-1800	<p>The Old, The New, and The Unconventional: Assessing Contemporary Conflicts</p> <p>Panel Discussion</p> <p>Scene Setter: Randy Howard, Vice President, Lockheed Martin Aeronautics, USA</p> <p>Panel Discussion:</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>General Angus J. Campbell, Chief of the Defence Force, Australia</p> <p>General Anil Chauhan, Chief of Defence Staff, India</p> <p>General Jim Mattis, Former Secretary of Defense, USA</p> <p>Moderator: Palki Sharma, Managing Editor, Network18, India</p>
1800-1815	Break

DAY TWO Friday, March 3, 2023

<p>1815-1905 Panel Discussion</p>	<p>Heart of the Matter: LiFE (Lifestyle for Environment) for our Common Future</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>Launch of Report: Climate, Community, Cooperation: An Indian Framework for Climate Adaptation in the Global South</p> <p>Abdulla Shahid, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Maldives Tandi Dorji, Minister of Foreign Affairs and External Trade, Bhutan Amitabh Kant, G20 Sherpa, India Lisa Jackson, Vice President, Environment, Policy and Social Initiatives, Apple Angelo George, CEO, Bisleri, India</p> <p>Moderator: Kate Hampton, CEO, Children’s Investment Fund Foundation, UK</p>
<p>1905-2000</p>	<p>Materials that Matter: Battle for Securing Critical Supply Chains</p> <p>Scene Setter: Anirudh Bhagchandka, Founder, Global Trade Observer, India</p> <p>Panel Discussion:</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>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</p> <p>Moderator: Stormy-Annika Mildner, 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> Rhythm of the Left: Understanding Latin America's Choices</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>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 Moderator: Carolina Chimoy, Correspondent, DW, USA</p>
	<p><i>Mumtaz:</i> The India Lighthouse: Piped Water to All</p> <p>Scene Setter: Csaba Kőrösi, President of the UN General Assembly</p> <p>Panel Discussion:</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>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 Moderator: Bharat Lal, Director-General, National Centre for Good Governance (NCGG), India</p>
<p>2000-2200 Dinner Conversations (By Invite Only)</p>	<p><i>Roshanara:</i> A Time for Reset? How Can Democracies Partner for a Safe Future? (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>Vinay Mohan Kwatra, Foreign Secretary, India</p>

DAY TWO Friday, March 3, 2023

	<p><i>Jehangir:</i> Deadline 2024: Defending Democracies in the Digital Age</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>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</p> <p>Moderator: Kanchan Gupta, Senior Advisor, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, India</p>
2200-2230	Break
2230-2320 Conversations over Kahwa	<p><i>Mumtaz:</i> From Karachi to Kandahar: Is the Arc of Terror Aflame Again?</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>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 Mahboub Seraj, Journalist, Afghanistan</p> <p>Moderator: Smita Prakash, Editor, Asian News International, India</p>
2230-2320 Conversations over Kahwa	<p><i>Roshanara:</i> As the Donetsk Flows: Armageddon, Resolution, or Irrelevance?</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>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</p> <p>Moderator: Ajay Bisaria, Former High Commissioner of India to Canada</p>

DAY THREE Saturday, March 4, 2023

0730-0900

Conversations over Breakfast
(By Invite Only)

Mumtaz: **Trends at Raisina: Musings Over Millets**

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.

Wladyslaw T. Bartoszewski, Member of Parliament, Poland

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

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

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

Jenny Mander, Professor, University of Cambridge, UK

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

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

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

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

- 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?

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

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

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

Roshnara: **Rethinking Security: New Battlefields, New Armies, New Technologies**

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.

Vikram Misri, Deputy National Security Advisor, India

Sheesh Mahal: **Sustainable Finance in the Indo-Pacific: A Network for Action-Experts Meeting**

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

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?

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

DAY THREE Saturday, March 4, 2023

<p>0730-0900</p> <p>Conversations over Breakfast (By Invite Only)</p>	<p><i>Jehangir:</i> BRICS Think Tanks Breakfast - Sustainable Development and Growth Agenda</p> <p>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</p> <p>Panel Discussion:</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>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 Haihong Gao, Director, Research Center for International Finance, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China Caleb Kay, Youth Policy Committee, South African Institute of International Affairs, South Africa Moderator: Navdeep Suri, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
<p>0915-0925</p>	<p>Ministerial Remarks</p> <p>Meenakashi Lekhi, Minister of State, Ministry of External Affairs, India</p>
<p>0925-1015</p> <p>Panel Discussion</p>	<p>Peace In Pieces: New Pathways for a UN that Works</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>Ararat Mirzoyan, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Armenia Kojo Opong 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 Moderator: Peter Grk, Secretary-General, Bled Strategic Forum, Slovenia</p>

DAY THREE Saturday, March 4, 2023

<p>1015-1105 Panel Discussion</p>	<p>Navigating a Debt Crisis: Towards a New Development Partnership Agenda</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>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 & Development Office, UK Philippe Orliange, Executive Director of Geographies, AFD, France Vera Songwe, Founder and Chairwoman, Liquidity and Sustainability Facility, UK Moderator: Sanjeev Krishan, Chairman, PwC, India</p>
<p>1105-1120</p>	<p>Break</p>
<p>1120-1210 Panel Discussion</p>	<p>Democracy's Eleven: Protecting our Technology Futures</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>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 Moderator: Danielle Cave, Director–Executive, Strategy and Research, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia</p>

DAY THREE Saturday, March 4, 2023

1210-1310

Panel Discussion

The Future of Conflict: Lessons from the Third Decade**Scene Setter:** **Vivek Lall**, Chief Executive, General Atomics Global Corporation**Panel Discussion:**

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.

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?

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

Moderator: **Bec Shrimpton**, Director, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia

1310-1500

Lunch
Conversations*(By Invite
Only)***Shahjehan: New Frontiers: Linking India, Europe, and the World****Scene Setter:** **Tony Abbott**, Former Prime Minister, Australia**Panel Discussion:**

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.

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?

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 Stellingner, Deputy Director General, Confederation of Swedish Enterprise, Head of International and EU Affairs, Sweden

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

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

DAY THREE Saturday, March 4, 2023

<p>1310-1500 Lunch Conversations (By Invite Only)</p>	<p><i>Mumtaz:</i> The Quantum Gulf: Seeking Congruence within the Quad</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>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 Moderator: Arvind Gupta, Head and Co-Founder, Digital India Foundation, India</p>
	<p><i>Roshanara:</i> Investing for India@100</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 Nirmala Sitharaman, Minister of Finance, India</p>
	<p><i>Jehangir:</i> Beyond the Entanglements: Resolving the Food, Fuel, and Fertiliser Conflict</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>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 Moderator: Paolo Magri, Director, Italian Institute for International Political Studies, Italy</p>
<p>1500-1530</p>	<p>In Conversation</p> <p>Nirmala Sitharaman, Minister of Finance, India Ashok Malik, Partner and Chair of India Practice, The Asia Group, India</p>

DAY THREE Saturday, March 4, 2023

<p>1530-1620</p> <p>Panel Discussion</p>	<p>The Strategic Poser: Dragon's Manoeuvre in the Taiwan Strait</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>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</p> <p>Moderator: Veerle Nouwens, Senior Research Fellow, Royal United Services Institute, UK</p>
<p>1620-1640</p>	<p>Break</p>
<p>1640-1710</p>	<p>In Conversation</p> <p>Piyush Goyal, Minister of Commerce & Industry, Consumer Affairs, Food & Public Distribution, and Textiles, India Zakka Jacob, Managing Editor, CNN-News18, India</p>
<p>1710-1800</p> <p>Panel Discussion</p>	<p>Eastern Promise: The Power Shifts in EU Politics</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>Gordan Grlić 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</p> <p>Moderator: Robert Vass, Founder and President of GLOBSEC, Slovak Republic</p>
<p>1800-1820</p>	<p>Break</p>

DAY THREE Saturday, March 4, 2023

1820-1900 Panel Discussion	<p>The Android Dream: A Collaborative Approach to Building Digital Public Infrastructure</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>Amitabh Kant, G20 Sherpa, India Usta Kaitesi, CEO, Rwanda Governance Board, Rwanda Andreas Schaal, Director, Global Relations, OECD Keyzom Ngodup Massally, Head of Digital Programmes, UNDP</p> <p>Moderator: Abhishek Singh, President & CEO NeGD, Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology, India</p>
1900-1910	<p>Ministerial Remarks</p> <p>Rajkumar Ranjan Singh, Minister of State for External Affairs, India</p>
1910-2000 Panel Discussion	<p>Showstopper: Currencies of Power and Persuasion: Reflections on the Future</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>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 (JSOU), USA</p> <p>Moderator: Justin Bassi, Executive Director, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia</p>
2030 onwards Dinner Discussions (By Invite Only)	<p><i>Shahjehan</i>: Why India Matters!</p> <p>Current Cohort of the Raisina Young Fellows Programme & Alum of ORF Young Leaders’ Programmes engage with S. Jaishankar, Minister of External Affairs, India</p>
	<p><i>Mumtaz</i>: Reclaiming Peace: Building Bridges in a Turbulent World (Closed Door Dinner)</p>
	<p><i>Roshanara</i>: India-Germany Business Dinner (Closed Door Dinner)</p>

Note: Foreign Ministers are listed in alphabetical order.



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

Raising Ideas Pod

In partnership with **Asian News International**

In Conversation

Giorgia Meloni, President of the Council of Ministers (Prime Minister) of the Italian Republic
Moderator: **Samir Saran**, President, Observer Research Foundation, India

In Conversation

Lars Løkke Rasmussen, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Denmark
Moderator: **Mihir Swarup Sharma**, Director, Centre for Economy and Growth Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India

The Growth Story: Prices and Projections

Bricklin Dwyer, Chief Economist & Head of the Mastercard Economics Institute, Mastercard, USA
Alicia García Herrero, Chief Economist Asia Pacific, Natixis, France
Philippe Orliange, Executive Director of Geographies, AFD, France
Moderator: **Harsh Gupta Madhusudan**, Public Interest Director, National Stock Exchange International Exchange, India

In Conversation

Elnur Mammadov, Deputy Foreign Minister, Republic of Azerbaijan
Moderator: **Harsh V. Pant**, Vice President, Studies and Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India

Republicans or Democrats: Who is better for India?

Martijn Rasser, Senior Fellow and Director, Technology and National Security Program, Center for a New American Security, USA
Leslie Vinjamuri, Director, US and the Americas Programme; Dean, Queen Elizabeth II Academy for Leadership in International Affairs, Chatham House, UK
Kenneth Juster, Distinguished Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, USA
Moderator: **Smita Prakash**, Editor, Asian News International, India

In Conversation

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

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

In Conversation

Faisal Bin Farhan Al-Saud, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Saudi Arabia

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

In Conversation

Sameh Hassan Shoukry Selim, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Egypt

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

In Conversation

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

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

In Conversation

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

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

Sports, Diplomacy, and Realpolitik: Sporting Soft Power for Grand Ambitions

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

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

In Conversation

Naledi Pandor, Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa

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

In Conversation

Mauro Vieira, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Brazil

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

In Conversation

Alan Ganoo, Minister of Land Transport and Light Rail; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Regional Integration and International Trade, Mauritius

Moderator: **Galit Palzur**, Sustainability and Climate Risk Management Expert, Israel

In Conversation

Tobias Billström, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sweden

Moderator: **Mihir Swarup Sharma**, Director, Centre for Economy and Growth Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India

In Conversation

Marcelo Ebrard Casaubón, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mexico

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

In Conversation

Tandi Dorji, Minister for Foreign Affairs and External Trade, Bhutan

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

In Conversation

General Manoj Pande, Chief of Army Staff, India

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

Future of Europe: What is driving its actions?

Rui Vinhas, Director General for Foreign Policy, Portugal

Velina Tchakarova, Founder, For A Conscious Experience (FACE), Austria

Tomi Huhtanen, Executive Director, The Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies, Finland

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

Livable Cities

Iván Duque Márquez, Former President, Colombia

Moderator: **Dikshu C. Kukreja**, Managing Principal, C.P. Kukreja Architects, India

The Pacific Blues

Dulciana Somare Brash, Development Specialist, DevCom Pacific (PNG) Ltd, Papua New Guinea

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

Adm. Karambir Singh, Chairman, National Maritime Foundation, India

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

Supply Unchained: Materials and Digital Futures

Carl Bildt, Former Prime Minister, Sweden

Bala Subramanian, Executive Vice President and Chief Digital and Technology Officer, UPS, USA

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

Moderator: **Mihir Swarup Sharma**, Director, Centre for Economy and Growth Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India

The South China Sea Quagmire: Principles or Compromise?

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

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

Rory Medcalf, Professor and Head of National Security College, Australian National University, Australia

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

In Conversation

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

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

Women First: Leadership in the 4IR

Marie Lou Papazian, Chief Executive Officer, Simonian Educational Foundation, USA

Hoda A. Al Khzaimi, Director of Emerging Technologies, NYU, UAE

Moderator: **Priya Shah**, General Partner, Theia Ventures, India

In Conversation

Ararat Mirzoyan, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Armenia

Moderator: **Jaibal Naduvath**, Vice President and Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

Peace and Partnerships in the Indo-Pacific

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

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

Chip Wars: Chasing Critical Technologies

Szu-Chien Hsu, Board Member, Institute for National Defense and Security Research

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

Afghanistan and After: Betrayal and Migration

Kaush Arha, Fellow, Atlantic Council, Scowcroft Center for Strategy & Security, USA

Shabnam Nasimi, Former Policy Advisor to the UK Minister for Refugees and Minister for Afghan Resettlement, UK

Younes Ouaqasse, Partner, EY, Germany

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

Youth and LiFE

Manal Bidar, Ambassador, African Youth Climate Hub, Morocco

Anita Soina, Global Youth Champion, UN Hosted Sanitation and Water For All

Neeshad Shafi, Co-Founder, Arab Youth Climate Movement Qatar, India

Aishwarya Sharma, Fashion Activist and UN Global Goal Ambassador

Moderator: **Mannat Jaspal**, Associate Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

In Conversation

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

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

Taking Stock, Looking Ahead : USA - India Relationship

Taranjeet Singh Sandhu, Ambassador of India to the United States

Kenneth Juster, Distinguished Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, USA

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

In Conversation

Ivan Korcok, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Slovak Republic

Moderator: **Jaibal Naduvath**, Vice President and Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

In Conversation

Gordan Grlić Radman, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Croatia

Moderator: **Tara Varma**, Visiting Fellow, The Brookings Institution, USA

Social Lift: Gender and Development

Usta Kaitesi, CEO, Rwanda Governance Board, Rwanda

Shoko Noda, Resident Representative, UNDP India

Moderator: **Esther Tamara**, Director of Climate Unit; Co-Director of Research & Analysis, Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia, Indonesia

Energy, Connectivity, and Geopolitics

Terhi Hakala, EU Special Representative for Central Asia, European External Action Service

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

The Rising Quartet: I2U2 in an Era of Minilateralism

Ron Malka, Former Ambassador and Director General, Ministry of Economy and Industry, Israel

Ebtessam Al-Ketbi, President, Emirates Policy Centre, UAE

Oshrit Birvadker, Senior Fellow, Jerusalem Institute for Strategy and Security, Israel

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

Serving the Next 6 Billion: Fanning the FinTech Revolution

Penny Burt, Head of Policy and Government Engagement Asia Pacific, Stripe, Singapore

Tidhar Wald, Deputy Managing Director, Better Than Cash Alliance, United Nations

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

The Critical Technologies Tracker: The Global Race for Future Power

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

Jamie Gaida, Senior Analyst, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia

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

In Conversation

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

Moderator: **Mihir Swarup Sharma**, Director, Centre for Economy and Growth Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India

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

G20 Global Think Tank Townhall

Sunday, March 5, 2023

0900-0930	Registration
0930-1015	<p>Inaugural Session</p> <p>Welcome Remarks: Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation and Chair, T20 India Secretariat, India</p> <p>Opening Remarks: Amitabh Kant, G20 Sherpa, India</p> <p>Inaugural Address: Bhupender Yadav, Union Minister of Labour and Employment, Environment, Forest and Climate Change, India</p> <p>Vote of Thanks: Sujan Chinoy, Director General, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses and Chair, T20 India Core Group, India</p>
1015 - 1130	<p>Session 1 G20 for the Planet: The Next Step for Climate Smart Policies</p> <p>India has assumed the G20 presidency as debate rages over patterns of energy consumption in the world and the long-term impact on the planet. The crisis in Europe is not just impacting energy prices, it has also led to larger questions about energy supply chains, and diversification of energy mediums and sources. A key concern for India has been the responsibility of the individual, leading to Mission LiFE (Lifestyle for Environment).</p> <p>Trigger Presentation:</p> <p>Mallika Ishwaran, Chief Economist, Shell, UK</p> <p>Thomas Birringer, Deputy Head of Analysis and Consulting Division, KAS Headquarters, Germany</p> <p>Moderator: Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation and Chair, T20 India Secretariat, India</p>
1130-1150	Break



Sunday, March 5, 2023

1150-1200

Special Address

Ashish Kumar Sinha, Joint Secretary (G20), Ministry of External Affairs, India

1200-1315

Session 2 | The Digital Revolution: Inclusive Growth and Digital Public Infrastructure

Technology has a critical role to play in social and economic empowerment. India has emphasised the need to build digital public infrastructure to ensure equitable, inclusive, and sustainable economies. Adaption of key digital technologies in everyday lives now impacts important issues from financial inclusion to public health.

Driving Questions:

- Can the G20 work together to focus on building the digital infrastructure that can positively impact livelihoods?
- How can it build policies to accelerate inclusive growth and utilise data for development?

Trigger Presentation:

Sharad Sharma, Co-Founder, iSPIRT and Chair, T20 Task Force 2 on Our Common Digital Future: Affordable, Accessible and Inclusive Digital Public Infrastructure

Karthik Raghupathy, Head of Strategy, and Investor Relations, PhonePe, India

Moderator: **Jaibal Naduvath**, Vice President and Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

1315-1430

Lunch

1430-1440

Special Address

Nagaraj Naidu Kakanur, Joint Secretary (G20), Ministry of External Affairs, India

Sunday, March 5, 2023

1440-1540	<p>Session 3 Mind the Gap: Towards Gender Equity and Women-Led Development</p> <p>Women have been disproportionately affected by the pandemic, with adverse outcomes in health, education, and employment. This has brought to the forefront the need for women-led development processes and policy support to address gender outcomes in crisis response.</p> <p>This session will explore whether gender is seen as a cross-cutting priority across sectors in global policymaking. It will also deliberate on the role of gender representation in policymaking and how it can help address gender outcomes in crises.</p> <p>Driving Questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How can the G20's EMPOWER group work on increasing equity in access to health and social security? • Can women-led development processes be mainstreamed through the G20? <p>Trigger Presentation:</p> <p>Anna Roy, Senior Advisor, NITI Aayog, India</p> <p>Moderator: Sunaina Kumar, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation and Executive Director, T20 India Secretariat, India</p>
1540-1600	Break
1600-1610	<p>Special Address</p> <p>Muktesh Pardeshi, Officer on Special Duty (G20–Operations), Ministry of External Affairs, India</p>
1610-1650	<p>Interventions G20 for All: Consensus and Continuity for a Positive Development and Growth Agenda</p> <p>The effectiveness of the G20 as an instrument of global governance depends upon its ability to define sustainable and inclusive policy priorities. How can the G20 ensure that its development focus is maintained beyond the next few emerging-economy presidencies? How can it collaborate with the G7, which is addressing similar issues?</p> <p>Sujan Chinoy, Director General, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses and Chair, T20 India Core Group, India</p> <p>Tetsushi Sonobe, Dean and CEO, Asian Development Bank Institute; Chair, Think7, Japan</p> <p>Yose Rizal Damuri, Executive Director, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia</p> <p>Renato Baumann, Director of Studies on Economic and International Policy Relations, Institute of Applied Economic Research, Brazil</p>
1650-1710	Break
1710-1720	<p>Special Address</p> <p>Abhay Thakur, Sous-Sherpa, G20 India</p>
1720-1820	<p>Session 4 Decade of Action: A Review of the Sustainable Development Goals</p> <p>Recent reversals in SDG achievement caused by the cascading impacts of the pandemic and the ensuing economic crisis have brought the focus back on societal resilience and development for all. As we approach the midpoint in the implementation of the SDG Agenda, what are the lessons learnt?</p> <p>Driving Questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How can developing-country presidencies fast-track progress on the SDGs at the G20? • How can major post-pandemic constraints on government budgets be reconciled with the SDG imperative? <p>Trigger Presentation:</p> <p>Eenam Gambhir, Joint Secretary (G20), Ministry of External Affairs, India</p> <p>Shombi Sharp, UN Resident Coordinator in India</p> <p>Moderator: Sachin Chaturvedi, Director General, Research and Information System for Developing Countries, and Member, T20 India Core Group, India</p>
1820-1845	<p>Valedictory Session</p> <p>Valedictory Address: Harsh Vardhan Shringla, Chief Coordinator (G20), India</p> <p>Vote of Thanks: Shruti Jain, Coordinator, T20 India Secretariat, India & Jhanvi Tripathi, Coordinator, T20 India Secretariat, India</p>
1845 onwards	Dinner Reception



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

Associated Events



Raisina Forum for Future of Diplomacy

October 10-20, 2022, Taj Palace Hotel

Organised by the *Observer Research Foundation* and the *Ministry of External Affairs, India*, in partnership with the *UK Government*, the *Japan Government*, the *Australian Government*, and the *Anwar Gargash Diplomatic Academy, UAE*

Raisina @ Sydney

February 18, 2023, Sydney Museum of Contemporary Art

Organised by the *Observer Research Foundation* and *Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI)*

The Raisina Young Fellows Programme

February 27-March 8, 2023, Hyatt Regency Delhi

Organised by the *Observer Research Foundation* and *ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius*

India & Armenia: Political Assessments & Economic Opportunities

March 2, 2023, Taj Palace Hotel

Organised by the *Observer Research Foundation* and the *Applied Policy Research Institute (APRI) Armenia*

France-India-Australia Trilateral Dialogue

March 2, 2023, Taj Palace Hotel

Organised by the *Observer Research Foundation*, *Fondation pour la recherche stratégique*, *National Security College at the Australian National University*, and *Carnegie India*

Tech4Democracy Asia Venture Day

March 2, 2023, Taj Palace Hotel

Organised by the *Observer Research Foundation* and *IE University*

G20 Global Think Tank Town Hall

March 5, 2023, Nehru Memorial Auditorium

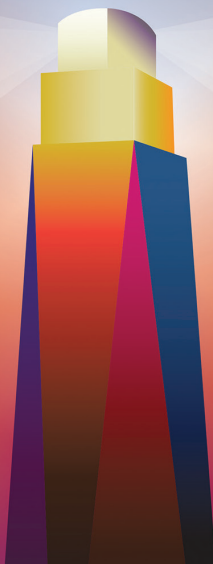
Organised by the *Observer Research Foundation*



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

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SPEAKERS



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

Inauguration Speakers

Thursday, March 2, 2023

1830-1930, Durbar



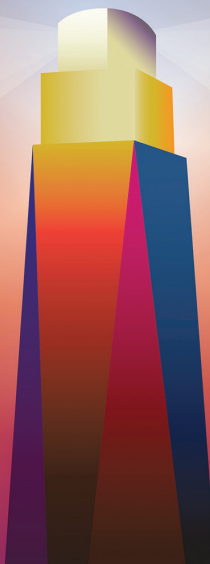
Narendra Modi

Prime Minister of India



Giorgia Meloni

President of the Council of Ministers
(Prime Minister) of the Italian Republic



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

Speakers



Abdulla Shahid

Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Republic of Maldives



Adm. R. Hari Kumar

Chief of Naval Staff, India



Abhishek Singh

President & CEO NeGD, Ministry
of Electronics and Information
Technology, India



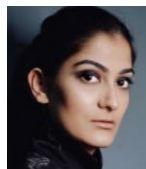
Adm. Sir Ben Key

First Sea Lord and Chief of Naval
Staff, UK



Adm. John C. Aquilino

Commander, US Indo-Pacific
Command, USA



Aishwarya Sharma

Fashion Activist and UN Global
Goal Ambassador



Adm. Karambir Singh

Chairman, National Maritime
Foundation, India



Ajay Bisaria

Former High Commissioner of
India to Canada



Alan Ganoo

Minister of Land Transport and Light Rail, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Regional Integration and International Trade, Mauritius



Andreas Schaal

Director, Global Relations, OECD



Alicá Kizekova

Senior Researcher, Institute of International Relations, Czech Republic



Andreas Scheuer

President, Asia Bridge; Member of Bundestag, Germany



Alicia García Herrero

Chief Economist Asia Pacific, Natixis, France



Angelo George

CEO, Bisleri, India



Amar Bhattacharya

Senior Fellow, Global Economy and Development, Brookings Institute, USA



Anirudh Bhagchandka

Founder, Global Trade Observer, India



Elisabetta Belloni

Director General, Security Intelligence Department, Department of Information for Security, Italy



Anita Soina

Global Youth Champion, UN Hosted Sanitation and Water For All



Amitabh Kant

G20 Sherpa, India



Anjali Nayar

Executive Vice-President, Global Health Strategies, India



Amy Hogan-Burney

General Manager and Associate General Counsel for Cybersecurity Policy and Protection, Microsoft, USA



Anna Stellingner

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



Antony J. Blinken

Secretary of State, USA



Baijayant Panda

National Vice-President, Bharatiya Janata Party, India



Ararat Mirzoyan

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Armenia



Bala Subramanian

Executive Vice President and Chief Digital and Technology Officer, UPS, USA



Arvind Gupta

Head and Co-Founder, Digital India Foundation, India



Balázs Orbán

Political Director, Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, Hungary



Ashok Malik

Partner and Chair of India Practice, The Asia Group, India



Bec Shrimpton

Director, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia



Auguste Tano Kouamé

Country Director, World Bank, India



Benedetta Berti

Head of Policy Planning, Office of the Secretary General, NATO



Ausaf Sayeed

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



Bharat Lal

Director-General, National Centre for Good Governance, India



Ayoade Alakija

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



Bill Gates

Co-Chair, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, USA



Bricklin Dwyer

Chief Economist & Head of the Mastercard Economics Institute, Mastercard, USA



Dan Schueftan

Director, National Security Studies Center, University of Haifa, Israel



Carl Bildt

Former Prime Minister, Sweden



Danielle Cave

Director, Executive, Strategy and Research, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia



Carolina Chimoy

Correspondent, DW, USA



Danilo Türk

President - Club de Madrid; Former President, Slovenia



Catherine Colonna

Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs, France



Dhruva Jaishankar

Executive Director, Observer Research Foundation America, USA



Chandrika Bahadur

CEO, The Antara Foundation, India



Dikshu C. Kukreja

Managing Principal, C.P. Kukreja Architects, India



Csaba Kőrösi

President of the UN General Assembly



Dino Patti Djalal

Founder and Chairman, Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia, Indonesia



Dammu Ravi

Secretary (Economic Relations), Ministry of External Affairs, India



Dulciana Somare Brash

Development Specialist, DevCom Pacific (PNG) Ltd, Papua New Guinea



Ebtessam Al-Ketbi

President, Emirates Policy Centre,
UAE



Frank Müller-Rosentritt

Member of Parliament, Germany



Eeva Eek-Pajuste

Director, Lennart Meri Conference,
ICDS, Estonia



Galit Palzur

Sustainability and Climate Risk
Management Expert, Israel



Elnur Mammadov

Deputy Foreign Minister, Republic
of Azerbaijan



Garima Mohan

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



Esther Tamara

Director of Climate Unit; Co-
Director of Research & Analysis,
Foreign Policy Community of
Indonesia, Indonesia



Gautam Aggarwal

Division President, South Asia,
Mastercard, India



Faisal bin Farhan Al Saud

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Saudi
Arabia



Gautam Chikermane

Vice President, Observer Research
Foundation, India



Farzana Mahmood

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



General Koji Yamazaki

Chief of Staff, Ministry of Defence,
Japan



Feodor Voitolovsky

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



General Angus J. Campbell

Chief of the Defence Force,
Australia



General Anil Chauhan

Chief of Defence Staff, India



Gwendoline Abunaw

Managing Director, Ecobank,
Cameroon



General Jim Mattis

Former Secretary of Defense, USA



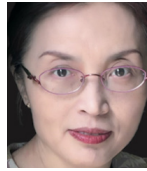
Hadas Mamane

Associate Professor, Tel Aviv
University, Israel



General Manoj Pande

Chief of Army Staff, India



Haihong Gao

Director, Research Center for
International Finance, Institute
of World Economics and Politics,
Chinese Academy of Social
Sciences



Geoffrey Van Orden

Former Member of the European
Parliament, UK



Harsh Gupta Madhusudan

Public Interest Director, National
Stock Exchange International
Exchange, India



Giorgia Meloni

President of the Council of
Ministers (Prime Minister) of the
Italian Republic



Harsh V Pant

Vice President, Studies and
Foreign Policy, Observer Research
Foundation, India



Gordan Grlić Radman

Minister of Foreign and European
Affairs, Croatia



Hayashi Yoshimasa

Minister for Foreign Affairs, Japan



Gunda Reire

Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry
of Foreign Affairs, Latvia



Heribert Dieter

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



Heungchong Kim

President, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, Republic of Korea



Jaibal Naduvath

Vice President and Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India



Hoda A. Al Khzaimi

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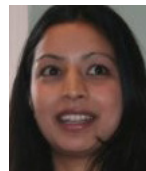
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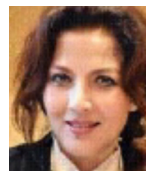
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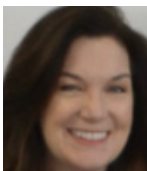
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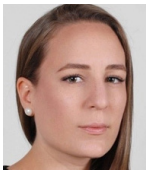
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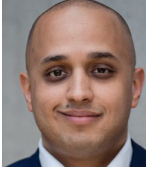
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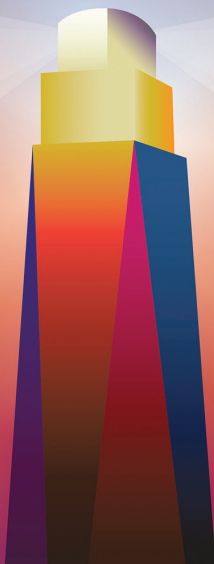


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3



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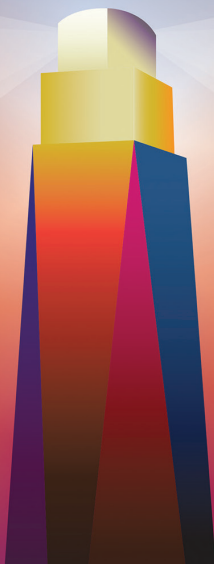


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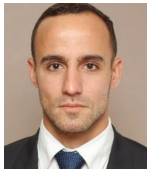
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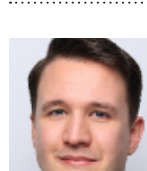
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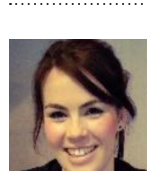
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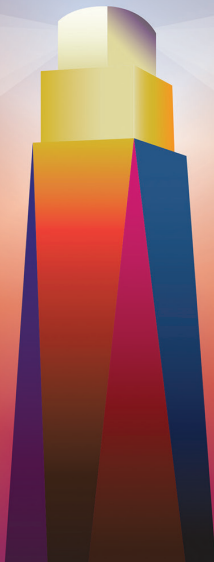
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5

.....
TEAM RAISINA



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Ministry of External Affairs, India



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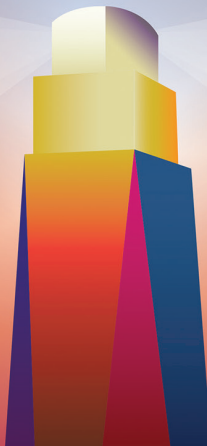


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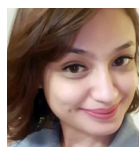
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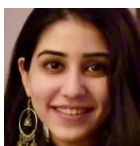
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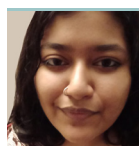
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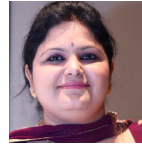
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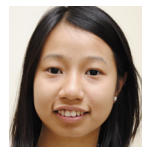
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PROVOCATION, UNCERTAINTY, TURBULENCE:
**LIGHTHOUSE
IN THE TEMPEST?**

Conference Information

Code of Conduct

Raisina Dialogue Charter of Participation

The Raisina Dialogue is an inclusive and diverse forum with participants from across a range of backgrounds. We place a high premium on ensuring that the conference is an open and safe venue for every attendee, regardless of gender identity, sexual orientation, nationality, ethnicity, religion, or disability. We request that all those associated with the Raisina Dialogue, including participants, organisers, and hotel staff, to follow our Charter of Participation and understand the repercussions of any violations. Team Raisina will also announce house rules and updates throughout the conference, which we request all the stakeholders to follow as well.

VIOLATIONS OF THE CHARTER OF PARTICIPATION

We expect all those involved to abide by our expected conduct guidelines and respect our anti-harassment policy during the conference. This includes conference-related social events and online social media engagement.

If asked by conference organisers to cease prohibited behaviour, you are expected to comply immediately. If inappropriate behaviour persists, the conference organisers may take any action they deem appropriate, including immediate expulsion from the conference and/or reporting to appropriate authorities.

RESOURCES

Reporting Inappropriate Conduct

If you are subjected to harassment or other unacceptable behaviour, please notify a conference organiser. Event organisers will be accessible and present throughout the conference. If you witness or have a grievance and prefer to remain anonymous, please fill out and submit a handwritten/typed complaint and submit it to a member of the organising team.

Law Enforcement

If an emergency arises, please first contact the Delhi Police immediately by dialling 100 (Emergency Toll-Free Number) and proceed to notify a conference organiser of the issue.

Doctor on Staff

We have a doctor on-call throughout the conference. In the event you need medical attention, please contact **Vijay Seth**—Manager at ORF (vijaykumar@orfonline.org +91 9910028657).

EXPECTED CONDUCT

We expect all those involved to display the highest level of professionalism throughout the conference. This conduct includes, but is not limited to:

Attendance and Dress Code

We restrict access to the Raisina Dialogue to participants with valid confirmation cards. All participants must attend the conference in formal attire (business formal / national/military).

Conference Participation

Please be respectful, understanding, and mindful of fellow participants. Conversations should be framed in an

open and inclusive manner. Profanity or slurs are strictly prohibited. If you choose to attend a panel discussion, we request you to stay seated for the entire duration of the event, unless asked otherwise.

Drugs and Alcohol

We abide by and enforce all local, state, and central laws and regulations surrounding possession and/or use of illegal substances. In addition, please limit tobacco use to permitted areas and consume alcohol in moderation.

Safety

We hope that our participants accept a shared responsibility of conference safety and notify conference organisers of any danger or misconduct they may witness. The possession of weapons or violence in any form is not permitted. In an effort to ensure order throughout the conference, we do not permit organised demonstrations or disruptions of any kind.

ANTI-HARASSMENT POLICY

We do not tolerate any form of harassment at the Raisina Dialogue. Our zero-tolerance policy prohibits all forms of harassment including, but not limited to:

- Offensive or derogatory comments related to gender, sexual orientation, nationality, ethnicity, religion, or disability;
- Offensive or derogatory comments towards other participants, opinions, or personal expressions;
- Sexual comments or unwanted physical contact;
- The display of inappropriate images or memorabilia;
- Violence, intimidation, threats; or stalking;
- Inappropriate or unwanted social contact with other participants; and
- Excessive or unwanted photography or videography of conference participants and organisers.

Media Advisory

ELIGIBILITY

All accredited members of the media, non-accredited senior journalists, columnists, and commentators. COVID-19 vaccination certificate is mandatory for those desirous of attending in person.

VENUE AND AGENDA

The Raisina Dialogue will be held in New Delhi, India from March 2-4, 2023, at the **Taj Palace Hotel**, Diplomatic Enclave, New Delhi.

The full agenda is available on <https://www.orfonline.org/raisina-dialogue/>. Please bear in mind that session timings are subject to change.

CONFERENCE ACCESS

Media will have access to all public sessions. Public sessions can also be viewed live on ORF's web platform or our Twitter and Facebook handles. You can also visit our website for various updates on the conference.

INTERVIEWS

Camera risers and audio output will be available in the rooms where public sessions will be held. These will be on a first come, first served basis. All public interviews will be held at the Rajabagh lawns. Please contact the organisers for prior permission and assistance for scheduling interviews with speakers and delegates. Please be mindful and brief while using these spaces.

SOCIAL MEDIA

Find us on Twitter ([@raisinadialogue](https://twitter.com/raisinadialogue)) ([@orfonline](https://twitter.com/orfonline)) and Instagram ([@raisinaofficial](https://www.instagram.com/raisinaofficial)) ([@orfonline](https://www.instagram.com/orfonline)) and follow all updates from the conference by using the <#Raisina2023>.

We encourage you to use <#Raisina2023> as it will enable us to identify your message on our social media platforms.

MEDIA CODE OF CONDUCT

All members of the media are bound by the **Raisina Dialogue Charter of Participation**. If any members of the media are found in violation of conference rules, access may be revoked. We expect media to be transparent and accurate in its reporting of conference events. Media is expected to report only on active sessions and discussions, and mutually consented interviews. For all media coverage during and following the conference, including off stage interactions with speakers and participants, "The Raisina Dialogue" and its hosts, "The Observer Research Foundation" and "The Ministry of External Affairs, India" must be acknowledged in full.

CONTACT

For any queries or assistance please write to **Laetitia Bruce Warjri** (laetitia.warjri@orfonline.org) and **Sankalita Dey** (sankalita.dey@orfonline.org)

Location
New Delhi
Taj Palace Hotel



LEGENDS

- ★ Conference Venue
- ★ Other Hotels
- Park/Forest

Map not to scale

Venue
 Conference Map
 Locate your sessions/facilities



Raisina 2023 Partners





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2 - 4 MARCH 2023, NEW DELHI



MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
Government of India

