PROVOCATION, UNCERTAINTY, TURBULENCE:
LIGHTHOUSE IN THE TEMPEST?

CONFERENCE BOOKLET

2-4 MARCH, 2023 | NEW DELHI
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.
Contents

5
Message: Minister of External Affairs, India

7
Message: Foreign Secretary, India

8
Message: Chairman, ORF

10
Curator’s Note: President, ORF

13
Programme

31
Raisina Ideas Pod

36
G20 Global Think Tank Townhall

39
Associated Events

43
Inauguration Speakers

44
Speakers

65
Alumni

73
Raisina Young Fellows

79
Team Raisina

84
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, inadvertent 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.
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
WO decades ago, ‘Vision 2020’ was almost an act of faith. It evoked unbounded optimism over an immaculate globalised world riding its way to universal prosperity on the back of free markets knit together by closely integrated trans-national supply chains. It felt as if we had finally invented a perpetual motion machine lubricated by a rules based international order. Today, that engine lies broken and rudderless—hostage to trade wars and increasing strategic competition.

The challenge today as we assemble for the 8th edition of the Raisina Dialogue is to respond to a world where multilateralism lies fatally wounded in conflicts that spill over multiple domains that none of the Geneva Conventions can control. We are in a highly digitalised world where anger and hate spread with far greater virulence than reason. What terms of engagement can we now create for countries that no longer wish to talk to each other? We need new rules of the road, more so because we are no longer just a community.
of states; but are joined by a multitude of new actors who traverse these highways with far
greater speed than we do as nations.

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

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

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

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

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

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

—Sunjoy Joshi
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
PROVOCATION, UNCERTAINTY, TURBULENCE:
LIGHTHOUSE IN THE TEMPEST?

1

PROGRAMME
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1830-1930</td>
<td>Inaugural Session at Durbar</td>
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<td>1930-1945</td>
<td>Transition</td>
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<td>1945-2145</td>
<td>Shahjehan Lessons and Look Ahead: Black Swans and Lighthouses</td>
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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
DAY ONE Thursday, March 2, 2023

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

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<tr>
<th>1945-2145</th>
<th>Jehangir Planet Interrupted: Ransomware, Malware, Wolfwarriors</th>
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<td>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. 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?</td>
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<td>Sanjay Bahl, Director General, Indian Computer Emergency Response Team, India</td>
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<td>Manon Le Blanc, Head of Cyber Policy, European External Action Service</td>
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<td>Hoda A. Al Khzaimi, Director of Emerging Technologies, NYU, UAE</td>
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<td>Mallory Knodel, Chief Technology Officer, Center for Democracy and Technology, USA</td>
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<td>2145-2220</td>
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<td>2220-2310</td>
<td>Mumtaz The Liberal Conundrum: Whose Democracy is it Anyway?</td>
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<td>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. 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?</td>
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<td>Sanjeev Sanyal, Member, Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, India</td>
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<td>Balázs Orbán, Political Director, Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, Hungary</td>
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<td>James Carafano, Vice President, Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy, The Heritage Foundation, USA</td>
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<td>Velina Tchakarova, Founder, For a Conscious Experience, Austria</td>
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<td>Tripurdaman Singh, Postdoctoral Fellow, University of London, UK</td>
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<td>Moderator: Marya Shakil, Senior Political Editor, CNN News18, India</td>
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<td>2310-2330</td>
<td>Red, White or Blue: The Divided States of America</td>
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<td>The United States has become one of the world’s most politically and socially divided countries. The limitations of a compulsive binary political choice between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party have exacerbated political contestation. Issues like immigration and abortion have upended the course of political options and voting in the US. Worryingly, these divisions have an impact on domestic and foreign policy choices, and on America’s global role. How will the sharp political and social divisions in American society impact its global image? How does a divided Congress impede Biden’s agenda? Can the Republicans reclaim the White House in 2024? Will that heal or worsen divisions? And what does all this mean for the “systemic competition” with China?</td>
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<td>Mariam Wardak, Founder, Her Afghanistan, USA</td>
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<td>Dhruva Jaishankar, Executive Director, Observer Research Foundation America, USA</td>
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<td>Leslie Vinjamuri, Director, US and the Americas Programme; Dean, Queen Elizabeth II Academy, Chatham House, UK</td>
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<td>Paul Kapur, Professor, Naval Postgraduate School, USA</td>
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<td>Rachel Rizzo, Senior Fellow, Europe Centre, Atlantic Council, USA</td>
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<td>Moderator: Garima Mohan, Senior Fellow, The German Marshall Fund of the United States, Germany</td>
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**PROGRAMME**

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

1205-1235 **In Conversation**  
*Sergey Lavrov*, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Russia  
*Sunjoy Joshi*, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India

1235-1435 **Shahjehan: Just Transitions: Old Fuels, New Energy, and Persistent Aspirations**  
**Scene Setter:** *Suman Bery*, Vice Chairman, NITI Aayog, India  
**Panel Discussion:**  
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. 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?  
*Tharman Shanmugaratnam*, Senior Minister, Singapore  
*Jo Tyndall*, Director, Environment Directorate, OECD  
*Nicholas Stern*, IG Patel Professor of Economics and Government, London School of Economics, UK  
*Nitin Prasad*, Chairman, Shell India  
*Ebtesam Al-Ketbi*, President, Emirates Policy Centre, UAE  
**Moderator:** *Jayant Sinha*, Member of Parliament, India

1235-1435 **Lunch Conversations (By Invite Only)**

1435-1500 **Mumtaz: The Startup Planet: Reclaiming Half The Sky**  
**Scene Setter:** *Jagannatha Kumar*, CEO, Reliance Foundation, India  
**Panel Discussion:**  
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. 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?  
*Priyanka Chaturvedi*, Member of Parliament, India  
*Laura Lane*, Executive Vice President and Chief Corporate Affairs and Sustainability Officer, UPS, USA  
*Sandhya Devanathan*, Vice President, Meta India  
*Rebecca Razavi*, Head of Public Policy & Economic Graph, Asia-Pacific, LinkedIn, USA  
*Neira Dali Chaouch*, Secretary General, Algerian Tech Women & Women in AI, Algeria  
**Moderator:** *Vanita Sharma*, Advisor, Strategic Initiatives, Reliance Foundation, India
**DAY TWO**  Friday, March 3, 2023

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Speakers</th>
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| 1235-1435  | Lunch Conversations (By Invite Only)                                  | **Roshanara**: 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. 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.  
  **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  
  **Srerradha 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 |
| 1435-1515  | Panel Discussion Turbulence, Temperament, and Temerity: Leadership in the Age of Uncertainty | **Tony Blair**, Former Prime Minister, UK  
  **Kevin Pietersen**, Former Captain, Men’s Cricket Team, England  
  **S. Jaishankar**, Minister of External Affairs, India  
  **Moderator: Palki Sharma**, Managing Editor, Network18, India |
| 1515-1605  | Panel Discussion The Emerging Consensus: G20 & the Development Imperative | **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 |
Bytes of Promise: How Can Technology Lift Communities?


Panel Discussion

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.

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?

M. U. M. Ali Sabry, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sri Lanka
Omar Bin Sultan Al Olama, Minister of State for Artificial Intelligence, Digital Economy and Remote Work Applications, UAE
Baijayant Panda, National Vice-President, Bharatiya Janata Party, India
Ayoade Alakija, Co-Chair, African Union’s African Vaccine Delivery Alliance; Special Envoy and Co-Chair for ACT-Accelerator, World Health Organization
Gautam Aggarwal, Division President, South Asia, Mastercard, India
Moderator: Yael Wissner-Levy, Vice President, Communications, Lemonade, Israel

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

Scene Setter: Randy Howard, Vice President, Lockheed Martin Aeronautics, USA

Panel Discussion:

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.

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?

General Angus J. Campbell, Chief of the Defence Force, Australia
General Anil Chauhan, Chief of Defence Staff, India
General Jim Mattis, Former Secretary of Defense, USA
Moderator: Palki Sharma, Managing Editor, Network18, India
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1815-1905</td>
<td><strong>Panel Discussion</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Heart of the Matter: LiFE (Lifestyle for Environment) for our Common Future</strong></td>
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<td>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. 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?</td>
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<td><strong>Launch of Report:</strong> Climate, Community, Cooperation: An Indian Framework for Climate Adaptation in the Global South</td>
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<td>Abdulla Shahid, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Maldives</td>
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<td>Tandi Dorji, Minister of Foreign Affairs and External Trade, Bhutan</td>
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<td>Amitabh Kant, G20 Sherpa, India</td>
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<td>Lisa Jackson, Vice President, Environment, Policy and Social Initiatives, Apple</td>
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<td>Angelo George, CEO, Bisleri, India</td>
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<td>Moderator: Kate Hampton, CEO, Children’s Investment Fund Foundation, UK</td>
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<tr>
<td>1905-2000</td>
<td><strong>Panel Discussion</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Materials that Matter: Battle for Securing Critical Supply Chains</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Scene Setter:</strong> Anirudh Bhagchandka, Founder, Global Trade Observer, India</td>
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<td><strong>Panel Discussion:</strong> 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”. 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?</td>
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<td>Tobias Billström, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sweden</td>
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<td>Tony Abbott, Former Prime Minister, Australia</td>
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<td>Rajeev Chandrasekhar, Minister of State for Skill Development and Entrepreneurship, Electronics and Information Technology, India</td>
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<td>Janka Oertel, Director, Asia Programme, European Council on Foreign Relations, Germany</td>
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<td>Tadashi Maeda, Chairman of the Board, Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC), Japan</td>
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<td>Moderator: Stormy-Annika Mildner, Executive Director, Aspen Institute, Germany</td>
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## DAY TWO Friday, March 3, 2023

### 2000-2200

**Dinner Conversations (By Invite Only)**

**Shahjehan:** *Rhythm of the Left: Understanding Latin America’s Choices*

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.

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?

- 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

**Mumtaz:** *The India Lighthouse: Piped Water to All*

**Scene Setter:** Csaba Kőrösi, President of the UN General Assembly

**Panel Discussion:**

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.

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?

- 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

### 2000-2200

**Dinner Conversations (By Invite Only)**

**Roshanara:** *A Time for Reset? How Can Democracies Partner for a Safe Future? (Foreign Secretary’s Dinner)*

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.

- Vinay Mohan Kwatra, Foreign Secretary, India
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2200-2230</td>
<td>Break</td>
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<tr>
<td>2230-2320</td>
<td>Conversations over Kahwa</td>
<td><strong>Mumtaz: From Karachi to Kandahar: Is the Arc of Terror Aflame Again?</strong></td>
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<td>Shlomit Wagman, Former Director-General, Israel Money Laundering and Terror Financing Prohibition Authority (IMPA), Israel</td>
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<td>Rexon Ryu, President, Asia Group, USA</td>
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<td>Geoffrey Van Orden, Former Member of the European Parliament, UK</td>
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<td>Sushant Sareen, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</td>
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<td>Mahbouba Seraj, Journalist, Afghanistan</td>
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<td>Moderator: Smita Prakash, Editor, Asian News International, India</td>
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<tr>
<td>2300-2320</td>
<td>Conversations over Kahwa</td>
<td><strong>Roshanara: As the Donetsk Flows: Armageddon, Resolution, or Irrelevance?</strong></td>
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<td>Manish Tewari, Member of Parliament, India</td>
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<td>Jane Holl Lute, Former Deputy Secretary, US Department of Homeland Security, USA</td>
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<td>Vlada Galan, International Political Strategist, Actum, USA</td>
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<td>Feodor Voitolovsky, Director, Primakov Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy Of Sciences, Russia</td>
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<td>Eeva Eek-Pajuste, Director, Lennart Meri Conference, ICDS, Estonia</td>
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<td>Moderator: Ajay Bisaria, Former High Commissioner of India to Canada</td>
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<tr>
<td>0730-0900</td>
<td>Mumtaz: <strong>Trends at Raisina: Musings Over Millets</strong></td>
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<td>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.</td>
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**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

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<td>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.</td>
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**Vikram Misri**, Deputy National Security Advisor, India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1200-1600</th>
<th>Sheesh Mahal: <strong>Sustainable Finance in the Indo-Pacific: A Network for Action-Experts Meeting</strong></th>
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<td>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?</td>
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**Nilanjan Ghosh**, Director, Centre for New Economic Diplomacy, Observer Research Foundation, India
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<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0730-0900</td>
<td><strong>Conversations over Breakfast</strong>&lt;br&gt;(By Invite Only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0915-0925</td>
<td><strong>Ministerial Remarks</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>0925-1015</td>
<td><strong>Peace In Pieces: New Pathways for a UN that Works</strong></td>
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**Panel Discussion:**

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?

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?

**Panelists:**

- **Jehangir:** BRICS Think Tanks Breakfast - Sustainable Development and Growth Agenda  
  **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  

- **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  

- **Ministerial Remarks**  
  Meenakashi Lekhi, Minister of State, Ministry of External Affairs, India  

- **Peace In Pieces: New Pathways for a UN that Works**  
  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.

  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?

  **Panelists:**
  Ararat Mirzoyan, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Armenia  
  Kojo Oppong 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
### DAY THREE Saturday, March 4, 2023

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Panelists</th>
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| 1015-1105| Panel Discussion: Navigating a Debt Crisis: Towards a New Development Partnership Agenda | 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 |
| 1105-1120| Break                                                                |                                                                                               |
| 1120-1210| Panel Discussion: Democracy’s Eleven: Protecting our Technology Futures | 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 |
| 1210-1230| Lunch                                                               |                                                                                               |
### DAY THREE  Saturday, March 4, 2023

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Scene Setters</th>
<th>Panel Discussion</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1210-1310</td>
<td>Panel Discussion: <strong>The Future of Conflict: Lessons from the Third Decade</strong></td>
<td><strong>Scene Setter:</strong> Vivek Lall, Chief Executive, General Atomics Global Corporation</td>
<td>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? <strong>Gen. Koji Yamazaki</strong>, Chief of Staff, Ministry of Defence, Japan <strong>Adm. R. Hari Kumar</strong>, Chief of Naval Staff, India <strong>Adm. John C. Aquilino</strong>, Commander, US Indo-Pacific Command, USA <strong>Adm. Sir Ben Key</strong>, First Sea Lord and Chief of Naval Staff, UK <strong>Vice Adm. Angus Topshee</strong>, Commander, Royal Canadian Navy, Canada <strong>Moderator:</strong> Bec Shrimpton, Director, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia</td>
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<tr>
<td>1310-1500</td>
<td>Lunch Conversations (By Invite Only)</td>
<td><strong>Scene Setter:</strong> Tony Abbott, Former Prime Minister, Australia</td>
<td>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? <strong>Sanjay Verma</strong>, Secretary (West), Ministry of External Affairs, India <strong>Scott Moe</strong>, Premier, Government of Saskatchewan, Canada <strong>Andreas Scheuer</strong>, President, Asia Bridge; Member of Bundestag, Germany <strong>Heungchong Kim</strong>, President, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, Republic of Korea <strong>Anna Stellinger</strong>, Deputy Director General, Confederation of Swedish Enterprise, Head of International and EU Affairs, Sweden <strong>Moderator:</strong> Alicia García Herrero, Chief Economist Asia Pacific, Natixis, France <strong>Wrap-Up:</strong> Nicolas Köhler-Suzuki, Associate Researcher, Jacques Delors Institute, France</td>
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# Programme

## Day Three
**Saturday, March 4, 2023**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1310-1500</td>
<td><strong>Lunch Conversations (By Invite Only)</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Mumtaz: The Quantum Gulf: Seeking Congruence within the Quad</strong></td>
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<td>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. 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?</td>
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<td><strong>Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Rajesh Pant</strong>, National Cyber Security Coordinator, Prime Minister’s Office, India</td>
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<td><strong>Johanna Weaver</strong>, Director, Tech Policy Design Centre, Australian National University, Australia</td>
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<td><strong>Martijn Rasser</strong>, Senior Fellow and Director, Technology and National Security Program, Center for a New American Security, USA</td>
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<td><strong>Amy Hogan-Burney</strong>, General Manager and Associate General Counsel for Cybersecurity Policy and Protection, Microsoft, USA</td>
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<td><strong>Satoru Nagao</strong>, Fellow (Non-Resident), Hudson Institute, USA</td>
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<td><strong>Moderator</strong>: <strong>Arvind Gupta</strong>, Head and Co-Founder, Digital India Foundation, India</td>
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<tr>
<td>1500-1530</td>
<td><strong>In Conversation</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Nirmala Sitharaman</strong>, Minister of Finance, India</td>
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<td><strong>Ashok Malik</strong>, Partner and Chair of India Practice, The Asia Group, India</td>
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<td>1530-1620</td>
<td>Panel Discussion</td>
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<td>1620-1640</td>
<td>Break</td>
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<td>1640-1710</td>
<td>In Conversation</td>
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<tr>
<td>1710-1800</td>
<td>Panel Discussion</td>
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<tr>
<td>1800-1820</td>
<td>Break</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
**DAY THREE Saturday, March 4, 2023**

1820-1900
Panel Discussion

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

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.

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?

*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

Moderator: *Abhishek Singh*, President & CEO NeGD, Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology, India

1900-1910

**Ministerial Remarks**

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

1910-2000
Panel Discussion

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

The future will be determined by how countries manage technology and platforms, economic instruments, and new-age supply chains.

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 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?

*Vinay Mohan Kwatra*, Foreign Secretary, India

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

*Reinhard Büttikofer*, 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

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

2030 onwards

**Dinner Discussions** *(By Invite Only)*

Shahjehan: *Why India Matters*

Current Cohort of the Raisina Young Fellows Programme & Alum of ORF Young Leaders’ Programmes engage with *S. Jaishankar*, Minister of External Affairs, India

Mumtaz: *Reclaiming Peace: Building Bridges in a Turbulent World*

(Closed Door Dinner)

Roshanara: *India-Germany Business Dinner*

(Closed Door Dinner)

*Note: Foreign Ministers are listed in alphabetical order.*
## In Conversation

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

**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 partnership with **Asian News International**
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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In Conversation</th>
<th>General Manoj Pande, Chief of Army Staff, India</th>
<th>Moderator: Harsh V. Pant, Vice President, Studies and Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Future of Europe: What is driving its actions?</strong></td>
<td>Rui Vinhas, Director General for Foreign Policy, Portugal</td>
<td>Velina Tchakarova, Founder, For A Conscious Experience (FACE), Austria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Livable Cities</strong></td>
<td>Iván Duque Márquez, Former President, Colombia</td>
<td>Moderator: Dikshu C. Kukreja, Managing Principal, C.P. Kukreja Architects, India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Pacific Blues</strong></td>
<td>Dulciana Somare Brash, Development Specialist, DevCom Pacific (PNG) Ltd, Papua New Guinea</td>
<td>Justin Bassi, Executive Director, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Supply Unchained: Materials and Digital Futures</strong></td>
<td>Carl Bildt, Former Prime Minister, Sweden</td>
<td>Bala Subramanian, Executive Vice President and Chief Digital and Technology Officer, UPS, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The South China Sea Quagmire: Principles or Compromise?</strong></td>
<td>Lynn Kuok, Shangri-La Dialogue Senior Fellow for Asia-Pacific Security, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Singapore</td>
<td>Satoru Nagao, Fellow (Non-Resident), Hudson Institute, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Conversation</td>
<td>Tanja Fajon, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Slovenia</td>
<td>Moderator: Navdeep Suri, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Women First: Leadership in the 4IR</strong></td>
<td>Marie Lou Papazian, Chief Executive Officer, Simonian Educational Foundation, USA</td>
<td>Hoda A. Al Khzaimi, Director of Emerging Technologies, NYU, UAE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Conversation</td>
<td>Ararat Mirzoyan, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Armenia</td>
<td>Moderator: Jaibal Naduvath, Vice President and Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Peace and Partnerships in the Indo-Pacific</strong></td>
<td>Adm. John C. Aquilino, Commander, US Indo-Pacific Command, USA</td>
<td>Moderator: Sameer Patil, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programme</td>
<td>Speakers</td>
<td>Moderators</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Chip Wars: Chasing Critical Technologies</strong></td>
<td>Szu-Chien Hsu, Board Member, Institute for National Defense and Security Research</td>
<td>Rajeswari Pillai Rajagopalan, Director, Centre for Security, Strategy and Technology, Observer Research Foundation, India</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Afghanistan and After: Betrayal and Migration</strong></td>
<td>Kaush Arha, Fellow, Atlantic Council, Scowcroft Center for Strategy &amp; Security, USA</td>
<td>Smita Prakash, Editor, Asian News International, India</td>
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<td>Shabnam Nasimi, Former Policy Advisor to the UK Minister for Refugees and Minister for Afghan Resettlement, UK</td>
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<td>Younes Ouaqasse, Partner, EY, Germany</td>
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<td><strong>Youth and LiFE</strong></td>
<td>Manal Bidar, Ambassador, African Youth Climate Hub, Morocco</td>
<td>Mannat Jaspal, Associate Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</td>
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<td>Anita Soina, Global Youth Champion, UN Hosted Sanitation and Water For All</td>
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<td>Neeshad Shafi, Co-Founder, Arab Youth Climate Movement Qatar, India</td>
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<td>Aishwarya Sharma, Fashion Activist and UN Global Goal Ambassador</td>
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<td><strong>In Conversation</strong></td>
<td>Rastislav Káčer, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Slovak Republic</td>
<td>Garima Mohan, Senior Fellow, The German Marshall Fund of the United States, Germany</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Taking Stock, Looking Ahead : USA · India Relationship</strong></td>
<td>Taranjeet Singh Sandhu, Ambassador of India to the United States</td>
<td>Smita Prakash, Editor, Asian News International, India</td>
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<td>Kenneth Juster, Distinguished Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, USA</td>
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<td><strong>In Conversation</strong></td>
<td>Ivan Korcok, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Slovak Republic</td>
<td>Jaibal Naduvath, Vice President and Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</td>
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<td><strong>In Conversation</strong></td>
<td>Gordan Grlić Radman, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Croatia</td>
<td>Tara Varma, Visiting Fellow, The Brookings Institution, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Lift: Gender and Development</strong></td>
<td>Usta Kaitesi, CEO, Rwanda Governance Board, Rwanda</td>
<td>Esther Tamara, Director of Climate Unit, Co-Director of Research &amp; Analysis, Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia, Indonesia</td>
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<td>Shoko Noda, Resident Representative, UNDP India</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Energy, Connectivity, and Geopolitics</strong></td>
<td>Terhi Hakala, EU Special Representative for Central Asia, European External Action Service</td>
<td>Harsh V. Pant, Vice President, Studies and Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Rising Quartet: I2U2 in an Era of Minilateralism</strong></td>
<td>Ron Malka, Former Ambassador and Director General, Ministry of Economy and Industry, Israel</td>
<td>Navdeep Suri, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</td>
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<td>Ebtesam Al-Ketbi, President, Emirates Policy Centre, UAE</td>
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<td>Oshrit Birvadker, Senior Fellow, Jerusalem Institute for Strategy and Security, Israel</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Serving the Next 6 Billion: Fanning the FinTech Revolution
Penny Burtt, 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
## Sunday, March 5, 2023

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0900-0930</td>
<td>Registration</td>
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<tr>
<td>0930-1015</td>
<td><strong>Inaugural Session</strong></td>
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<td>Welcome Remarks: <strong>Samir Saran</strong>, President, Observer Research Foundation and Chair, T20 India Secretariat, India</td>
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<td>Opening Remarks: <strong>Amitabh Kant</strong>, G20 Sherpa, India</td>
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<td>Inaugural Address: <strong>Bhupender Yadav</strong>, Union Minister of Labour and Employment, Environment, Forest and Climate Change, India</td>
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<td>Vote of Thanks: <strong>Sujan Chinoy</strong>, Director General, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses and Chair, T20 India Core Group, India</td>
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<tr>
<td>1015 - 1130</td>
<td>**Session 1</td>
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<td>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).</td>
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<td><strong>Trigger Presentation:</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Mallika Ishwaran</strong>, Chief Economist, Shell, UK</td>
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<td><strong>Thomas Birringer</strong>, Deputy Head of Analysis and Consulting Division, KAS Headquarters, Germany</td>
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<td><strong>Moderator:</strong> <strong>Samir Saran</strong>, President, Observer Research Foundation and Chair, T20 India Secretariat, India</td>
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<tr>
<td>1130-1150</td>
<td>Break</td>
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### Sunday, March 5, 2023

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| 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**  
**Technological role in social and economic empowerment. India emphasises the need to build digital public infrastructure to ensure equitable, inclusive, and sustainable economies. Adoption 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 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
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| 1440-1540 | Session 3 | Mind the Gap: Towards Gender Equity and Women-Led Development  
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.  
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.  
**Driving Questions:**  
- 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?  
**Trigger Presentation:**  
Anna Roy, Senior Advisor, NITI Aayog, India  
Moderator: Sunaina Kumar, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation and Executive Director, T20 India Secretariat, India |
| 1540-1600 | Break | |
| 1600-1610 | Special Address | Muktesh Pardeshi, Officer on Special Duty (G20—Operations), Ministry of External Affairs, India |
| 1610-1650 | Interventions | G20 for All: Consensus and Continuity for a Positive Development and Growth Agenda  
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?  
Sujan Chinoy, Director General, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses and Chair, T20 India Core Group, India  
Tetsushi Sonobe, Dean and CEO, Asian Development Bank Institute; Chair, Think7, Japan  
Yose Rizal Damuri, Executive Director, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia  
Renato Baumann, Director of Studies on Economic and International Policy Relations, Institute of Applied Economic Research, Brazil |
| 1650-1710 | Break | |
| 1710-1720 | Special Address | Abhay Thakur, Sous-Sherpa, G20 India |
| 1720-1820 | Session 4 | Decade of Action: A Review of the Sustainable Development Goals  
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?  
**Driving Questions:**  
- 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?  
**Trigger Presentation:**  
Eenam Gambhir, Joint Secretary (G20), Ministry of External Affairs, India  
Shombi Sharp, UN Resident Coordinator in India  
Moderator: Sachin Chaturvedi, Director General, Research and Information System for Developing Countries, and Member, T20 India Core Group, India |
| 1820-1845 | Valedictory Session | Valedictory Address: Harsh Vardhan Shringla, Chief Coordinator (G20), India  
Vote of Thanks: Shruti Jain, Coordinator, T20 India Secretariat, India & Jhanvi Tripathi, Coordinator, T20 India Secretariat, India |
| 1845 onwards | Dinner Reception | |
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?

2
Speakers
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
Speakers

Abdulla Shahid
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Maldives

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

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

Adm. Karambir Singh
Chairman, National Maritime Foundation, India

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

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

Aishwarya Sharma
Fashion Activist and UN Global Goal Ambassador

Ajay Bisaria
Former High Commissioner of India to Canada
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>POSITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alan Ganoo</td>
<td>Minister of Land Transport and Light Rail, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Regional Integration and International Trade, Mauritius</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alicá Kizekova</td>
<td>Senior Researcher, Institute of International Relations, Czech Republic</td>
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<td>Amar Bhattacharya</td>
<td>Senior Fellow, Global Economy and Development, Brookings Institute, USA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elisabetta Belloni</td>
<td>Director General, Security Intelligence Department, Department of Information for Security, Italy</td>
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<td>Amitabh Kant</td>
<td>G20 Sherpa, India</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amy Hogan-Burney</td>
<td>General Manager and Associate General Counsel for Cybersecurity Policy and Protection, Microsoft, USA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Andreas Schaal</td>
<td>Director, Global Relations, OECD</td>
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<tr>
<td>Andreas Scheuer</td>
<td>President, Asia Bridge; Member of Bundestag, Germany</td>
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<tr>
<td>Angelo George</td>
<td>CEO, Bisleri, India</td>
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<td>Anirudh Bhagchandka</td>
<td>Founder, Global Trade Observer, India</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anjali Nayyar</td>
<td>Executive Vice-President, Global Health Strategies, India</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anna Stellinger</td>
<td>Deputy Director General, Confederation of Swedish Enterprise, Head of International and EU Affairs, Sweden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Chief Economist & Head of the Mastercard Economics Institute, Mastercard, USA

Carl Bildt
Former Prime Minister, Sweden

Carolina Chimoy
Correspondent, DW, USA

Catherine Colonna
Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs, France

Chandrika Bahadur
CEO, The Antara Foundation, India

Csaba Kőrösi
President of the UN General Assembly

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

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

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

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

Dhruva Jaishankar
Executive Director, Observer Research Foundation America, USA

Dikshu C. Kukreja
Managing Principal, C.P. Kukreja Architects, India

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

Dulciana Somare Brash
Development Specialist, DevCom Pacific (PNG) Ltd, Papua New Guinea
Ebtesam Al-Ketbi  
President, Emirates Policy Centre, UAE

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

Elnur Mammadov  
Deputy Foreign Minister, Republic of Azerbaijan

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

Faisal bin Farhan Al Saud  
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Saudi Arabia

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

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

Frank Müller-Rosentritt  
Member of Parliament, Germany

Galit Palzur  
Sustainability and Climate Risk Management Expert, Israel

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

Gautam Aggarwal  
Division President, South Asia, Mastercard, India

Gautam Chikermane  
Vice President, Observer Research Foundation, India

General Koji Yamazaki  
Chief of Staff, Ministry of Defence, Japan

General Angus J. Campbell  
Chief of the Defence Force, Australia
General Anil Chauhan  
Chief of Defence Staff, India

General Jim Mattis  
Former Secretary of Defense, USA

General Manoj Pande  
Chief of Army Staff, India

Geoffrey Van Orden  
Former Member of the European Parliament, UK

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

Gordan Grlić Radman  
Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Croatia

Gunda Reire  
Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Latvia

Gwendoline Abunaw  
Managing Director, Ecobank, Cameroon

Hadas Mamane  
Associate Professor, Tel Aviv University, Israel

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

Harsh Gupta Madhusudan  
Public Interest Director, National Stock Exchange International Exchange, India

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

Hayashi Yoshimasa  
Minister for Foreign Affairs, Japan

Heribert Dieter  
Senior Fellow, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Germany
| SPEAKERS |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| **Heungchong Kim**          | **Jaibal Naduvath**          |
| President, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, Republic of Korea | Vice President and Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India |
| **Hoda A. Al Khzaimi**      | **James Carafano**          |
| Director of Emerging Technologies, NYU, UAE | Vice President, Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy, The Heritage Foundation, USA |
| **Indrani Bagchi**          | **James Cleverly**          |
| CEO, Ananta Aspen Centre, India | Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Affairs, UK |
| **Isaiah Wilson III**       | **Jamie Gaida**             |
| President, Joint Special Operations University (JSOU), USA | Senior Analyst, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia |
| **Iván Duque Márquez**      | **Jane Holl Lute**          |
| Former President, Colombia | Former Deputy Secretary, US Department of Homeland Security, USA |
| **Ivan Korcok**             | **Janka Oertel**            |
| Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Slovakia | Director, Asia Programme, European Council on Foreign Relations, Germany |
| **Jagannatha Kumar**        | **Jayant Sinha**            |
| CEO, Reliance Foundation, India | Member of Parliament, India |
Jenny Bates
Director General, Indo-Pacific, Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office, UK

Jenny Mander
Professor, University of Cambridge, UK

Jo Tyndall
Director, Environment Directorate, OECD

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

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPEAKERS</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<table>
<thead>
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LIGHTHOUSE IN THE TEMPEST?

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3
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Stephanie Illingworth
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Yusuf Avci
Lecturer, Asian Studies, Social Sciences University of Ankara

Tim Hall
First Secretary (Political) at the Australian High Commission in New Delhi in 2021

Leo Titian Gabriel Wigger
Associate Partner, International Politics, Candid Foundation gGmbH

Chameera Abeywardena
Coordinating Secretary, Speaker of the Sri Lankan Parliament

Eoghan Padraig McSwiney
Deputy Political Coordinator at the Security Council, Spokesperson and Head of Communications, Permanent Mission to the United Nations, New York, Department of Foreign Affairs of Ireland

Maria Khorolskaya Primakov
National Research Institute of World Economy and International Relations Russian Academy of Sciences (IMEMO)
PROVOCATION, UNCERTAINTY, TURBULENCE: Lighthouse in the Tempest?

5

TEAM RAISINA
Hosts

VINAY MOHAN KWATRA
Foreign Secretary,
Ministry of External Affairs, India

SUNJOY JOSHI
Chairman,
Observer Research Foundation

SUMIT SETH
Joint Secretary,
Policy Planning,
Ministry of External Affairs, India

Curator

SAMIR SARAN
President,
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Multimedia Lead

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Manager, Visual Media

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Karan Kumar
Multimedia Lead

Komal Badodekar
Multimedia Lead (Hindi)

Laetitia Bruce Warjri
Head of Communications and Outreach

Mannat Jaspal
Associate Fellow, Geoeconomics Studies Programme

Noyontara Gupta
Research Assistant, Programme and Appraisal Management

Paramjeet Kaur
Front Office Executive
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.

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.
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) (@orfonline) and Instagram (@raisinoaofficial) (@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
Venue
Conference Map
Locate your sessions/facilities

- A: Registration & Helpdesk
- Conference Areas
- Facilities
- Lounge/Networking spaces
- Dining area
- Access/roads
- Limited Access