



RAISINA

DIALOGUE 2022

25-27 APRIL, 2022, NEW DELHI

TERRANOVA

IMPASSIONED • IMPATIENT • IMPERILLED

MESSAGES

विदेश मंत्री
भारत



Minister of External Affairs
India



Message

I am pleased to learn that the seventh edition of Raisina Dialogue is being held from 25-27 April 2022, in New Delhi.

Since 2016, the Raisina Dialogue has emerged as a purposive platform to discuss pressing geopolitical issues of our times. It has been rewarding to see the dialogue grow both in magnitude and substance. I commend our partner, the Observer Research Foundation, for the success of this flagship event.

I am happy that we are able to meet this year in the regular format. Technology has been our friend during the pandemic, but there is no real substitute for in-person interactions.

This year's dialogue will explore the theme: "*Terranova--Impassioned, Impatient, Imperiled.*" Considerable turbulence is evident in many parts of the globe. The need for constructive conversations and encouraging diverse opinions along multiple tracks has never been more. In this discourse, we aim to map the evolving geopolitical and geoeconomic trend-lines, question prevalent dogmas about the international system, and encourage future-oriented thinking.

Raisina Dialogue 2022 is an opportunity to discuss the big ideas defining the emerging global realities. It is a forum that brings together India's friends and partners -seeking common ground where there are divergences, and encouraging further collaboration in areas of convergence.

I look forward to the discussions, and extend my best wishes to the organisers, speakers, and participants of this event.

Dr. S. Jaishankar



Message from the Foreign Secretary of India

welcome you for the seventh edition of the Raisina Dialogue.

It is heartening to find that we can gather here in New Delhi, in-person once again. I am pleased that this year we will welcome and in some cases welcome-back to India our friends and partners - Leaders, Foreign Ministers, academics, corporate luminaries and strategic thinkers—from across the globe.

Raisina Dialogue has established itself as a confluence of decisionmakers and opinion-shapers and a crucible of forward-leaning ideas and conversations. The fact that this MEA supported flagship conference has grown unabated, in spite of global disruptions and tectonic geopolitical shifts, is reflective of India's growing diplomatic profile and its extensive partnerships worldwide.

This year's theme "*Terranova—Impassioned, Impatient, Imperilled*" will probe a plethora of issues—some strategic in nature, some tactical, some others more existential. Our pivot is on inclusive and human-centric development, and re-balancing of the global order. The sessions will be a deep dive into the current shifts, the role technology is destined to play in it, and notably the part we all can play as responsible stake-holders.

As we take stock of some of these key meta-issues that will shape our future, we need to begin by asking ourselves—are we future-ready? This Dialogue provides us the right platform for free and open ideation. It not only highlights the Indian perspective, but also our proactive outreach to the world, as we jointly strive to provide long-term solutions for regional and global peace, security, and prosperity.

I look forward to meeting many of you in-person. And I wish the Observer Research Foundation and delegates of the Raisina Dialogue 2022 the very best.

Harsh Vardhan Shringla



Message from the Chairman, Observer Research Foundation

AFTER a pandemic-imposed hiatus of two years, we are pleased to finally host the seventh edition of the Raisina Dialogue in New Delhi, as an in-person rather than virtual event. This dialogue, a joint endeavour between the Ministry of External Affairs and the Observer Research Foundation, has become a venue for conversations among global leaders and thinkers across government, business, media, civil society, and academia.

Yet, in the midst of eager anticipation, we confess some trepidation too. Trepidation because even as the world battled to recover from the devastation caused to lives and livelihoods by a once-in-a-century pandemic, it was struck by two bolts that came from out of the blue. The first saw a dark veil descend yet again over Afghanistan; the second has just redrawn the iron curtain through the heart of Europe. The Raisina Dialogue 2022 now takes place in the lengthening shadow of these events.

Our theme for this year, "*Terra Nova: Impassioned, Impatient, and Imperilled,*" seeks to interrogate our responses to all three watersheds. We endeavour to discover how we find ourselves on a planet that looks and feels nothing like the one that saw us gather in these very rooms to debate at Raisina 2020.

Have we moved forward two years, only to go back?

We allowed a virus to divide us into a world of the vaccinated versus the unvaccinated. In doing that, we succeeded in reagitating the old, supposedly forgotten cleavage between the North and the South.

Then, just as the fall of Kabul in August 2021 was signalling a new geo-economic architecture that sought to respond to the strategic competition of the 21st century, 24 February 2022 threw us back into the old bipolar global order of a bitter Cold War that the world should have relegated to history, 30 years ago.

Together, these three events force us to examine the political undergirding of a rapidly de-globalising world. The cracks in the post-war multilateral liberal system have now become tectonic rifts. If history has taught us anything, it is that such a confluence of event-chains can alter power dynamics and reshape the world order.

A pandemic that should have brought us together ended up exposing the limits of transnational cooperation. It made us acutely aware of the frailties of global public goods, its supply chains, and institutions. Large tech companies gained influence across a multitude of sectors—from financial services to healthcare—while regulators struggled to keep pace. Authoritarian states perfected the use of technology for controlling lives. Technology spawned a new generation of deep fakes that brought us to a post-truth era. Our health, our safety, and our well-being have all become part of someone else’s business model.

The sanctions following the conflict in Ukraine now undermine trust in the integrity and cohesiveness of the global financial system, once considered the backbone of global value chains. And climate action has been reduced to trending hashtags and empty speeches, as the taps of green finance and green technology continue to run dry.

We are in the midst of a perfect storm, and our assumptions are shaken. It is no longer the time to hark upon our pre-pandemic ‘normal’—riddled as it was with inequality and exclusion. It is time for a ‘new world’, a time to talk coherently about what is substantive and sustainable, and thereby, make the right choices. This is the challenge right here, for all of us in New Delhi at Raisina 2022. The war in Ukraine sadly continues, so must this dialogue that gathers diversity and gives us reason for hope.

To this end, we have gathered different voices from across nearly a hundred countries because we believe that dialogue is indispensable. I wish you all insightful and thought-provoking conversations that may yet pave the way for a more inclusive future.

—Sunjoy Joshi



Curator's Note: President, Observer Research Foundation

A year ago, almost to the day, a terrible despondency, despair, and dejection descended upon this world. Nations big and small, rich and poor, spread far and wide, struggled to cope with the second wave of the pandemic. COVID-19 will be remembered as the scourge that tormented us for two years; like a malignancy, it lingers on, threatening to resurface in all its fury.

This time last year, nobody was sure—as all certitudes of our times had been turned on their head—that we would meet in New Delhi to resume the Raisina Dialogue in person. But here we are, and that fact alone restores faith in the resilience of the human spirit. These past two years have tested and, in a cruel and perverse manner, revalidated Darwin's theory of survival of the fittest. That survival has come at an enormous cost, not only in terms of human lives but also in terms of values and principles. It has exposed the harsh reality that the 'fittest'—who are also the global richest—have little or no compunction in leaving the 'weakest'—the world's poorest—to fend for themselves. A verity since ancient times has been accentuated by the pandemic in the 21st century.

Therein, lies a primary lesson for all: Buffeted,

battered, and bruised by disease, climate-induced devastation, and the folly of relying on guns and bombs alone, we really have no option but to navigate our way collectively and collaboratively through turbulent waters. The alternative, as we continue to witness, is in nobody's interest. More so, when global institutions, in which nations repose their trust, are unable to either respond with alacrity or deliver swiftly.

There is hope yet. As we meet in New Delhi, the diversity in the room tells us that we can come together and work together. Dialogue is the first step. Let me extend a very warm welcome to all our esteemed public and thought leaders, participants, speakers, and online viewers. Together, they are engaging in and contributing to the many relevant conversations at the Raisina Dialogue.

The past two years have seen some watershed developments, and to say that the world is not the same anymore would be an understatement. For many of us, there are three important lessons from grappling with a virus that continues to stalk us, the aggressive and unrelenting political expansionism in the Himalayas, crises that linger in the Middle East, and the reopening of festering wounds in Europe.

The first lesson: The COVID-19 pandemic has made it absolutely and starkly apparent that we, the people—families, communities, societies, and cities—are the single most important respondent to the challenges posed by disruptions. The centrality of these have never been more apparent. Similarly, the importance of otherwise ignored frontline health workers, poorly paid municipality staff, and good Samaritans in helping us tide over difficult times has been highlighted as never before. The urban proverb—not all heroes wear capes—came true during the pandemic.

Global governance institutions and national governments can no longer afford to exclude them from the calculus of their strategies to deal with crises like these. It is time to invest in individuals, families, and societies—the ‘third tier of governance’—that rose admirably and responded to the devastation.

The second lesson: The crises of these past two years have served to underscore the necessity of embracing diversity. Decades of globalisation should have made us more inured, if not tolerant, to different perceptions, viewpoints, customs, cultures, and interests. Instead, it became an instrument of homogenisation by the rich and therefore, the powerful. They embarked upon recasting the world in their own image, to suit their own fashion and preference. That forced homogenisation has only yielded resentments and invited a blowback.

The solution lies in embracing diversity and recognising rising aspirations in a world where many identities are colliding at the speed of bits and bytes, even as our handheld devices give us the illusion of an integrated world. To this end, I am delighted that we have been able to put together a star cast of diverse thinkers, a catalogue of varied conversations, and a community of participants that represent the idea of diversity. The Raisina Dialogue is as much about your voice as about listening to other voices; it is about engaging with

others, not merely talking to or above others.

The third lesson: The relentless upheaval and misery has also revealed aspects of humankind that generate and sustain hope—the enthusiasm of our youth, the determination of our people, and the resolve of our leaders to take tough decisions at a time when consensus was impossible. In our haste to see change happen, we must not overlook the cohorts of citizens, communities, corporations, and countries who are driven by the passion to make a difference. This is evident from their responses to the challenges of climate change, the task of ensuring sustainable and equitable growth, and reaching out to those whom globalisation has passed by.

Conversations at the Raisina Dialogue will catalyse this passion as we discuss the six broad themes:

1. Rethinking Democracy: Trade, Tech, and Ideology
2. End of Multilateralism: A Networked Global Order
3. Water Caucuses: Turbulent Tides in the Indo-Pacific
4. Communities Inc: First Responders to Health, Development, and Planet
5. Achieving Green Transitions: Common Imperative, Diverging Realities
6. Samson vs Goliath: The Persistent and Relentless Tech Wars

Over the next two days, let us not get obsessed with smart words and clever statements that only serve to excite specific ‘silos’ online. Instead, let us talk to and compare notes with those who sit alongside us so that the takeaways from the Raisina Dialogue are rooted and meaningful.

Let dialogue and diversity renew our one and only planet and sculpt Terra Nova—a new world—in this coming decade. Stay safe, mask up, and engage intensely.

—Dr. Samir Saran