

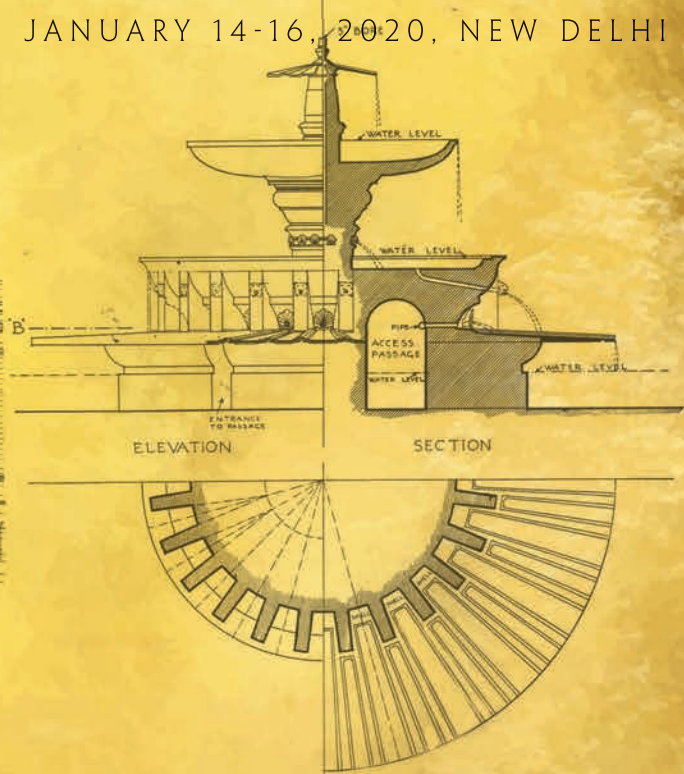
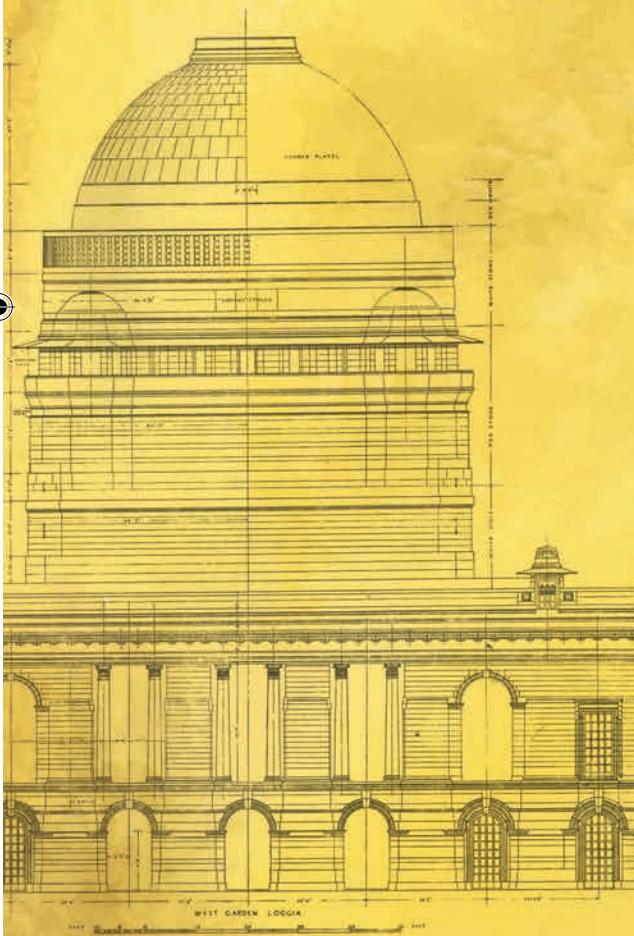


Conference Booklet 2020

21@20

NAVIGATING THE ALPHA CENTURY

JANUARY 14-16, 2020, NEW DELHI



MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
Government of India





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विदेश मंत्री
भारत



Minister of External Affairs
India



Message

The Raisina Dialogue has emerged as an influential platform that brings together policy practitioners, strategic thinkers, defence and security specialists, academics and business leaders to discuss, debate and dissect challenges and opportunities in an age of disruption and rapid transition. In a short span of five years, the Dialogue has been pencilled in as a 'must go to' on the calendar of the foreign policy community.

The Raisina Dialogue hosts global conversations in India, which are relevant in today's world. The synergies, collaborations and streams of participation in the Raisina Dialogue represent India's deliberative ethos, as also its international credibility and convening power.

The fifth edition of the Dialogue takes the process further. Under the broad rubric of "21@20: Navigating the Alpha Century", the Raisina Dialogue 2020 brings together important voices and penetrative minds on themes as far apart as the resurgence of national identities; the challenges to global trade; the political and diplomatic navigation of geo-tech; persistent and yet ever-changing questions about sustainable development; and the fascinating dynamic between individuals and states.

During the three days of the Dialogue, we expect to engage with over 2,000 participants from 104 countries, as well as to reach out to countless others using the television and the Internet. I am certain that this year's Raisina Dialogue will be the biggest yet – not just in terms of numbers, but also in the context of the intellectual firepower on display.

I wish the organisers and the participants the very best. May the Raisina Dialogue be all that you hope it will be and more.

Dr. S. Jaishankar





Message from the Foreign Secretary of India

I am happy that Raisina Dialogue 2020, the 5th edition of the very successful series of annual international conferences that the Ministry of External Affairs hosts jointly with the Observer Research Foundation, will be held in January 2020. The Raisina Dialogue has established itself as a premier confluence of decision-makers and opinion-shapers from every continent. The Dialogue is undoubtedly India's flagship conference on diplomacy and geo-strategic developments today, and this has developed in tandem with India's growing diplomatic profile and intensive diplomatic engagements around the world.

The theme this year "21@20: Navigating the Alpha Century" will examine the many strands that make up the contemporary international scene - the strong leaders that are embodying the aspirations of people around the world, the committed civic movements, whether campaigning for environment protection, leading the combat against climate change or seeking their democratic rights, and the large corporations and the rapidly-developing new technologies that are an ineluctable part of our modern lives. I am pleased that we will welcome to India this year leaders, Foreign Ministers, editors, academics, corporate chiefs and heads of think-tanks from India's partner countries to debate these fascinating questions in depth along with our leadership and our opinion-makers. It is a matter of gratification that the Raisina Dialogue this year will host representatives of over a hundred countries.

I am looking forward greatly to this meeting of minds and I am confident that our discussions at it will inform the international discourse on the developments, technologies and movements that are right now shaping our future. I wish the organisers and delegates of the Raisina Dialogue 2020 the very best of luck.

—Vijay Gokhle





21@20



Message from the Chairman, Observer Research Foundation

We are delighted to welcome our distinguished guests from around the world to the Raisina Dialogue 2020. The Dialogue, now in its fifth edition, has emerged as a premier global forum to engage with the world's most pressing challenges and advocate multilateral solutions in an increasingly contested world.

We convene at a time when the 21st century, forced to shed any lurking remnants of the optimism of its teen years, confronts the realities of an out-of-kilter, harsher world. The century's coming-of-age was marked by a decade of popular protest movements across the world. From the Occupy Movement to the Arab Spring, from Brexit to the Yellow vests; not to forget the anger spilling

over on the streets of Hong Kong – Governments across the world have faced the heat.

Trade and technology, posed as the two irrepensible forces shrinking the world, are today becoming the cause for division; weapons in the hands of nations to obstruct established flows of trade and finance and create competing spheres of influence.

States, aware that control over technology defines economic, political and military power, are aggressively protecting national innovation bases. Even as global supply chains are facing disruption from new technologies, nations jostle to retain manufacturing advantage to create jobs at home.

Such a world is bound to engage less and less in a spirit of openness and trust. So we witness nations getting increasingly boxed in by *popular will* as defined and amplified by strong leaders.

The impulse to securitise every discourse fol-

lows. Not just trade and technology, but the global sustainable development agenda is tangled in this. National concerns encroach the space occupied by international development organisations and civil society on issues such as climate change, turning one of the few remaining cooperative regimes too into a zero-sum contest. Thereby marginalising those very voices that are likely to be the most heavily impacted by environmental disasters.

Caught amidst this tumult, the individual finds familiar well-springs of identity—religion, nation, ethnicity – under challenge. The threat causes many to cling ever more desperately to these. Digital technologies become the tools to express and fight this dissociation. Communities and causes have discovered an unprecedented ability to band together to exercise greater agency. Hashtags and memes spur new global communities, unrestricted

by the bounds of geographical proximity. The same tools that can be used to strengthen governance and democracy have also seen people’s movements bring regimes to their knees. Governance systems are still learning to cope with the change.

In the midst of this uncertainty and churning, this year’s Raisina Dialogue brings together in New Delhi over 600 speakers and delegates representing 103 countries across the world. Global statesmen, thinkers, and leaders across politics, government, business, media, civil society and academia will spend three days discussing and debating how best to navigate the Alpha century.

I welcome you to the Raisina Dialogue and wish you an engaging three days of conversations and hope that you will develop collective solutions to the intricately complex world we live in.

—Sunjoy Joshi



Note from the Curator: President, Observer Research Foundation

AS the world enters the third decade of the 21st century, it faces no reprieve from the tides of disruption. Changing climate and weather patterns are devastating entire countries, regional and global tensions are intensifying, mass mobilisations are multiplying, established relationships are fraying, technological disruptions are accelerating, and international institutions are struggling to keep pace with our quicksilver times. The international community finds itself entering a new decade that is, paradoxically, being animated by old anxieties and insecurities.

The Raisina Dialogue 2020 is designed to engage with this zeitgeist. The popular leaders across communities, business and states who shape this 'Alpha' moment are one strain of inqui-

ry for us this year. Their rise has been a defining feature of the past decade.

Some of these leaders have intuitively understood that old insecurities are now manifesting themselves in the tribalisation of politics, with individuals reinforcing their relationship with religion, ethnicity and cultural identities. The incumbents of the old order, meanwhile, have found an easy scapegoat in these popular leaders and frequently dismiss them with contempt and derision. This is a fatal mistake, as it confuses the symptom for the cause. The deeper malaise of broken political and economic models around the world remains largely ignored.

Wealth and power in the past has gravitated towards a cosmopolitan global elite. This is neither accidental nor divinely ordained. Those who were excluded have found refuge in old identities. The marginalised range from individuals to societies to

countries to regions. The 'ism' that truly requires scrutiny today is not nativism but the project of globalism.

Technology was thought to be a messiah—correcting all wrongs as it seeped into our societies. But even as technology platforms connected the world at unprecedented velocity, they inadvertently aggravated old tensions and inequities. Information communication technologies have created a new 'mega' public sphere while also enabling their manipulation at scale. Discourse and dialogue—essential for open and plural societies—have become commodified and weaponised. In the digital marketplace of ideas, misinformation is easier to manufacture and sell. The clash of identities, old and new, is being exacerbated and mediated on these platforms. Meanwhile, those who control technology and these platforms continue to materially benefit from flows of data and information, creating a new divide even as old grievances remain unresolved.

Even as 'tech' promises to become a new frontier for contested governance, new strategic geographies—from the Indo-Pacific to Afro-Eurasia—remain under managed. In a world driven by parochialism and self-interest, the political incentive to invest in serving these domains and regions is missing. Regimes around trade, technology and international security have all become opportunities for the application of zero-sum statecraft.

Most damagingly, perhaps, this stasis has inhibited our capacity to tackle the single most important existential crisis we are currently facing: climate change. From Shatapatha Brahmana, which warned of deluge and destruction, to Biblical imagery of fire and brimstone, ancient wisdom has long cautioned us of a planet-induced civilisational collapse. The image of hapless koalas, seeking shelter from raging fires, are contemporary visuals of the incipient but real threat to humankind. We ignore it at our own peril.

Over the past editions of the Raisina Dialogue, we have extensively explored these disruptions and their consequences. We believe that it is now time to look ahead. Indeed, the first Greek alphabet 'alpha'—as also the first alphabet of all classical languages—connotes a beginning. As this dialogue marks its fifth edition, the discussions we are curating are all designed to compel the international community to shed old frameworks in a universal effort to navigate the 21st century.

This is, of course, easier said than done. Collectively, the international community must incubate a development architecture that resists creeping securitisation to deliver growth to billions in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is also high time that big banks and developed economies sign onto the Paris Agreement in both letter and spirit. This com-



munity callously refuses to factor planetary risk into economic instruments, imperilling both the ecology and stakeholders whose investments are at risk. Colonial-era assessments of political risk continue to hinder the deployment of finance in the regions that need it most. It is inexplicable, if not downright irresponsible, that large pools of global savings cannot be deployed to meet the aspirations of a greener planet. Finance must start “seeking alpha” if the planet is to be saved.

It is also certain that the methods, tools and indeed, the ethic of globalisation will have to change. The world urgently needs a new architecture to better distribute the gains of global flows among nations and within local communities--especially at a time when data has become the primary driver of integration. We must acknowledge the new risks inherent in this process, and catalyse trade and technology arrangements that create secure and resilient interdependence. Otherwise, we are consigned to enter a new age of technology wars.

And as the fourth industrial revolution continues to alter our societies, it is time to rethink the relationships between the individual, businesses, and the state. We must repurpose post-Westphalian systems of governance in an era of big tech, popular leaders and strong states. We require a new social contract for the digital age that respects in-

dividual identity, supports coherent collectives and responds to the needs of all aspirants.

But the solutions to these global challenges may not come from established powers and actors, who are often hobbled by old ideas and vested interests. Instead, global governance requires new champions. Fluid coalitions must sustain and advance multilateral solutions. Indeed, navigating the Alpha Century requires bold and innovative leadership. We are already investing in this process with the Asian Forum on Global Governance, which will bring together 54 young leaders from 28 countries to debate these issues. From within this cohort will emerge future leaders who may yet discover the solutions we urgently need.

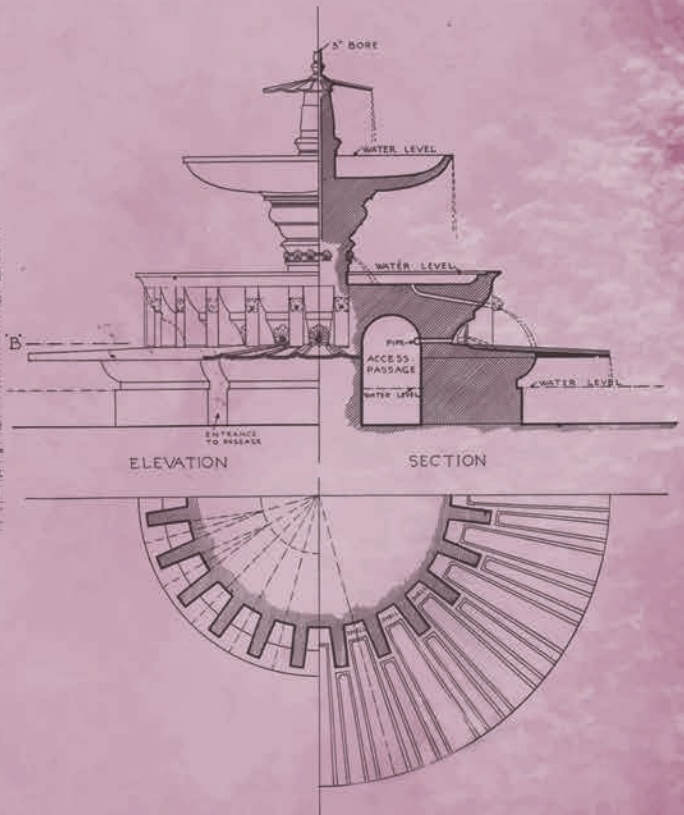
The Raisina Dialogue 2020 will bring together over 600 speakers and delegates from 103 countries, representing heads of state, cabinet ministers, diplomats, CEOs, and leaders from academia, civil society and media. Over 1500 participants will join them from India and abroad to discuss, debate and discover the ideas that will serve the emergence of a new world order. On behalf of team Raisina, I thank you for joining us at this ‘ideas arena’ and hope that we will celebrate the conclusion of the fifth edition with a new sense of purpose and direction.

—Samir Saran



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PROGRAMME



Programme

Raisina Dialogue 2020 is held under the auspices of

Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India and Observer Research Foundation

DAY ONE Tuesday, 14 January, 2020	
1800-1900	Inauguration
1915-2100	Inaugural Dinner Conversations <i>(By invitation only)</i>
	<p><i>Shahjehan: Foreign Secretary's Dinner</i></p> <p>Niels Annen, Minister of State at the Federal Foreign Office, Germany Cdre. Melissa Ross, Deputy Chief, Royal New Zealand Navy, New Zealand Julian Ventura Valero, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mexico</p>
	<p><i>Mumtaz: Embracing a Gig World: Paychecks, Protections, Purpose and Skills</i></p> <p>Industrialisation in the 20th century required vast bureaucracies and centralised systems of management capable of aggregating large pools of labour. The information age is different: digital technologies allow for distributed enterprise and flexible employment opportunities. Digital platforms may certainly create new efficiencies, but also create risks for labour standards and welfare. Can nations with vast informal economies embrace the gig economy while cushioning the social and economic fallout? How can India's experiences with schemes like Aadhaar and direct transfers inform similar social protection efforts around the world? How should states invest in a new skills and education framework for the digital age? This panel will ask how states should realign their economic social protection policies to accurately reflect the evolving relationship between capital and labour.</p> <p>Shrayana Bhattacharya, Senior Economist, Social Protection and Jobs, World Bank Amitabh Kant, CEO, NITI Aayog, India Daisy Amdany, Executive Director, CRAWN Trust, Kenya Stavros Yiannouka, CEO, World Innovation Summit for Education, Qatar Foundation, United Kingdom Andreas Schaal, Director of Global Relations, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Moderator – Junaid Ahmad, Country Director India, World Bank</p>

DAY ONE Tuesday, 14 January, 2020

Jehangir: **Thinking Heads: Reclaiming Trust in the Age of Populism**

A growing wave of discontent has stalled – perhaps even reversed – globalisation, as the ordinary citizen turns her ire towards the ‘elites’ claiming to be honest interpreters of policy. Think tanks are not immune from this scrutiny but have yet to reflect on their role in an era where the truth is flexible and trust in experts is waning. Are think tanks merely victims of a passing political phenomenon, or guilty of defending a status quo that has disadvantaged local communities? This panel will introspect on the responsibilities of the ideas industry in a more polarised, mistrustful and inward-looking world.

Vuk Jeremic, President, Center for International Relations and Sustainable Development; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Serbia

Ondrej Ditrych, Director, Institute of International Relations, Czech Republic

Stawomir Dębski, Director, The Polish Institute of International Affairs, Poland

Neelam Deo, Director, Gateway House, India

Daniela Schwarzer, Director, German Council on Foreign Relations, Germany

Moderator – **Yamini Aiyar**, President and Chief Executive, Center for Policy Research, India

Roshanara: **Right to Breathe: The Battle for Clean Air (Dinner with the Lawmakers)**

In cities around the world, air pollution has reached a crisis point. As a ‘wicked’ public policy challenge, with complex drivers, addressing it requires an all-of-the-government approach. What are the international best practices that may inform government policy? What is the role of local businesses, communities and municipalities? How can financial and consumption markets be made stakeholders in this battle? What regulatory nudges can incentivise environmentally friendly state policies?

Keynote Address: N.K. Singh, Chairman, Finance Commission, India

Shashi Tharoor, Member of Parliament, India

Julie Becker, Deputy CEO, LuxSE and Founder, Luxembourg Green Exchange, Luxembourg

Helen Clark, Former Prime Minister, New Zealand & Member of the WLA-Club de Madrid

Tshering Tobgay, Former Prime Minister, Bhutan

Moderator – **Jayant Sinha**, Chairperson, Standing Committee on Finance and Member of Parliament, India

DAY ONE Tuesday, 14 January, 2020	
2130-2230	<p>Conversations over Kahwa</p> <p><i>Mumtaz</i>: Unstable Regimes: Fake News, New Media and Our Political Futures</p> <p>Misinformation and influence operations have adversely implicated the stability of democratic regimes. Now that more actors are capable of manipulating behaviour and sentiment in the digital public sphere, states have struggled to contain the growing crisis of fake news. Will state responses to fake news inevitably lead to new censorship regimes? How, if at all, should media organisations demonstrate their credibility? Which actors are best placed to respond to this challenge? Will states be compelled to exercise more sovereign control over data and information flows?</p> <p>Rachel Rizzo, Adjunct Fellow, Center for a New American Security, United States Alexander Klimburg, Director, Cyber Policy and Resilience Program & Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace, the Hague Centre for Strategic Studies, Austria Chitra Subramaniam, Editorial Adviser, Republic TV, India Natasha Jog, Election Integrity Lead (India, South Asia), Facebook, India Tobias Feakin, Ambassador for Cyber Affairs, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Australia Moderator – Robin Niblett, Director, Chatham House, United Kingdom</p> <p><i>Roshanara</i>: A Rock and a Hard Place: New Rules for India and the EU in a Multipolar World</p> <p>With China and the US loudly proposing zero-sum models for globalisation, is it time for the EU, India and others to reject these binaries? Can India and the EU partner effectively at multilateral institutions to preserve a rules-based order? Can they script normative propositions for new geographies and domains such as trade and security in the Indo-Pacific or responsible state behaviour in cyberspace? This panel will ask whether both actors can shed old hesitations to embrace a partnership capable of serving the needs of the 21st century.</p> <p>Tara Varma, Director of the Paris office, European Council on Foreign Relations, France Solomon Passy, President, The Atlantic Club of Bulgaria; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bulgaria Alica Kizeková, Senior Researcher, Institute of International Relations, Czech Republic Chunhao Lou, Deputy Director, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations, China Ummu Salma Bava, Professor and Jean Monnet Chair, Centre for European Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India Moderator – Francoise Nicolas, Director, Center for Asian Studies, Institut Français des Relations Internationales, France</p> <p><i>Rani Bagh Roundtables</i>: Author's Corner: India, Then and Now (I)</p> <p>Vikram Sampath, <i>Savarkar: Echoes from a Forgotten Past</i> Pallavi Raghavan, <i>Animosity at Bay: An Alternative History of the India-Pakistan Relationship, 1947-1952</i> Kabir Taneja, <i>The ISIS Peril: The World's Most Feared Terror Group and its Shadow on South Asia</i> Moderator – Harsh V. Pant, Director, Studies & Head, Strategic Studies Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>

DAY TWO Wednesday, 15 January, 2020	
0900-1000	Panel discussion
	<p><i>Durbar:</i> Hacking Democracy: Defending Pluralism in the Digital Age</p> <p>Influence operations are undermining democratic processes in plural societies. Such operations often take place at the intersection of social, economic and security domains, requiring a comprehensive response across these multiple arenas. Can international norms to dissuade information operations evolve? What is the role of individuals and large enterprises? How should states respond to influence operations? Are kinetic responses inevitable?</p> <p>Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Former Prime Minister, Denmark; Founder, Alliance of Democracies Marietje Schaake, President, Cyberpeace Institute, Netherlands Jane Holl Lute, President and CEO, SICPA, United States Maj. Gen. (Retd.) Amos Gilead, Executive Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel Stephen Harper, Former Prime Minister, Canada Moderator – Ashok Malik, Policy Advisor, Ministry of External Affairs, India</p>
1000-1030	<p><i>Durbar:</i> In Conversation Sergey Lavrov, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Russia with Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1030-1050	Break
1050-1130	<p><i>Durbar:</i> In Conversation The India Way: Preparing for a Century of Growth and Contest</p> <p>S. Jaishankar, Minister of External Affairs, India with Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1130-1230	Panel Discussion
	<p><i>Durbar:</i> Competing Nationalisms, Universal Norms: Street Power in 21st Century Diplomacy</p> <p>Identity, inequality and the consequent rise of nationalism have drastically altered global politics. Diplomacy—once abstracted from the agitations of the masses—is now often shaped by it. From Washington DC to Hong Kong, the “will of the people” may differ dramatically, but its repercussions are being felt in capitals around the world. How will street power implicate efforts to build consensus? Will relationships between states and within them be held hostage to hashtag mobilisations? Can the universalisation of political norms continue, or must the mood of the street always prevail?</p> <p>Seyed Kazem Sajjadpour, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Iran Jane Holl Lute, President and CEO, SICPA, United States Werner Fasslabend, President, Austrian Institute for European and Security Policy; Former Minister of Defence, Austria John Lee, Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Australia Edgars Rinkēvičs, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Latvia Moderator – Indrani Bagchi, Diplomatic Editor, The Times of India, India</p>



DAY TWO Wednesday, 15 January, 2020	
1230-1300	<p><i>Durbar: In Conversation</i></p> <p>Mohammad Javad Zarif, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Iran with Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1300-1430	<p>Lunch Conversations (<i>By invitation only</i>)</p> <p>Shahjehan: New Arc of Cooperation in Rising Rimland: from Vladivostok to Chennai</p> <p>The future of global growth is being written where Eurasia meets the Indo-Pacific. For sustained growth, this area will need stability. Yet this era is also marked by a shift away from containment and stable alliances to one marked by issue-based convergences. How can powers with a common interest in growth and stability find ways to work together? Which will be the spaces of contestation, and which of co-operation? How can these rimlands be further integrated to their mutual benefit?</p> <p>Vladimir Norov, Secretary General, Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, Uzbekistan Manish Tewari, Member of Parliament, India Chenchen Chen, Deputy Director of Research, Institute of China's Economic Reform and Development, Renmin University, China Vance Serchuk, Executive Director, KKR Global Institute, United States Sergey Afontsev, Deputy Director of Research and Head of Economic Theory Department, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russia Moderator – Timofei Bordachev, Academic Supervisor, Center for Comprehensive European and International Studies, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia</p> <p>Mumtaz: Cracks on the Roof of the World: Growth, Stability and Assault Rifles in the Heart of Asia</p> <p>Central Asia is the location, once again, of a Great Game between great powers. How will this region be implicated by Beijing's geo-economic statecraft and its efforts to integrate its far west? Will the US' continuing attempts to exit Afghanistan provide an additional source of uncertainty? Can Russia, the traditional security provider in the region, balance its historical interests and contemporary developments? What alternatives must the world provide to Central Asian countries seeking markets and investment on their own terms?</p> <p>C. Raja Mohan, Director, Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore, India Eldor Aripov, Director, Institute of Strategic and Regional Studies, Uzbekistan Rovshan Muradov, Secretary General, Nizami Ganjavi International Center, Azerbaijan Suhasini Haidar, Diplomatic Editor, The Hindu, India Dirk Wiese, Member of Parliament and Coordinator, Intersocietal Cooperation with Russia, Central Asia and the Eastern Partnership Countries, Germany Moderator – Ali Aslan, Anchor, Germany</p>

DAY TWO Wednesday, 15 January, 2020

***Jehangir:* Deepening Delivery: How Healthcare is Changing the Politics of Development**

Over the past decade, the world has made significant progress towards achieving universal health coverage (UHC) through improved political and policy commitments, led by countries like China and India. While many transitioning health systems try to leapfrog binding constraints by leveraging technology, issues like access to quality medicines remain challenges for large populations. Can healthcare in the emerging world shift away from a high-margin, low-volume business model to a low-margin, high-volume model? Can technological, financial and social disruptions accelerate this shift? Are new alliances of unlikely partners emerging? With global political attention and commitments toward health increasing manifold, how is the now mainstreamed narrative of UHC acting as a catalyst of change?

Chinny Ogunro, Director of Health Research, Centre for the Study of the Economies of Africa, Nigeria

Sandhya Venkateswaran, Deputy Director, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, India

Sridhar Venkatapuram, Associate Professor, King's Global Health Institute, King's College London, United Kingdom

Winnie Munene, Head, Integrated Healthcare Services, Merck KGaA, Kenya

Swee Kheng Khor, Senior Fellow, Health Systems and Policies, University of Malaya, Malaysia

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

***Roshanara:* Regime Meltdown: New Powers and the Arms Control Failure**

The architecture of peace and security was primarily constructed by the great powers of the 20th century. In a world characterised by multipolarity and unilateralism, many of these arrangements are crumbling, if they have not already fallen apart. Will the norms that underpinned earlier arms control regimes continue to shape state behaviour, or should the world prepare for an era of escalatory military developments? Do existing international institutions possess the political will or capacity to facilitate new negotiations about these arrangements? How will the interests of new powers from Asia and Africa affect future regimes? This panel will interrogate the root causes for the failure of extant arms control agreements and discuss possible scenarios for the future of these regimes.

S. Paul Kapur, Policy Planning Staff, State Department and Professor, Naval Postgraduate School, United States

Dingli Shen, Professor, Fudan University, China

Sang Hyun Lee, Senior Research Fellow, Department of Security Strategy Studies, Sejong Institute, Republic of Korea

Manpreet Sethi, Distinguished Fellow, Centre for Air Power Studies, India

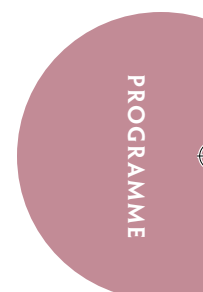
Rory Medcalf, Head, National Security College of the Australian National University, Australia

Moderator – **Rachel Rizzo**, Adjunct Fellow, Center for a New American Security, United States

DAY TWO Wednesday, 15 January, 2020

	<p><i>Rani Bagh: Lunch with the Lawmakers</i> Content Sub-Continent: Catalysing the Creative Economy</p> <p>While new industries are rapidly emerging from India, in sectors ranging from artificial intelligence, cloud computing and visual effects and digital entertainment, India's policy and regulatory architecture retains many of the rules first developed in the early 2000s. Who are the new economic actors and what is their impact on the market and society? What is the role of creative industries in fuelling this new economy? What are the priority areas for governance reforms and how can they serve India's development needs?</p> <p>Baijayant Panda, National Vice President and Spokesperson, Bharatiya Janata Party, India Shashi Tharoor, Member of Parliament, India Vincent Tarzia, Speaker, South Australian House of Assembly, Australia Marina Kaljurand, Member of European Parliament, Estonia Tejasvi Surya, Member of Parliament, India Roopa Ganguly, Member of Parliament, India</p>
1430-1450	<p>Keynote Address at <i>Durbar</i>: Hamdullah Mohib, National Security Adviser, Afghanistan</p>
1450-1550	<p>Panel Discussion</p> <p><i>Durbar: Greenbacks for Green Tech: Paying for Innovation so that Innovation Pays</i></p> <p>The battle against climate change is at an inflection point. The failure of the latest CoP and related efforts indicate that the world is struggling to respond to climate change. The onset of the Fourth Industrial Revolution presents a tremendous opportunity for states to discover a new relationship between their economic and environmental policies. How will these pathways to growth be financed? Is global finance making the right choices at a crucial time for the fight against climate change – and for global growth? How can the emerging world transform its development model, and what can the global community do to assist the green transformation?</p> <p>Han Seung-soo, Former Prime Minister, Republic of Korea; Member of the WLA-Club de Madrid Robert Scharfe, CEO, Luxembourg Stock Exchange, Luxembourg Eleni Kounalakis, Lieutenant Governor of California, United States Claire Perry O'Neill, President, COP26, United Kingdom Moderator – Jayant Sinha, Chairperson, Standing Committee on Finance and Member of Parliament, India</p>

DAY TWO Wednesday, 15 January, 2020	
1550-1610	Ministerial Address at <i>Durbar</i> : Tomáš Petricek , Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic
1610-1630	Break
1630-1650	Ministerial Address at <i>Durbar</i> : Abdulla Shahid , Minister of Foreign Affairs, Maldives
1650-1710	Ministerial Address at <i>Durbar</i> : Abdulaziz Khafizovich Kamilov, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Uzbekistan
1710-1810	Panel Discussion <i>Durbar</i> # SheLeads in the Alpha Century: The New Narratives of Transformations and Change Often ignored in discussions about strongman politics is how women are steadily cementing their place in the halls of power. How are women leaders affecting political outcomes around the world? How have countries and cities benefited from women leadership? How can corporate practices strengthen efforts at promoting women leadership? This panel will discuss how women leaders are scripting stories of change around the world. Smriti Irani , Minister of Women & Child Development, Minister of Textiles, India Esther Brimmer , Executive Director & CEO, NAFSA: Association of International Educators, United States Eleni Kounalakis , Lieutenant Governor of California, United States Helen Clark , Former Prime Minister, New Zealand; Member, WLA-Club de Madrid Patricia Scotland , Secretary General, Commonwealth Secretariat Moderator – Joanna Roper , Special Envoy for Gender Equality, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, United Kingdom
1810-1830	Break
1830-1915	Conversation <i>Durbar</i> : Geopolitics and God: Identity and Religion in the Digital Age For centuries, religious institutions have mediated our individual and social relations with God. Will digital technologies breathe new life into this relationship, or will they fragment identities beyond the ability of religious ideologies to mobilise them? Will techno religions and silicon prophets exacerbate religious divides and old civilisational conflicts? How are traditional beliefs and customs adapting to the politics and society of the digital age? This panel will explore how new technologies are altering our oldest beliefs about life, the universe, and everything. Swapan Dasgupta , Member of Parliament, India Ali Rashid Al Nuaimi , Chairman, Hedayah; Chairman, World Council for Muslim Communities, United Arab Emirates Venerable Banagala Upatissa Thero , Chairman of Mahabodhi Society, Sri Lanka Moderator – Marya Shakil , Political Editor and Senior Anchor, CNN-News18, India



DAY TWO Wednesday, 15 January, 2020

1915-2015	Panel Discussion
	<p><i>Durbar</i>: Fluid Fleets: Navigating Tides of Revision in the Indo-Pacific</p> <p>Is the “Indo-Pacific” an organic expression of connectivity, a community of nations, or a strategic construct? The answers to these questions will define national security postures in the region over the next decade. As things stand now, the Indo-Pacific is caught between two conflicting realities: as a region for geopolitical competition and one where Asia’s development futures will be decided. This panel will respond to the big questions about the Indo-Pacific: Who defines it? Who will bear the costs of this strategic orientation? What purpose does it serve? And how will it be managed?</p> <p>Adm. Karambir Singh, Chief of Naval Staff, India Gen. Koji Yamazaki, Chief of Staff, Joint Staff of the Japan Self-Defense Forces, Japan Vice Adm. David Johnston, Vice Chief of the Defence Force, Australia Gen. Luc de Rancourt, Deputy Director General for International Relations and Strategy, Ministry of Armed Forces, France Adm. Tony Radakin, Chief of Naval Staff, United Kingdom Moderator – Yalda Hakim, Journalist, BBC World News, Australia</p>
2015-2145	Dinner Conversations (<i>By invitation only</i>)
	<p><i>Shahjehan</i>: A New Eastern Trade Route: Integrating the Bay of Bengal</p> <p>Long divided by artificial regional constructs, the communities and markets of South and South East Asia are organically tying the region together. Dynamic economies in the region centring on Bengal are driving this trend. Can this region provide solutions for emerging disruptions such as the Fourth Industrial Revolution and climate change? How can the region be a hub for the process of Asian integration? Can communities in the Bay of Bengal script the new norms and frameworks for the Indo-Pacific? What are the implications and interests for the rest of the world in a rising Bay of Bengal?</p> <p>Stephen Smith, Professor of Law, University of Western Australia; Former Defence & Foreign Affairs Minister, Australia Anuradha Herath, Director (Media and International Relations), Prime Minister’s Office of Sri Lanka, Sri Lanka Sachin Chaturvedi, Director General, Research and Information System for Developing Countries, India Erin Watson-Lynn, Senior Fellow, Perth USAsia Centre, Australia Dino Patti Djalal, Former Ambassador of Indonesia to the United States, Indonesia Moderator – Richard Verma, Vice Chairman and Partner, The Asia Group, United States</p>

DAY TWO Wednesday, 15 January, 2020

Mumtaz: **Scorched Earth: Communities, Conflicts and Migrants**

Despite the well-established causal connection between climate change and migration, global and regional responses to climate refugees have been slow to evolve. Part of the reason is political: the global mood has turned hostile to immigration. Technical challenges persist as well. Can the world develop an international legal framework to address climate change as a driver of migration? Is there an evolving consensus on how to define environmental refugees? This panel will explore how best to accelerate policy solutions that respond to this new global challenge.

Kanchan Gupta, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

Iztock Mirošič, Special Envoy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Slovenia

Renata Lok-Dessallien, UN Resident Coordinator in India

Christine Cipolla, Regional Director for Asia Pacific, Operations, International Committee of the Red Cross, Switzerland

Madina Mwagale Guloba, Senior Research Fellow, Economic Policy Research Centre, Uganda

Moderator – **Asle Toje**, Member, Norwegian Nobel Committee, Norway

Jehangir: **De-securitising Development: Reclaiming the Blueprint for the Future**

Approaches to development that privilege the role of security agencies will invariably marginalise local communities and civil society, who remain the most interested actors in the outcomes of development policies. Does the securitisation of the climate change and development agenda incentivise conflict between nations, given that national security policies are unilateral, and not cooperative, by design? This panel will ask how communities can mobilise to arrest this trend and reclaim agency over this debate.

Rachel Glennerster, Chief Economist, Department for International Development, United Kingdom

Anil Sooklal, Deputy Director-General (Asia and Middle East), Department of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa

Renato Flores, Director, International Intelligence Unit, Fundação Getulio Vargas, Brazil

Oluwatosin Durotoye, COO, FilmoRealty, Nigeria

Orzala Nemat, Director, Afghanistan Research & Evaluation Unit, Afghanistan

Moderator – **Mohan Kumar**, Chairperson, Research and Information System for Developing Countries, India

Roshanara: **Politics and Economics of Contest in the 21st Century**
(By invitation only)

Nizwan: **Ministerial Dinner (By invitation only)**

DAY TWO Wednesday, 15 January, 2020

2215-2315

Conversation over Kahwa

Mumtaz: The Bias Bug: Responding to Automated Patriarchy

Digital technologies were once celebrated for their potential to emancipate women from perverse gender norms. Not only does this promise remain unfulfilled, tools like social media and AI are increasingly amplifying bias against women. And with STEM industries largely dominated by men, it is unclear how far corporate ethics have attempted to arrest this trend. Do solutions lie in fairer data sets, equal representation, corporate practices, and rules and legislations? Or will more radical political responses emerge from the new social and political churn that the 4IR will accelerate? This panel will ask whether the 4IR will create opportunity for a more just society, or whether it will entrench old inequities.

Silvana Lopez, CEO, The Blockchain Challenge, Colombia
Aditi Kumar, Executive Director, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, United States
Anna Roy, Senior Advisor, NITI Aayog, India
Ana Maria Paraschiv, CEO, Ubuntu World, Romania
Paula Kift, Civil Liberties Engineer, Palantir Technologies, Germany
 Moderator – **Mariam Maz Hakim**, Presenter, Virgin Radio, Dubai

Roshanara: iRadical: Countering Online Hate and Violence

Viral and incendiary content is increasingly tearing at the social fabric of communities, especially those with pre-existing social faultlines. The battle for mind space and ideas is increasingly intensifying in the virtual world, with adverse spillovers into our political systems. Recent efforts, such as the Christchurch call, demonstrate that countering violent extremism is now a global agenda. How can states, business and communities respond to this challenge? Are there emerging national consensus on the privacy-security debate? And how will states' different views on online security impact communities and companies going forward?

Saad Mohseni, CEO, Moby Group, Australia
Benedetta Berti, Head of Policy Planning, North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, Italy
Emerson Brooking, Resident Fellow, Atlantic Council, United States
Gulshan Rai, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation; Former National Cyber Security Coordinator, India
Marietje Schaake, President, Cyberpeace Institute, Netherlands
 Moderator – **Lea Kaspar**, Executive Director, Global Partners Digital, Croatia

Rani Bagh Roundtables: Author's Corner: India, Then and Now (II)

Anit Mukherjee, *The Absent Dialogue: Politicians, Bureaucrats, and the Military in India*
Tanvi Madan, *Fateful Triangle: How China Shaped US-India Relations During the Cold War*
Arun Mohan Sukumar, *Midnight's Machines: A Political History of Technology of India*
 Moderator – **Ritika Passi**, Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

DAY THREE Thursday, 16 January, 2020

0930-1030	Panel Discussion
	<p><i>Durbar: Poachers as Gamekeepers: Can Terror Incubators Counter Terror?</i></p> <p>The struggle against terrorism has dual frontlines: both weak or militarised states, and platforms and online communities that have been weaponised by recruiters and purveyors of radicalisation. What tools does the global community have to punish behaviour from states that have traditionally viewed “non-state actors” as a tool rather than a threat – or in which significant and entrenched interests have sympathy for officially disavowed terror organisations’ goals? And can a global response to terror ignore the online spaces that serve as incubators of terror? This panel will seek out-of-the box solutions for the fight against terror, both online and off.</p> <p>Gen. Bipin Rawat, Chief of Defence Staff, India Saad Mohseni, CEO, Moby Group, Australia Gareth Bayley, Special Representative on Afghanistan and Pakistan, United Kingdom Erin Saltman, Head of Counter Terrorism Policy (Europe, Middle East & Africa), Facebook, United States Moderator – Yalda Hakim, Journalist, BBC World News, Australia</p>
1030-1050	Ministerial Address at <i>Durbar</i> : Urmass Reinsalu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Estonia
1050-1110	Break
1110-1130	Ministerial Address at <i>Durbar</i> : Jeppe Kofod, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Denmark
1130-1230	Panel Discussion
	<p><i>Durbar: Between Atlantic and Pacific: The Future of Europe</i></p> <p>A crisis of identity has gripped the EU’s foreign policy. The continent is caught between its Atlantic moorings and its growing equity in Asia. As the EU invests more resources and energy in Eurasia and the Indo-Pacific, will it find that its interests in these regions do not fully converge with those of its principal partner, the US? Will the EU engage with China and Russia to secure its political future? Will such new priorities strain its partnership with the US and can a stronger relationship with India provide the EU more room to manoeuvre? This panel will ask whether there exists a European consensus on these issues and will explore how to continent is responding to shifts in the global balance of power.</p> <p>Péter Szijjártó, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hungary Theresa Fallon, Founder and Director, Center for Russia Europe Asia Studies, Ireland Marina Kaljurand, Member of European Parliament, Estonia Gen. Claudio Graziano, Chairman, European Union Military Committee Hans-Thomas Paulsen, Member of the Executive Board, Körber-Stiftung, Germany Moderator – Ali Aslan, Anchor, Germany</p>
1230-1300	<i>Durbar</i> : In conversation Hamid Karzai, Former President, Afghanistan with Robin Niblett, Director, Chatham House, United Kingdom

DAY THREE Thursday, 16 January, 2020

1300-1450

Lunch Conversations (*By invitation only*)

Shahjehan: Junction India: Towards an East Indian Ocean Community for Growth

Home to one of the world's busiest shipping lanes, the eastern Indian Ocean has so far been relegated in popular imagination to just this: a transit route. This panel will explore pathways for deeper integration between the states that inhabit these waters. Do states share a common vision for managing sea lanes? What common infrastructure investment and technology interests do states in the region share? Is there a consensus around the region's security architecture? This panel will ask whether states that operate in the Arabian Sea, the East Indian Ocean and East Africa possess the appetite for integration and explore the region's potential as a new hub for development and growth.

Navdeep Suri, Director, Centre for New Economic Diplomacy, Observer Research Foundation, India

Ahmad Al Sayed, Minister of State and Chairman of Qatar Free Zone Authority, Qatar

Lt. Gen. Dominique Rakotozafy, Former Minister of Defense, Madagascar

Ebtesam Al Ketbi, President, Emirates Policy Center, United Arab Emirates

Kwame Owino, CEO, Institute of Economic Affairs, Kenya

Moderator – **Dhruva Jaishankar**, Director, US Initiative, Observer Research Foundation, India

Mumtaz: The Art of the Plan: Deciphering Key Trends @ 20

This panel will ask the custodians of policy planning to investigate the key trends that will shape the world order in the coming decade. What cleavages and anxieties continue to define foreign policy planning? Which coalitions and partnerships are best suited to respond to 21st century challenges? What emerging domains and sectors will emerge as strategic priorities for states?

Nagma M. Mallick, Additional Secretary, Policy Planning and Research Division, Ministry of External Affairs, India

Peter Berkowitz, Director, State Department Policy Planning Staff, United States

Manuel Lafont-Rapnouil, Director, Center for Analysis, Planning and Strategy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France

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

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

Jehangir: Ministerial Interaction with Young Fellows

Grace Naledi Pandor, Minister of Foreign Affairs, South Africa

Urmas Reinsalu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Estonia

In conversation with **Shashi Tharoor**, Member of Parliament, India

DAY THREE Thursday, 16 January, 2020

	<p>Roshanara: Digital Binaries: 5G and the New Tech Wars</p> <p>Emerging technologies are fast becoming the principal source of friction in the international system, with a digital cold war seemingly inevitable. 5G communications technologies are perhaps the first victim of this rising tide of techno-nationalism. With ‘decoupling’ best describing global technology systems, will states be forced to choose between incompatible propositions? How will this implicate development pathways for emerging economies? This panel will investigate the geopolitical implications of emerging technologies and offer potential future scenarios for the global digital economy.</p> <p>Shiv Sahai, Additional Secretary, National Security Council Secretariat, India Elina Noor, Associate Professor, Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, Malaysia Lesley Margaret Seebeck, CEO, Cyber Institute, Australian National University, Australia Chris Painter, President, GFCE Foundation Board, United States Gilles Babinet, Vice President, CNum & Digital Advisor for France, France Moderator – François Godement, Senior Adviser for Asia, Institut Montaigne, France</p>
	<p>Rani Bagh Roundtables: Author’s Corner: Leaders and Leadership</p> <p>Karthik Nachiappan, <i>Does India Negotiate?</i> Rachel Salzman, <i>Russia, BRICS, and the Disruption of Global Order</i> Carl Bildt, <i>The Age of the New Disorder</i> Moderator – David Malone, Rector - United Nations University, Canada</p>
1450-1550	<p>Panel Discussion</p>
	<p>Durbar: Just like US: Exclusive Trade in the Trump Age</p> <p>With the processes of globalisation under scrutiny around the world, the appetite for multilateral trade has waned considerably. And with its principal architect—the US—determined to repudiate long-held economic consensus, the future is uncertain. Will exclusive economics continue to define national policy in this decade? Will flows of technology be the first casualty of today’s economic nationalism? Do other states possess the appetite or economic means to fill this gap? Can emerging economies incubate new arrangements?</p> <p>Piyush Goyal, Minister of Railways and Commerce & Industry, Government of India, India Jeffrey Philip Bialos, Partner, Eversheds Sutherland (US) LLP, United States Veda Poon, Director, International Finance, HM Treasury, United Kingdom Alexander Kulitz, Member of Parliament, Germany Amy Searight, Senior Adviser and Director, Southeast Asia Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies, United States</p>



DAY THREE Thursday, 16 January, 2020	
1550-1610	Break
1610-1710	Panel Discussion
	<p><i>Durbar: Digital Crossroads: New Norms for a New Society</i></p> <p>Digital technologies operate at great velocities with little concern for borders—and national and international systems have struggled to address rule-setting, market forces, and conflict resolution. The schism between real and virtual has undermined trust in digital technologies and fuelled domestic polarisation and zero-sum international behaviour. Can the norms of the analog age be adapted to digital societies? What institutional changes can ease this transformation? This panel will ask what norms and architectures public, civic, and private leaders can coalesce around to maintain the stability, safety and security of our increasingly interconnected world.</p> <p>Sandeep Malhotra, Executive Vice-President (Products and Innovation), MasterCard, Singapore Marina Kaljurand, Member of European Parliament, Estonia Carl Bildt, Former Prime Minister, Sweden; Co-Chair, European Council on Foreign Relations Chris Painter, President, GFCE Foundation Board, United States Henri Verdier, Ambassador for Digital Affairs, France Moderator – Latha Reddy, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation; Co-Chair, Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace, India</p>
1710-1730	Ministerial Address at <i>Durbar</i> Grace Naledi Pandor , Minister of Foreign Affairs, South Africa
1730-1830	Panel Discussion
	<p><i>Durbar: Plural Waters: Strengthening Democracy in the Indo-Pacific</i></p> <p>The common interests that bound the transatlantic community underpinned the international liberal order. With the global balance of power fast shifting to Asia, the Indo-Pacific will define the architecture of the 21st century. Do leaders in the region share an overarching and common vision for the region and its role in the world? Or will old divides and fault lines limit the Indo-Pacific's' potential? Are pluralism and democratic arrangements an essential feature of this region? How can states and communities in the region collaborate to script and defend democratic norms for the region in this century?</p> <p>Ram Madhav, National General Secretary, Bharatiya Janata Party, India Faris Maumoon, Executive Council Member, Maldives Reform Movement, Maldives Cdre. Melissa Ross, Deputy Chief, Royal New Zealand Navy, New Zealand Peter Berkowitz, Director, State Department Policy Planning Staff, United States Mona Dave, Senior Program Officer, Asia, National Endowment for Democracy, United States Moderator – Melissa Conley Tyler, Director of Diplomacy, Asialink, University of Melbourne, Australia</p>
1830-1850	Break
1850-1910	<i>Valedictory Address</i> Josep Borrell , Vice-President, European Commission, High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy

DAY THREE Thursday, 16 January, 2020

1910-1955	Panel Discussion
	<p><i>Showstopper at Durbar</i> Coalitions and Consensus: In Defense of Values that Matter</p> <p>As the century turns 20, what values are under threat in a world increasingly defined by diverging interests? Can states coalesce around shared values – and what values are worth defending? Can states with dissimilar political regimes come to a consensus around value frameworks? Which coalitions and partnerships can support this process? This panel will ask if states can transcend today’s polarised political moment to defend the values that matter.</p> <p>Vijay Gokhale, Foreign Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, India Jukka Juusti, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Defence, Finland Marise Payne, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Australia Matthew Pottinger, Deputy National Security Adviser, U.S. National Security Council, United States Moderator – Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1955-2000	Vote of Thanks
2000-2130	Dinner Conversations (<i>By Invitation Only</i>)
	<p><i>Shahjehan: Coded to Kill: Proxy Wars and Autonomous Systems</i></p> <p>The implications of autonomous weapons on strategic postures and humanitarian law is uncertain. With international institutions unable to arrive at a consensus on these issues, it is almost certain that LAWS will be deployed before regimes are incubated to manage them. Which regions will first see the deployment of LAWS? How are states are integrating these systems into their weapons arsenals? How can the creation of international rules be accelerated?</p> <p>Giacomo Persi Paoli, Head, Security and Technology Programme, United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research Lindsey Sheppard, Fellow, International Security Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies, United States William J. Parker III, President and CEO, EastWest Institute, United States Lt. Gen. Rajesh Pant, National Cyber Security Coordinator, India Arvind Gupta, Founder Member, iSPIRT Moderator – Kaja Ciglic, Senior Director, Digital Diplomacy, Microsoft, Slovenia</p>



DAY THREE Thursday, 16 January, 2020

Mumtaz: E-mobility and the City: Innovation on The Move

The e-mobility revolution is being accelerated by three interrelated trends: the onset of the 4IR and falling costs of production; political action against climate change; and shifting attitudes to urbanisation and car ownership. Burdensome investment rules, inefficient infrastructure for power distribution, and high consumer costs continue to hinder EV adoption. How can states, businesses and city leaders overcome these barriers? How can these stakeholders facilitate flows of innovation, finance and governance solutions between each other?

Keynote Address: **Anil Srivastava**, Mission Director, NITI Aayog, India

Siddharthan Balasubramania, Senior Advisor, Strategy, ClimateWorks Foundation, India

Catherine Bremner, Director, International Climate & Energy, Department for Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy, HM Government, United Kingdom

Sheryl Foo, Director, Vertech Capital, Singapore

Mahesh Babu, CEO, Mahindra Electric, India

Moderator – **Arnab Kumar**, Programme Director, Frontier Technologies, NITI Aayog, India

Jehangir: Special Interaction with Young Fellows

Roshanara: Connecting Waters: Sustainable Infrastructure in the Indo-Pacific

Countries in the emerging world require trillions of dollars in infrastructure investment to meet the needs of their rapidly maturing economies. A host of ‘mega-infrastructure’ initiatives have been launched in recent years to respond to these initiatives. However, bad standards for governance and finance have often placed recipient economies under crippling debt. How can states with shared interests in a free and open global economy create infrastructure investment standards that serve the interests of emerging economies? What role must environmental and political concerns play in the norms underpinning the emerging world’s big infrastructure build-out? How must global finance deal with its failure to address the infrastructure gap in the emerging world?

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

Kurihara Toshihiko, Chief Representative in New Delhi, Japan Bank for International Cooperation, Japan

Annie Norfolk Beadle, Policy Analyst, South and Southeast Asia Regional Programme, OECD, United Kingdom

Bharat Gopaldaswamy, Senior Fellow, Oberver Research Foundation, India

Rafiq Dossani, Director, RAND Center for Asia Pacific Policy, United States

Moderator – **Claire Alembik**, Investment Specialist, Asian Development Bank, Private Sector Operations Department, Thailand Office

2200 onwards

Durbar: Young Fellows @ 10 – Communities Forever
Cocktails, Conversations and Celebrations

Live @ Raisina

Scheduled times are indicative. Please follow Raisina Dialogue website for updates.

DAY ONE Tuesday, 14 January, 2020	
1900-1915	<p>In Conversation: Air Pollution and Urban Governance: Defusing a Crisis</p> <p>Aaditya Thackeray, Cabinet Minister (Environment, Tourism, Protocol), Government of Maharashtra, India Bahar Dutt, Independent Environmental Journalist, India</p>
1920-1940	<p>Modi 2.0: A Reform Report Card</p> <p>Richard M. Rossow, Senior Adviser and Wadhvani Chair in U.S.-India Policy Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies, United States Bharat Gopalaswamy, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India Kanchan Gupta, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1945-2000	<p>In Conversation: The Voice of Small Things</p> <p>Supriya Nair, Co-Founder, All Things Small, India Maya Mirchandani, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>



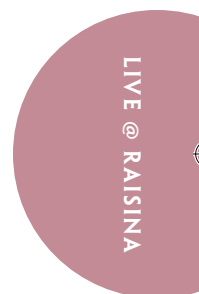
DAY TWO Wednesday, 15 January, 2020	
1030-1050	<p>SDGs and Politics: Inclusion and Democracy</p> <p>Akanksha Sharma, Head, CSR & Sustainability, Sterlite Technologies, India Marina Paula Benítez Demtschenko, Founder & CEO, Fundación Activismo Feminista Digital, Argentina Shelley Thakral, Head of Policy Programs India & South Asia, Facebook, United Kingdom</p>
1100-1115	<p>In Conversation: COP26: Everybody's In</p> <p>Claire Perry O'Neill, President, COP26, United Kingdom Jayant Sinha, Chairperson, Standing Committee on Finance and Member of Parliament, India</p>
1130-1150	<p>Politics & Geopolitics</p> <p>Baijayant Panda, National Vice-President & Spokesperson, Bharatiya Janata Party, India Stephen Harper, Former Prime Minister, Canada Marya Shakil, Political Editor, CNN-News 18, India</p>
1155-1215	<p>Is Arms Control Over?</p> <p>Daniel Feakes, Chief, Biological Weapons Convention Implementation Support Unit, United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs Lavina Lee, Senior Lecturer, Macquarie University, Australia Rakesh Sood, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1220-1240	<p>In Search of Purpose: Why do Europeans Radicalize?</p> <p>Marija Risteska, Founder & Executive Director, Center for Research and Policy Making, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Raffaello Pantucci, Director, International Security Studies, Royal United Services Institute, United Kingdom Erin Marie Saltman, Head of Counter Terrorism Policy, Europe, Middle East & Africa, Facebook, United States</p>
1245-1305	<p>Commodities in the 4IR</p> <p>Gaurav Dalmia, Chairman, Dalmia Group, India Rajesh Shah, Co-Chairman and Managing Director, Mukand Limited, India Mihir Sharma, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1305-1320	<p>In Conversation</p> <p>Mohammad Javad Zarif, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Iran Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1325-1345	<p>South by Southwest: In Search of Stability</p> <p>Seyed Kazem Sajjadpour, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Iran Saad Mohseni, CEO, Moby Group, Australia Yalda Hakim, Journalist, BBC World News, Australia</p>

DAY TWO Wednesday, 15 January, 2020	
1350-1410	<p>BRICS @ 20: The Russian Roadmap</p> <p>Victoria Panova, Vice President for International Affairs, Far Eastern Federal University, Russia Aditi Lalbahadur, Programme Manager, South African Institute of International Affairs, South Africa Anton Tsvetov, Deputy Director, Department of Multilateral Economic Cooperation and Special Projects, Ministry of Economic Development, Russia</p>
1415-1435	<p>Combining Growth & Security in the Indo-Pacific</p> <p>Jeffrey Philip Bialos, Partner, Eversheds Sutherland (US) LLP, United States Nilanthi Samaranyake, Director, Strategy Policy and Analysis, Center for Naval Analyses, United States Rebecca Strating, Senior Lecturer, La Trobe University, Australia</p>
1500-1515	<p>In Conversation</p> <p>Mr. Abdulla Shahid, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Maldives Maya Mirchandani, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1525-1545	<p>Are there European Values?</p> <p>Heather Grabbe, Director, Open Society European Policy Institute, Belgium Edgar Rinkevičs, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Latvia Mihir Sharma, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1550-1610	<p>Glory to Hong Kong: Democracy's Contested Frontier</p> <p>Daya K. Thussu, Professor, Hong Kong Baptist University, India Heribert Dieter, Director of Policy Research and Visiting Professor, Asia Global Institute, University of Hong Kong, Germany Mihir Sharma, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1615-1630	<p>In Conversation</p> <p>Grace Naledi Pandor, Minister of Foreign Affairs, South Africa Navdeep Suri, Director, Centre for New Economic Diplomacy, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1650-1710	<p>Europe Looking East</p> <p>Aneta Vilagi, Vice Dean, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University, Bratislava, Slovakia Iztok Mirošič, Ambassador, State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Slovenia Ali Aslan, Anchor, Germany</p>
1720-1735	<p>In Conversation: Exploring Green Frontiers</p> <p>Tshering Tobgay, Former Prime Minister, Bhutan Bahar Dutt, Independent Environmental Journalist, India</p>



DAY TWO Wednesday, 15 January, 2020	
1745-1805	<p>Digital Sri Lanka: The Rising Island</p> <p>Waruna Dhanapala, Additional Secretary (Development), Ministry of Information & Communication Technology, Sri Lanka Anuradha Herath, Director (Media and International Relations), Prime Minister's Office of Sri Lanka, Sri Lanka Natasha Jog, Election Integrity Lead (India & South Asia), Facebook, India</p>
1810-1830	<p>The End of Cash</p> <p>Arvind Gupta, Founder Member, iSPIRT, India Jeremy Sturchio, Vice President, Head of Government Relations, Asia Pacific, Visa Inc, India Natasha Jog, Election Integrity Lead (India & South Asia), Facebook, India</p>
1835-1850	<p>In Conversation: The Future of Air Power in the Indo-Pacific</p> <p>Air Chief Marshal Rakesh Kumar Singh Bhadauria PVSM AVSM VM ADC, Chief Of The Air Staff, Indian Air Force, India Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1950-2010	<p>The Heart of Europe</p> <p>Indrė Makaraitytė, Head of the Investigative Journalism Desk, LRT, Lithuania Tereza Novotna, Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow, Center for European Integration at Free University Berlin, Czech Republic Katga Gloger, Journalist, Germany</p>
2020-2040	<p>Between Istanbul and Moscow: Searching for Stability</p> <p>Hayk Khalatyan, Political Analyst, Eurasia Daily, Armenia Akop Gabrielyan, Researcher, Russian-Armenian University, Russia Kanchan Gupta, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
2100-2115	<p>India's World: Raisina Special with Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation Naghma Sahar, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>

DAY THREE Thursday, 16 January, 2020	
0930-0950	<p>Bridging the Access Divide Globally: Health, Gender and Tech</p> <p>Winnie Munene, Head, Integrated Healthcare Services, Merck KGaA, Kenya Daisy Amdany, Executive Director, CRAWN Trust, Kenya Shelley Thakral, Head of Policy Programs India & South Asia, Facebook, United Kingdom</p>
1000-1020	<p>Embracing the Informal Economy</p> <p>Silvana Lopez, CEO, the BlockChain Challenge Inc., Colombia Sandeep Malhotra, Executive Vice-President, Products and Innovation, Mastercard Singapore Dhiraj Nayyar, Director, Economics and Policy, Vedanta Resources, India</p>
1030-1050	<p>The Asian Infrastructure Paradox?</p> <p>Yasuhiro Kuronaga, Deputy General Manager, (Asia Pacific and East Asia), Global Economic and Political Studies Division, Mitsui & Co., Japan Sumona Guha, Vice President, Albright Stonebridge Group, United States Mihir Sharma, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1055-1110	<p>In Conversation</p> <p>Urmaz Reinsalu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Estonia Manu Pubby, Senior Editor, The Economic Times, India</p>
1120-1140	<p>ASEAN divided? The Manchurian Candidates</p> <p>Satoru Nagao, Visiting Fellow, Hudson Institute, Japan Lynn Kuok, Shangri-La Dialogue Senior Fellow for Asia-Pacific Security, International Institute for Strategic Studies; Senior Research Fellow, University of Cambridge, Singapore Jeffrey Smith, Research Fellow, Asian Studies Center, Heritage Foundation, United States</p>
1145-1200	<p>In Conversation</p> <p>Jeppe Kofod, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Denmark Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1210-1230	<p>Will the Atlantic meet the Indo-Pacific?</p> <p>Raphaëlle Khan, Research Fellow, Institute for Strategic Research, France Vikram J. Singh, Senior Advisor, Defence and Aerospace, U.S. India Strategic Partnership Forum, United States Maya Mirchandani, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1235-1250	<p>In Conversation: Tech Frontiers: Can India lead?</p> <p>Gautam Saxena, Founder, Pegasus 7 Capital Advisors; Board Advisor, Axiata Digital, Singapore Kanchan Gupta, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>



DAY THREE Thursday, 16 January, 2020	
1255-1315	<p>Can liberals survive?</p> <p>Alexander Kulitz, Member of Parliament, Germany Ausrine Armonaitė, Member of Parliament, Lithuania Mihir Sharma, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1320-1340	<p>Himalayan Future</p> <p>Ping Ai, Vice President, Chinese Association for International Understanding, China Harsh V. Pant, Director, Studies, and Head, Strategic Studies Program, Observer Research Foundation, India Naghma Sahar, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1350-1405	<p>In Conversation: Dharma in the Digital Age</p> <p>Preity Upala, CEO, OMNIA, Australia Kanchan Gupta, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1410-1430	<p>Branding the State</p> <p>Yuji Kato, Board Member & COO & CIO, Cool Japan Fund, Japan Laura Yerekeshova, Deputy Director, International Affairs, Institute of Oriental Studies, Kazakhstan Mihir Sharma, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1440-1500	<p>US Congress: A Bilateral Pillar</p> <p>Ravi Batra, Chairman, National Advisory Council on South Asian Affairs, United States Daniel Twining, President, International Republican Institute, United States Maya Mirchandani, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1510-1540	<p>Asian Trade after RCEP</p> <p>Sumona Guha, Vice President, Albright Stonebridge Group, United States Wongi Choe, Professor & Head, Centre for ASEAN-India Studies, Korea National Diplomatic Academy, Republic of Korea Mihir Sharma, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1600-1620	<p>Women Leaders, Peace and Security</p> <p>Helen Clark, Former Prime Minister, New Zealand; Member, WLA-Club de Madrid Marise Ann Payne, Minister for Foreign Affairs & Minister for Women, Australia Elena Beganu, Officer, NATO HQ, Romania</p>
1625-1640	<p>In Conversation: Iran's World</p> <p>Vance Serchuk, Executive Director, KKR Global Institute, United States Indrani Bagchi, Diplomatic Editor, The Times of India, India</p>

DAY THREE Thursday, 16 January, 2020	
1645-1700	<p>In Conversation</p> <p>Mahesh Babu, CEO, Mahindra Electric, India Mihir Sharma, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1710-1730	<p>Anchoring the Indo-Pacific: The Case for Deeper Australia-India-Indonesia Trilateral Cooperation</p> <p>Premesha Saha, Associate Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India Dino Patti Djalal, Former Ambassador of Indonesia to the United States and Advisor, Government of Indonesia, Indonesia Rory Medcalf, Head, National Security College, Australian National University, Australia</p>
1735-1755	<p>In Conversation: Chasing the Frontier: The EU and Internet Governance</p> <p>Carl Bildt, Former Prime Minister, Sweden; Co-Chair, European Council on Foreign Relations Thomas Myrup Kristensen, Managing Director, EU Affairs, Facebook, Denmark</p>
1805-1825	<p>2020 Vision: Transparency and the State</p> <p>Henri Verdier, Ambassador for Digital Affairs, Government of France Thomas Myrup Kristensen, Managing Director, EU Affairs, Facebook, Denmark Maya Mirchandani, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1830-1845	<p>In Conversation</p> <p>Josep Borrell, Vice-President, European Commission, High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, European Union Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
2100-2115	<p>India's World: Raisina Special with</p> <p>Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation Naghma Sahar, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>



Associated Events

Asian Forum for Global Governance

January 9-18, Taj Palace Hotel

Organized by the *Observer Research Foundation* and the
Zeit-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius

Indian Think Tank Forum

January 12-13, Vice Regal Hall, Claridges Hotel

Organized by the *Observer Research Foundation* and the *Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program, Lauder Institute, University of Pennsylvania.*

EU-India Think Tank Twinning Initiative

January 14, Mumtaz Hall, Taj Palace Hotel

Organized by the *European Union Delegation to India*

Resilient Infrastructure Roundtable: Building For An Uncertain Future

January 14, Roshanara Hall, Taj Palace Hotel

Organized by the *Coalition for Disaster Resilient Infrastructure* and the
Observer Research Foundation

India's Green Transformation Roundtable: CoP26 and the Knowledge Community

January 15, Sheesh Mahal Hall, Taj Palace Hotel

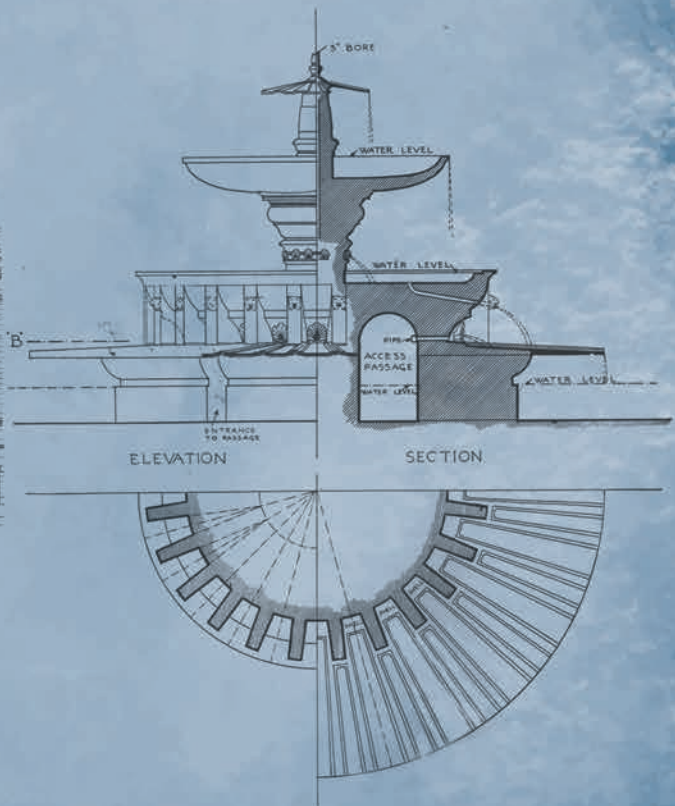
Organized by *Foreign and Commonwealth Office, U.K.* and the
Observer Research Foundation





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SPEAKERS





Inauguration



Narendra Modi
Prime Minister of India

Speakers



Aaditya Thackeray

Cabinet Minister (Environment, Tourism, Protocol), Government of Maharashtra, India



Adm. Tony Radakin CB, ADC

Chief of Naval Staff, United Kingdom



Abdulaziz Khafizovich Kamilov

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Uzbekistan



Ahmad Al Sayed

Minister of State and Chairman of Qatar Free Zone Authority, Qatar



Abdulla Shahid

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Maldives



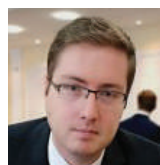
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Researcher, Russian-Armenian University, Russia



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Member of Parliament, Germany



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UBUNTU WORLD, Romania



Ali Rashid Al Nuaimi

Chairman, Hedayah and
Chairman, World Council for
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**Anders Fogh
Rasmussen**

Former Prime Minister,
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Alica Kizeková

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Chief Executive Officer,
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Bharath Gopaldaswamy

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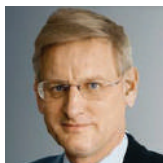
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Claire Alembik

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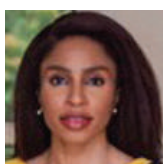
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Director (Health Research), Center for the Study of the Economies of Africa, Nigeria



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General Claudio Graziano, Chairman, European Union Military Committee



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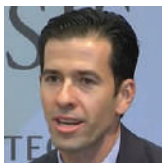
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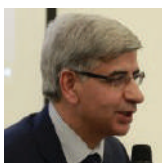
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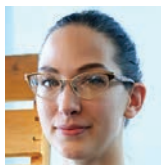
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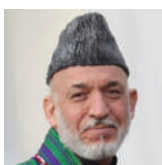
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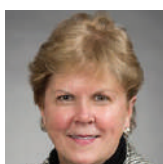
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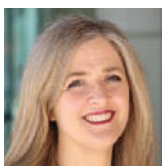
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Orzala Nemat

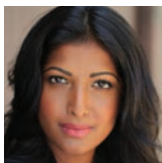
Director, Afghanistan
Research and Evaluation Unit,
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Piyush Goyal

Minister of Railways; Minister
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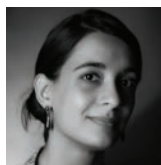
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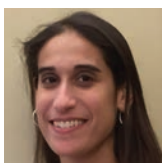
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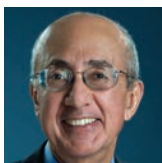
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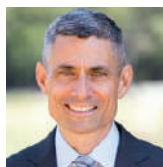
Rt Hon Patricia Scotland QC

Secretary General, Commonwealth Secretariat, United Kingdom



Richard Verma

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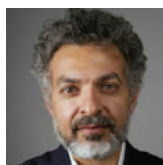
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Rovshan Muradov

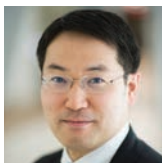
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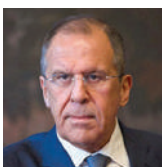
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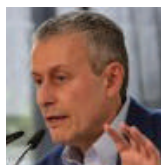
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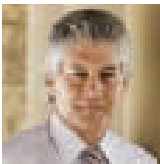
Stephen Harper

Former Prime Minister, Canada



Swapan Dasgupta

Member of Parliament, India



Stephen Smith

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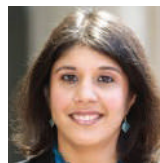
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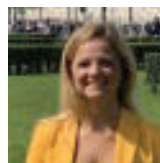
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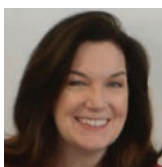
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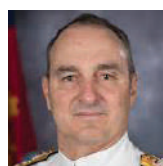
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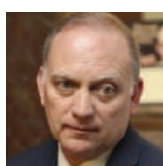
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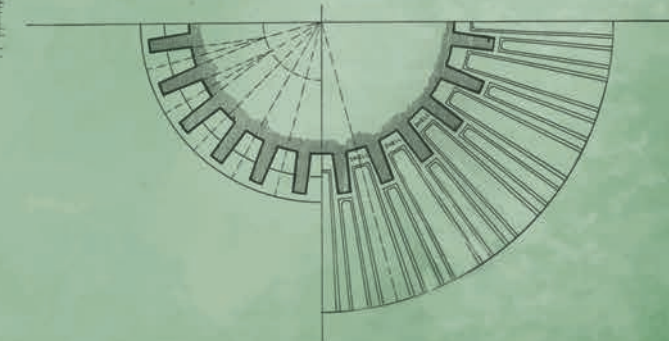
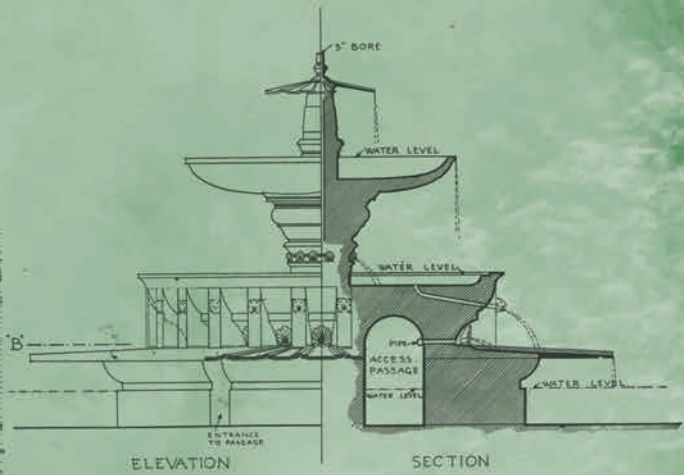
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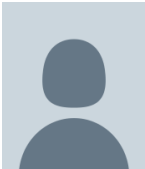
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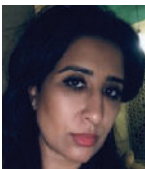
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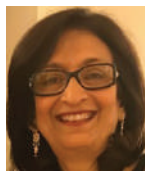
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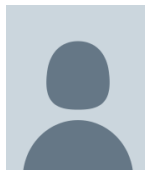
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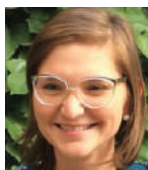
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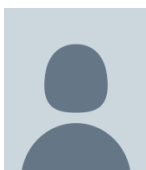
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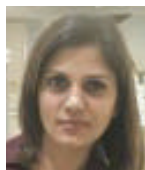
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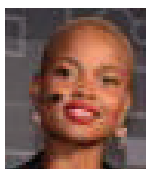
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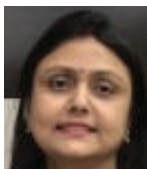
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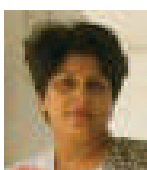
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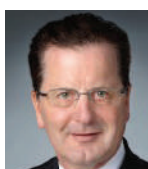
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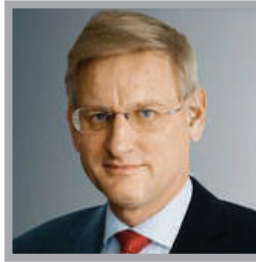
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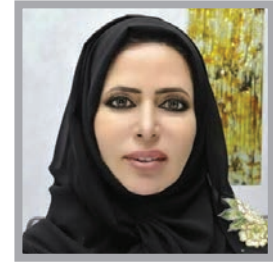
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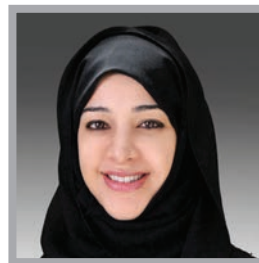
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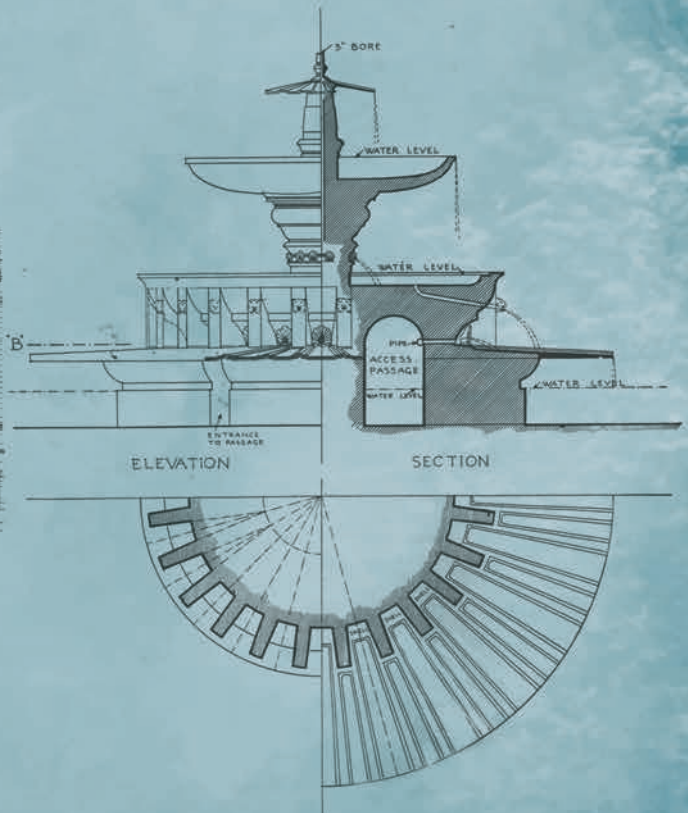
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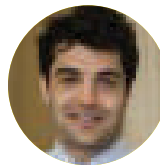
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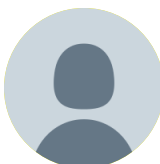
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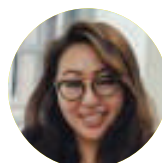
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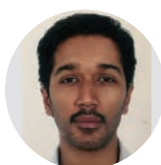
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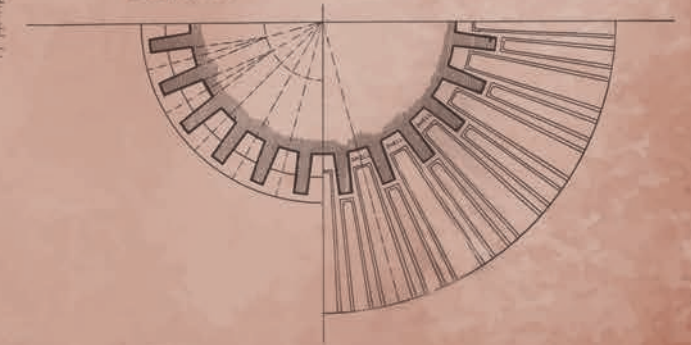
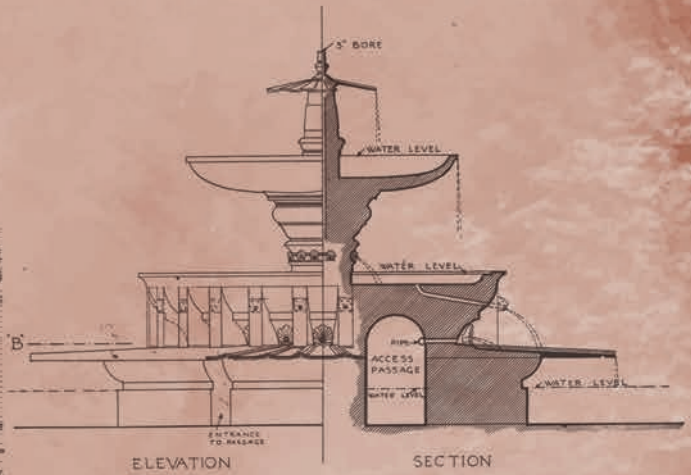
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5

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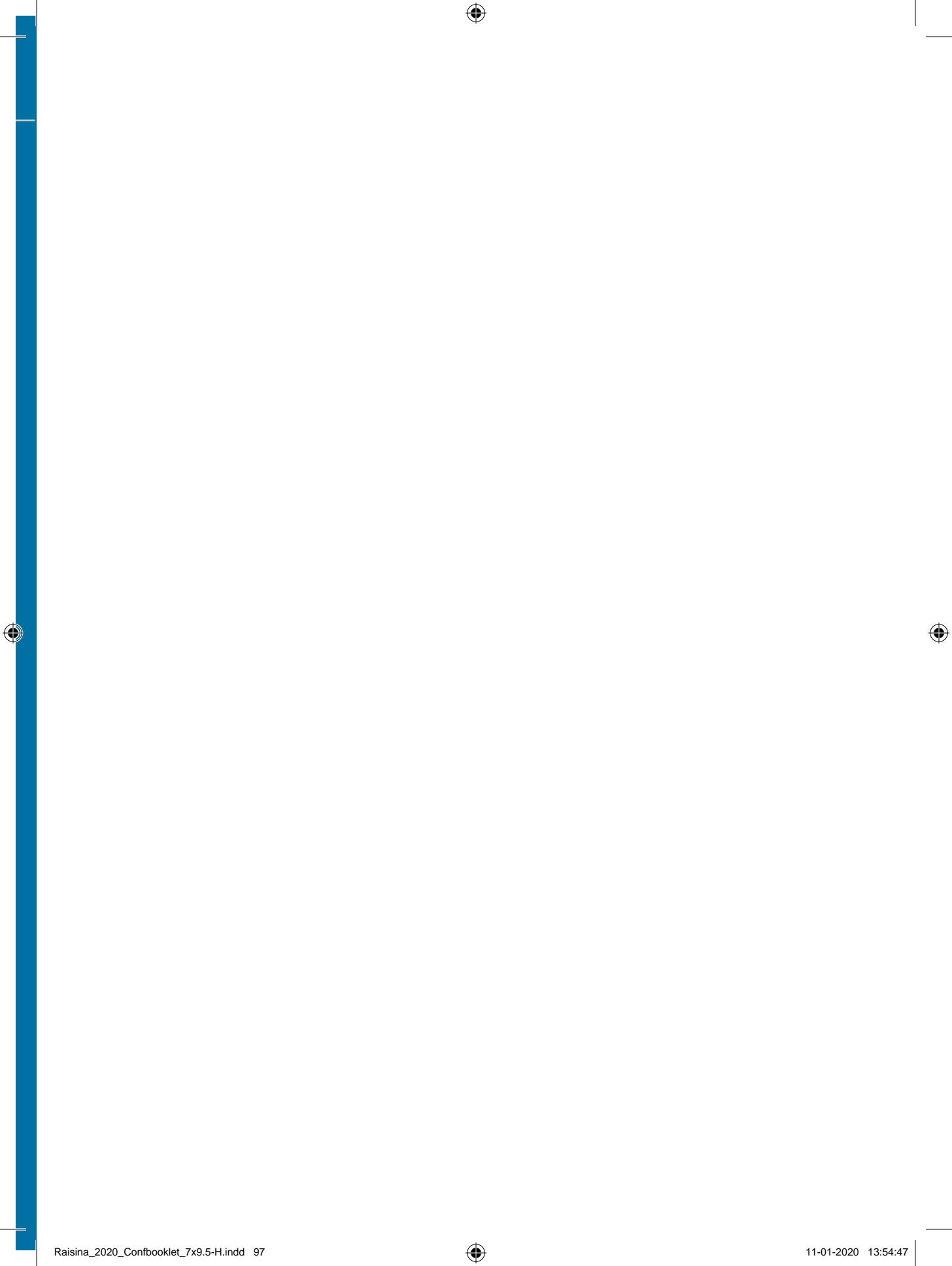
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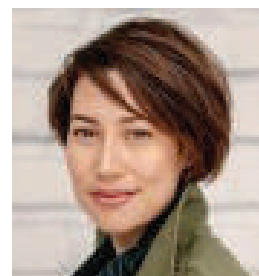
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Rebecca Strating
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Code Of Conduct – Charter Of Participation

The Raisina Dialogue is an inclusive and diverse forum with participants from across a range of backgrounds. We place a high premium on ensuring that the conference is an open and safe venue for every attendee, regardless of gender identity, sexual orientation, nationality, ethnicity, religion, or disability.

We request that all those associated with the Raisina Dialogue, including participants, organisers, and hotel staff, to follow our **Charter of Participation** and understand the repercussions of any violations.

Team Raisina will also announce house rules and updates throughout the conference, which we request all the stakeholders to follow as well.

VIOLATIONS OF THE CHARTER OF PARTICIPATION

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

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

RESOURCES

Reporting Inappropriate Conduct

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

Law Enforcement

If an emergency arises, please first contact the Delhi Police immediately by dialing 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 Mr. Ramit Grover, General Manager – Administration and HR (ramit.grover@orfonline.org; +91 9810037690).

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 / traditional clothing).

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

REGISTRATION

Interested members of the media must register online and will thereafter receive a confirmation e-mail. Upon confirmation, each media member will receive further instructions to facilitate their participation.

CONFERENCE ACCESS

The Raisina Dialogue will be held in New Delhi, India from January 14 - 16, 2020 at the Taj Palace Hotel, Diplomatic Enclave, New Delhi.

Media will have access to all public sessions. Closed-door sessions will not be accessible to the media. Invite-only sessions will be accessible only upon special request.

The full agenda will be made public three days prior to the conference. Please keep in mind that session timings are subject to change.

Please follow the Raisina Dialogue on Twitter (@raisinadialogue) and follow ORF's Twitter updates (@orfonline; @orfevents) and Instagram handles (@orfonline; @orf_events) with the hashtag (#raisinadialogue).

You can also visit our website for updates on the conference.

CONFERENCE LOGISTICS

Camera risers and audio output will be available in the rooms where public sessions will be held.

These will be available on a first come, first served basis. Please note there will be a specific spot reserved for the organisers' cameras.

There will be open, designated zones in the foyer area where the media can conduct public interviews. Please contact the organisers for prior permission and interview scheduling. Please be mindful and brief while using these spaces.

MEDIA CODE OF CONDUCT

All members of the media are bound by the Raisina Dialogue Charter of Participation. The Charter of Participation is available on the Raisina Dialogue website. 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, "The Raisina Dialogue" and its hosts, "The Observer Research Foundation" and "The Ministry of External Affairs, India" must be acknowledged in full.

No media house can commercialise any video, stills, or photos taken at the Dialogue.

CONTACT

For specific questions, please contact Ayan Sharma (ayan.sharma@orfonline.org) or Vidyadharan M P (vidyadharan@orfonline.org)

Location New Delhi*

Taj Palace Hotel

LEGEND

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

*Map not to scale



Venue

Conference Map*

Locate your sessions/facilities at the Taj Palace Hotel

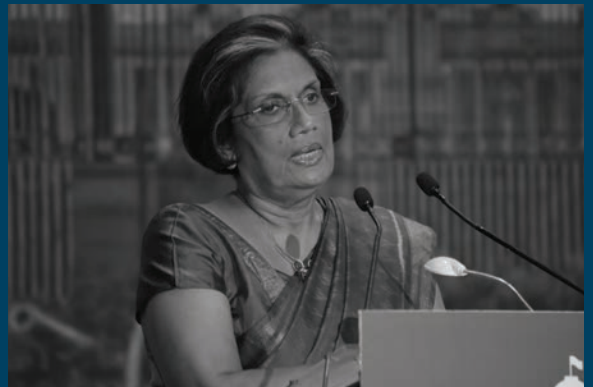


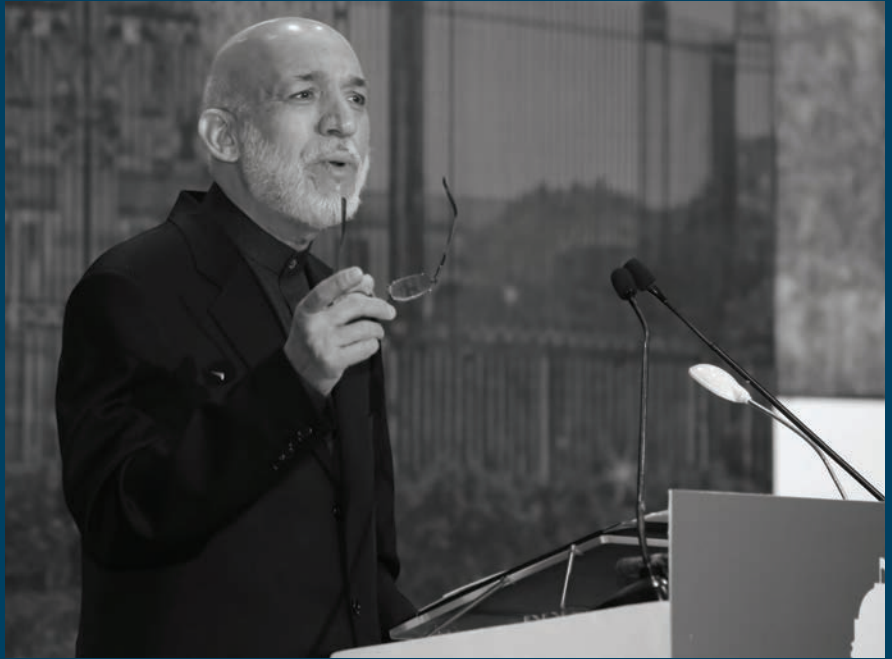
2016



5 years of Policy
Leadership

2020





2016

Asian Connectivity





2017

The New Normal

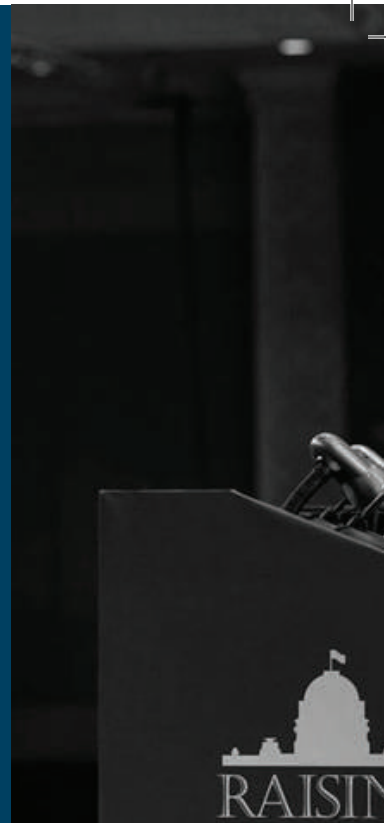
Multilateralism with Multipolarity

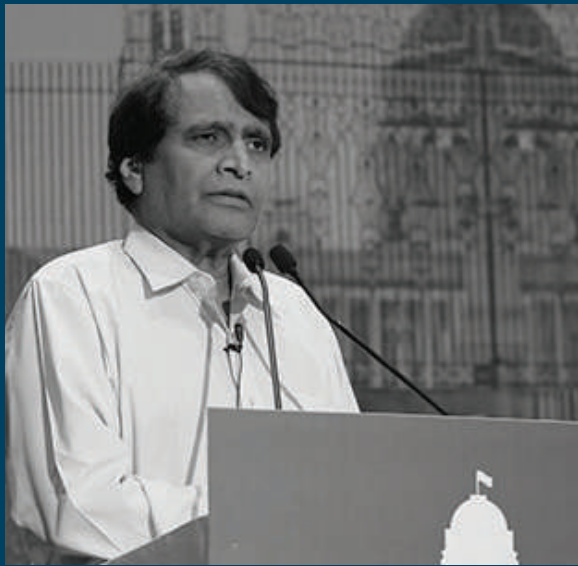
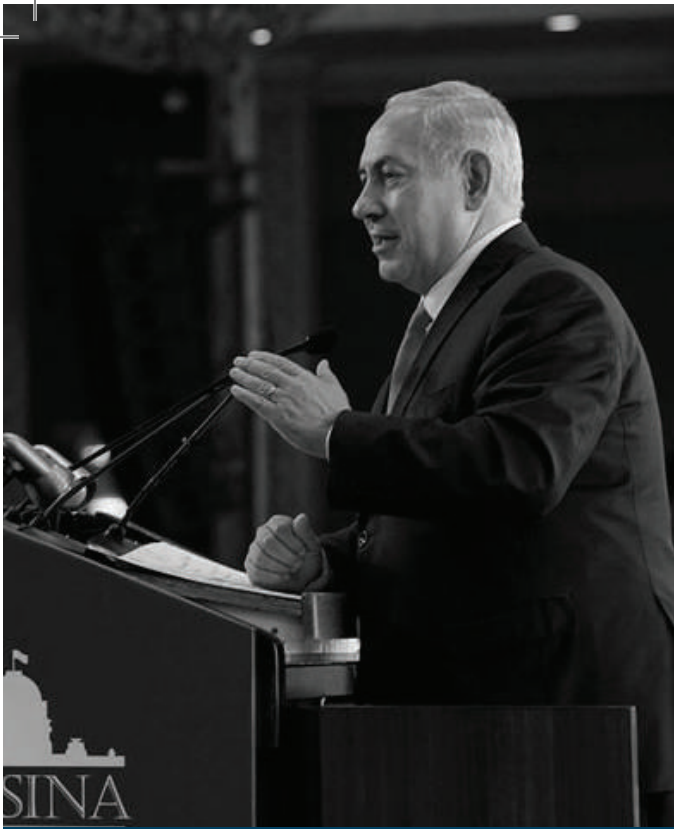


2018

Managing Disruptive Transitions

Ideas
Institutions
Idioms





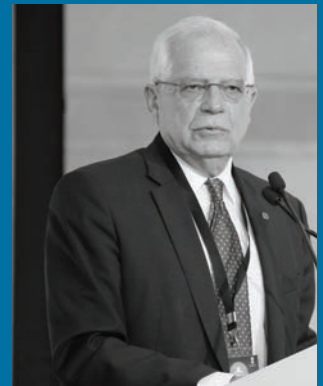
2019

A World Reorder

New Geometries

Fluid Partnerships

Uncertain Outcomes



Raisina 2020 Partners





Creative Director: Anil Ahuja,
Design and Layouts: Syed Salahuddin



RAISINA
DIALOGUE

2020



सत्यमेव जयते

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Government of India

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