



Conference Report 2019

A WORLD REORDER

NEW GEOMETRIES | FLUID PARTNERSHIPS | UNCERTAIN OUTCOMES



सत्यमेव जयते

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
Government of India



OBSERVER
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ORGANISERS



MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
Government of India



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The five foundational pillars of the fourth edition of the Dialogue were:

- (1) Political Histories vs Power Geographies;
- (2) Globalization and Anti-Globalization: Trade, Tech and Turbulence;
- (3) All for One: State, Enterprise and the Wellbeing of the Individual;
- (4) Engineering a new Ethic in 3D, and
- (5) iDecide: Leading by Impulse or Leadership by Institution?

The 2019 iteration of the dialogue covered over 80 different themes and attracted nearly 600 speakers and delegates from over 93 countries. The dialogue was jointly inaugurated by the Prime Minister of India, H.E. Narendra Modi and the Prime Minister of Norway, H.E. Erna Solberg. The dialogue hosted high-level delegations from several countries including Australia, Spain, Iran, Nepal, Russia, France, Malaysia, Japan, South Africa, Singapore, Sri Lanka, UAE, Hungary, U.K., and U.S.

The Raisina dialogue was conceptualised to be the foremost global ideation arena located in the emerging world. It is India's contribution to the efforts to discover solutions, identify opportunities, and provide stability to a century that has witnessed a tumultuous two decades. This platform endeavours to offer a blueprint for a new global order incubated in the Eastern Hemisphere, for a paradigm of global development led by the Global South, and for a responsive post-modern social order lent credence by the wisdom of ancient cultures.



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OUTCOME STATEMENT

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“The Indo-Pacific is a natural region. It is also home to a vast array of global opportunities and challenges. I am increasingly convinced with each passing day that the destinies of those of us who live in the region are linked.”

—Shri Narendra Modi,
Hon. Prime Minister Of India



Outcome Statement



By **Dr. Samir Saran**
President, ORF

PERHAPS the most important driver of change is the certainty that 2019 will herald the arrival of truly global politics. The post-war order contributed immensely to the progress and security of nations; yet its ideas, frameworks, and institutions are no longer sufficient for a new world. The small community of nations that designed and sustained the post-war order must give way to a more diverse constellation of actors. New powers from the East are only one set of stakeholders—increasingly, global governance must allow for distribution of authority and to a more diffused networks of actors, from cities and citizens to corporations and civil society organisations. How we do this will be the key question of our time.

Consequently, we have chosen five themes that are defining a new world order. The first, and perhaps the most consequential of these developments, is the emergence of new strategic geographies that are transcending the old divides of East, West, North and South. Second, we analyse the discontent with today's globalisation paradigms—and how new trade and technology tensions are threatening the future of connectivity and commerce. Third, we explore how technology is compelling us to search for a new contract between the individual, a business, and the state. Fourth, we ask what ethics will define the development and deployment of new technologies and how they will affect individuals and our societies. Finally, we emphasise the role of leadership—both individual and institutional—in managing the complexities of today's world.



These are the big ideas that have influenced the design of the Raisina Dialogue 2019. Over the next three days, we have curated over 40 sets of interactions with a global community of leaders and experts, in an attempt to paint a picture of a new world order that is rapidly emerging. A prominent feature of this year's conversation at Raisina is Europe or more broadly, Eurasia. This supercontinent is without a doubt the most dynamic and unpredictable region in the world, one that continues to surprise itself and others around it. Once considered a benchmark for democracy and collective security, the EU is today increasingly roiled by the politics and economics of populism. Equally significant is that the geographical construct of the larger European continent is dissipating. New flows of finance, labour and information are merging Asia and Europe into a single Eurasian supercontinent. The question for the EU and other European actors, therefore, is whether they can act upon these momentous changes or be subsumed by them.

The waters that link this region are undergoing a churn as well. Strategic and economic drivers have brought about seminal changes in the Arctic and the Indo-Pacific. As climate change transforms the geography of the Arctic, its waters will merge the politics of the Pa-



cific and the Atlantic Ocean, even as the regions' incumbent powers scramble to create new arrangements. The Indo-Pacific, meanwhile, is fast becoming a domain for great power competition. With over 60 percent of the world's populations residing astride these waters, its potential for scripting new paradigms for globalisation and development is unparalleled. This begs the question of whether these new constructs merely allow us to visualise and manage tensions in the region, or whether they can emerge as a new conduit for development and stability globally.

The broader shift in economic power will certainly not be free of friction. Indeed, it has already given rise to tensions amongst the great powers of the West and the East, and technology is the flashpoint that may inject a new urgency and ferocity to this contest. This dispute is only one facet of the broader dissatisfaction buffeting the global economic order. The rise of non-market economies and the domestic compulsions of populism and nativist economics are threatening the very foundations of free markets and free trade. How will the economic order that has enabled much prosperity over the past seven decades adapt? More consequentially, what happens if it cannot?

Even as the very foundations of the global order stand on shaky ground, the world is still attempting to address the imperatives of sustainable development. Emerging economies are struggling to access and raise sufficient finances to fuel their sustainable development pathways. This hints at a deeper issue: that 20th-century development paradigms continue to privilege a small set of actors and reflect their biases, preventing flows of technology and finance where they are most needed. Indeed, we must continue to ask how the global development agenda can be made more diverse by accommodating new voices. Engendering conversations on globalisation and development is one solution; and it must form part of the template that includes underrepresented communities from around the world. It is time that voices from the dynamic African continent contribute to the deliberations on the future of growth and development; and Latin American perspectives add a new dimension to the voice of the Americas.

FOR many years, the world remained optimistic that new technologies would provide a voice to these communities and create new pathways for progress. Events in 2018 have compelled us to revisit this consensus. Balancing the imperatives of economic growth, national security, and privacy seems harder than ever before. Democracies, it appears, are hard-pressed to achieve this, given that open societies are most vulnerable to manipulation and influence in their political processes. Worryingly, however, despite their outsized influence in our lives, global technology platforms have proven immune to calls for accountability and reform. This year, therefore, the Raisina Dialogue will ask how powerful technology companies can be held more accountable to the constituencies that drive their growth and profit. Perhaps we must rethink regulation which curtails their influence and reach?

There is, however, little doubt that technology will continue to transform our societies. The fourth industrial revolution will spur new breakthrough innovations and progress,



even as it makes redundant extant arrangements for social mobility and economic growth. It will also compel us to reimagine the value of human capital. Our education, healthcare and labour frameworks must shed their 20th-century formats and reflect the realities of today's knowledge-based information economy. Further, societies will have to grapple with creating ethical frameworks for new technologies as they increasingly become essential to our politics, economics and military postures. In today's polarised times, these tasks will not be easy.

THIS year at Raisina, we also explore an often-ignored aspect of governance—one that will be increasingly relevant in today's world—leadership. In a world buffeted by multiple headwinds, it appears that we have a dearth of progressive leadership. How can individuals and institutions rise above the political divides that are inhibiting a new consensus?

Finally, we explore the role of India on the global high table. The opening lines of the Mahabharat, one of India's oldest epics, boldly states that knowledge that eludes its pages may not be found elsewhere. It is fair to aver that India shares a similar relationship with the world. Its billion-plus population is an embodiment of all that is right with the



world as well as all that needs resolution. The challenges that it confronts are those that constrain all of us today. It is inexorably destined to be the steward of the liberal order with which it has had significant differences in the past. It is still emerging even as it leads, it raises hopes even as it disappoints. Indeed, India is a “boundary” nation. It is a living experiment where science religion, identities, and ideas intermingle to script a unique narrative of progress.

India is therefore an ideal location to dissect the most important issues that engage us all. It is on these boundaries that durable pathways for a world reorder will be discovered. This year, we have convened over 40 conversations to assess, analyse and argue these emerging realities. With 1,800 participants including 600 delegates and speakers from over 92 countries converging in New Delhi, there will be ample diversity and plurality of opinion. And our concerted efforts towards achieving gender parity have ensured that women account for over 40 percent of our delegates this year.

We hope that the Raisina Dialogue can be an incubator that generates new ideas for a shared planet and our common future; provide a space where contesting ideas can flow freely; and a platform where we may just tease out an elusive consensus. As always, we look forward to hosting you here in New Delhi. ■



Inaugural Address



By **Sunjoy Joshi**
Chairman, ORF

“A very good evening to our distinguished guests—her excellency the PM of Norway, Ms. Erna Solberg; Hon’ble PM of India, Shri Narendra Modi; Hon’ble EAM Smt. Sushma Swaraj, Ministers, Admirals, Generals and eminent leaders from around the world. A warm welcome also to the 1800 delegates and participants joining us over the next 3 days.

And just by feeling the buzz in this room, we can be certain that the 4th edition of the Raisina Dialogue has succeeded in assembling some of the best minds from across the world within these precincts for some great conversations about the future of our world and the process of its reordering.

Yes, we do live in perplexing times.

Just as the world seemed to be on the verge of getting converted to the new religion called globalization, the challenge to Fukuyama and the prophets of Davos emerged from the least expected quarters. It came not from hostile non- state or proto-state adversaries such as the Al Qaeda or the Islamic State, nor from so called revisionist states like Russia or China, but rather, it came from within the strongest advocates of the liberal rules based international



order, the most liberal democracies of the world themselves.

That is why they say, history has many cunning passages, contrived corridors. It may repeat itself but never loses its capacity to surprise us, to ambush us.

The signs of the old order straining are evident all around us. Norms are ceding ground to populist impulses.

On the security front, we see multiple flashpoints, whether it be East Asia, the Middle-East, or the heart of Europe itself. Tried and trusted institutions no longer seem to hold ground and new propositions are yet to emerge.

Must shifts in wealth, power and technology inevitably produce conflict? Or can the 21st Century be different?

Thus emerged our theme for the Raisina Dialogue—'A World Reorder'

Over the next three days, upon this open global platform, a global community of experts will debate and discuss the key questions of our times:

Can we ensure that the gift of unprecedented peace this world basked in over the past seven decades will continue uninterrupted?

Can we script a new ethic for a new kind of globalization? One that creates new channels for prosperity and social mobility for the next six billion.

We are at a moment in history where transformational shifts in technology are compelling us to raise that old age fundamental question once again—what does it mean to be human? And today there is more than a philosophical urgency to finding the answer.

It is not just about the ethical dilemma being posed by the arrival of artificially intelligent algorithms or autonomous machines, it is about what should be the nature of interactions between the diversity that is humanity? How do we shape progress to create caring societies, in a caring world, for an inclusive humanity that lives at peace with itself and in harmony with the one planet that it occupies.

Given that theme, it is my honour to introduce to this august gathering our inaugural speaker to flag off the Raisina Dialogue for this year - her excellency, Ms. Erna Solberg, the Hon'ble Prime Minister of Norway.

Prime Minister you represent a country which is deeply rooted in egalitarian ideals. One which believes in a caring society that places the welfare of its citizens as its first priority.

PM Solberg has been the leader of the Conservative Party since 2004 at the helm since 2013.

In today's disruptive political climate, she emerges as a vocal proponent of international norms, collective security, and a European system based on shared values and ideals.

Since 2016, the prime minister has been co-chairing the UN Secretary General's advocacy group for the sustainable development goals (SDGs) and has persistently brought gender to the core of global development goals— relentlessly pursuing gender equality in institutional design and agenda setting.

In an age of populism, you Madam, stand out as a truly global citizen, advocating global solutions for development, growth, and conflict resolution.

We are indeed privileged to have you address us today at the Raisina Dialogue. Prime Minister the floor is yours." ■

Inaugural Address



By **Erna Solberg**
Prime Minister of Norway

“**P** rime Minister Modi, thank you for giving me this opportunity to address the Raisina Dialogue. It is a pleasure to be here today.

The ties between India and Norway go back hundreds of years. The first possible evidence we have of links between Norway and India dates back to the year 834, from a Viking ship discovered by accident by a farmer in 1903, in a burial mound in Norway. The bodies of two women were found in the ship. Buried with them, archaeologists found items that were meant to accompany them to the afterlife. These included fine silks and a small Buddha-like figure decorated with four golden swastikas. These items may have originated from the Indian subcontinent, although we will never know for sure.

In any case, they came to Norway by sea. The oceans were as essential to our Viking ancestors as they are to us today. They are a vital part of both our history and our future. As the

A woman with short, light-colored hair, wearing a dark top and a multi-strand pearl necklace, is speaking at a podium. The background is a large screen displaying a blue-tinted image of a ship's interior. A white text box is overlaid on the left side of the image, containing a quote. The audience's heads are visible in the foreground, looking towards the speaker.

“An era of technological transformation has also caused states to seek new avenues for providing pay-cheques, social protection and a larger purpose to local communities. Globally, inequality has politics.”

world population continues to grow, more and more people will depend on the oceans for development and prosperity.

By the middle of this century, the world population is expected to have increased to ten billion people. This means that we must look to the oceans in order to ensure sufficient food, jobs, energy and economic growth. But this will only be possible if ocean resources are used and extracted sustainably. We all have a stake in building a sustainable blue economy.

Prime Minister, as leaders of maritime nations, we both know that we have a special responsibility to protect the oceans as a source of food, health, and livelihoods. Ambitious new initiatives have been launched to develop India's blue economy. Prime Minister Modi has presented a vision of sustainability and growth for all people in the region.

One of the goals of my Government's ocean strategy is to promote sustainable value creation



and employment in the ocean-based industries. Our ambition is to facilitate the transfer of expertise and technology across industrial sectors. For instance, Norwegian technology developed for the offshore oil and gas sector is now being used in aquaculture and renewable energy installations, like offshore wind. If we are to build a sustainable ocean economy, we must stop the degradation of the world's marine ecosystems. We must improve the health of the oceans.

That is why I have established the High-Level Panel for a Sustainable Ocean Economy. As the only ocean policy body consisting of serving world leaders, our ambition is to trigger, amplify, and accelerate action to promote ocean protection and productivity. We will encourage action across the board, in policy, governance, and financing. We need to move towards integrated ocean management, instead of managing the ocean sector by sector. This must be based on scientific knowledge, and take into account the full range of opportunities and risks.

Our goal is to advance a new contract that will both protect the oceans and optimise their value for all people. Prime Minister, I look forward to continuing our cooperation on this issue. Global ocean management means that we must work together to share both the benefits and the burdens. The bilateral Ocean Dialogue mechanism we established today will provide an excellent tool for this purpose.

Friends, successful cooperation depends on a robust and predictable legal and institutional framework in the ocean space. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the



Sea provides the legal framework for ocean diplomacy. India and Norway share democratic values and an emphasis on international norms and laws. The rules-based international order has served Norway well. A concrete example is the settlement of the maritime boundary dispute between Norway and Russia in 2010. Our disputed maritime claims were in areas with an abundance of natural resources. Achieving an agreement was not easy, but it was in our mutual interest. The agreement is important for our future blue economy. We commend India for respecting the rulings of the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea on the question of disputed maritime areas.

One thing is sure: When large countries respect international law, smaller countries take note. The principle 'might is right' cannot be used as a basis for governing our oceans, or anything else, for that matter. One area where large and small countries work together under common institutions is the Arctic.

Norway is an Arctic nation. Much of our territory lies north of the Arctic Circle. Sea areas account for a large part of this territory. For us, the Arctic is not a remote, icy wilderness. For many Norwegians, it is where we live, raise our families, and run our businesses. As a result of climate change, we are seeing rapid and dramatic changes to the Arctic environment. The consequences of climate change are severe, not only for the local communities in the Arctic, but for the planet as a whole. Rising sea levels and altered climatic conditions will have

a global impact. The changes are happening fast. So fast that researchers are struggling to understand and predict the effects they will eventually have on ecosystems. No country can acquire the knowledge that is needed alone. International research cooperation is the only way forward. There is growing evidence that temperature swings in the Arctic are affecting the melting of snow in the Himalayas and the Indian monsoons.

The worrying developments in the Arctic show the interconnected nature of our global challenges. I am therefore pleased that India and Norway have enjoyed close research cooperation on the Arctic and climate change for many years. India and Norway are among only a few countries in the world to have research activities at both the North Pole and the South Pole. This cooperation is of great value to us. The Arctic Council is the most important forum for discussing issues of common interest relating to the Arctic. India is now an observer state, along with several other Asian countries. The Arctic has become an arena for cooperation between Europe, North America, and Asia. This is presenting us with new opportunities. We hope to see an even stronger Indian engagement in the work of the Arctic Council in the time ahead.

I started by talking about the treasures that were discovered in a Viking burial tomb. They came to Norway by sea. And they were buried with a ship believed to be needed in the afterlife. This story reflects our shared dependence on the oceans. But it also highlights the importance of international trade, long before globalisation. Global trade has led to increased prosperity for many. Extreme poverty has been halved, people live longer, child mortality rates are falling, and more girls attend school than ever before. Global political cooperation, global trade, and international law have been crucial to this progress. But we also have to recognise that globalisation has not been equally beneficial for all. Many people feel left out by globalisation. This is a very real challenge. Exclusion can spur radicalisation. It can undermine confidence in international institutions and cooperation. Eventually, it could weaken respect for international law, human rights and even our security architecture.

TO counter this exclusion, we must secure the future welfare of a rapidly growing population. Our job as leaders is to deliver security, jobs, education and healthcare. We must deliver results. We must ensure that our citizens feel the positive effects of growth and globalisation. We must deal with the challenges of globalisation while at the same time maximising the benefits for our citizens. This requires both protection and reform of fundamental trade norms. We cannot afford to let protectionism, discrimination and economic rivalry define our future. Norway and India both benefit from rules-based international trade. We stand only to lose if this is undermined.

The WTO is essential for Norway and our interaction with the world. I believe rules-based trade is just as important for our partners. Free trade creates winners. Protectionism does not. In order to benefit all, rights, rules, and responsibilities must be modernised to fit our current global economy. This is vital if we are to build a world where people's potential, creativity, and hopes for the future can be realised through cooperation, exchange of knowledge, and trade.

The consequences of instability affect us all. Global security threats require global responses. Areas of conflict and instability are breeding grounds for violent extremism and in-

ternational terrorism. Violent extremism, conflict, and instability lead to humanitarian crises and violations of human rights. These in turn are some of the main drivers of both regular and irregular migration. Terrorism and violent extremism affect us all and are not limited to any single ideology, religion, or belief. In the continued fight against violent extremism, we must apply a whole-of-society approach. We must address the root causes. Security is closely linked to sustainable development.

We must boost trade and job creation. Build capacity for generating domestic revenue. Strengthen public service delivery. And combat corruption. Corruption fuels inequality, crime, instability and violence. We must ensure women's rights and participation. This is crucial for development and lasting peace and stability.

The international community has agreed on the Sustainable Development Goals: the roadmap to the future we want. We all have a stake in this. The issues concern all of us. If we succeed in reaching the SDGs, we will have done much to address many of the challenges we face today, including poverty, inequality, extremism, health issues and climate change. Since 2016, I have co-chaired the UN Secretary-General's group of SDG advocates. The 17 goals make it very clear that, in this context, we are all developing countries.

NORWAY has frequently been ranked as number one in the Human Development Index, but we still have a lot of work to do to achieve the SDGs. India, of course, has played an important role in shaping the Sustainable Development Goals. The fact that India, with its massive scale and vast resources, is devoting itself to achieving the SDGs, will have a global impact. I greatly appreciate Prime Minister Modi's leadership in this arena.

We have no time to lose. Sustainable change cannot be achieved overnight. It requires hard work. And we must work together. The effects of climate change, conflicts, forced migration and pandemics do not respect borders. Working together has enabled us to do far more than we could have done alone. India and Norway share the goal of solving global challenges in cooperation, rather than in isolation. Norway and India share many values, and a deep commitment to democracy and a rules-based world order.

We live in times of great change. India will soon be the most populous nation in the world. From Norway's perspective, global trends have been the cause of both our prosperity and many of our challenges. Trade conflicts, geopolitical tensions, violent extremism, climate change, and instability at the global level directly affect us at home. But so do the benefits of world trade, the global fight against infectious diseases, and the rule of law. And while we are seeing great changes, there are also constants. The oceans are still there with their potential to provide wealth and development. To paraphrase the great Mahatma Gandhi: "There is still enough for everyone's need, but still not enough for everyone's greed". And the monsoon winds still blow across the Indian Ocean, as they did in Viking times.

Thank you. ■

Valedictory Address



By **Dato Seri Anwar Ibrahim**
President,
Parti Keadilan Rakyat,
Malaysia

“Let me begin with two statements commonly used to describe India—so much so that both could be deemed cliché.

One—“India is an enigma”.

And two—“India is a land of contradictions”.

I wholeheartedly disagree with the latter, while with regards to the former, I think we must accept there is some element of truth. Whereas contradiction entails conflict, inconsistency, or even negation, enigma suggests bafflement and perplexity, even incomprehensibility.

There are no contradictions here. But even to the seasoned observer, the enigma of polarities manifesting India’s immense spectrum of diversity, generating limitless permutations and possibilities, requires us to reflect with humility in order to try and make sense of it all.

Ladies and Gentleman, I am immensely pleased to be here today. I could not have predicted some months while bidding my time in solitary confinement that I would be standing here in New Delhi. I have been visiting India for over four decades and it is a place which has taught me and all Malaysians a great deal about what it means to be a part of a rich civilization and to contribute positively to the noble pursuits of humanity.

In a gathering such as this, we take stock of the past and endeavour to anticipate what lies ahead. The future remains an abstraction constructed with our knowledge, understanding, actions, and biases. With all the wisdom we can muster, we might just achieve the future for which we strategize, plan, and manoeuvre.

The trouble is that the future is now harder to perceive because we are immersed in the present uncertainties of post-normal times. Things are chaotic, changing with great rapidity. Contradictions proliferate, and are what we have to work with. When basic assumptions about the way things ought to be are now uncertain and contested, what outcomes can we

expect? At the conclusion of this fifth gathering of the Raisina Dialogue—after many hours of careful deliberations—we find ourselves more and more buffeted by that old political dilemma: ‘events dear boy, events.’

We have seen 9-11 and its aftermath in the War on Terror. We have endured misguided wars in Iraq and Libya, and a never-ending campaign in Afghanistan, the consequences of which are wreaking havoc across this region and the world. We saw the rise of the surveillance state and the erosion of civil liberties. We cannot ignore the suffering of Syria and torment of Yemen which followed the failure of the Arab Spring and the genocides which have happened and are currently taking place in broad daylight.

The worst financial crisis in generations was a crisis of America’s own creation and has shone a bright light once again on the inevitable failure of unbridled capitalism, free markets, and unmitigated greed. What was supposed to be the end of history and the American century is mutating into something entirely different, darker, and more sinister: the mainstreaming of jingoism and the emergence of isolationist nationalisms around the world. Can we say this is just events unfolding, or should we be more humble in recognizing the limitations of the prior analysis?

Now let us consider that at the very same time as the American century was instituted as a planning horizon, an alternative vision was gaining traction in academic discourse. It is neatly expressed in Andre Gunder Frank’s title ‘ReOrient’. The thesis is not just confined to predicting the coming economic empowerment of China and India, or a coming Asian Age. More profoundly, it is an argument about the illusory history and theoretical ideas woven around Western modernity as the origin of capitalism and globalism. The crucial message is the body of evidence amassed about Asian economic history. It is the reality of industry, productivity, innovation, trade, and connectivity which powered an AfrAsian global economy that included Europe long before Europe erupted across oceans to re-centre the world.

The big picture “reOriented” is the present challenge that faces us all. We cannot afford to approach the future as a competitive zero-sum game. If the West is no longer in the driver’s seat that does not mean the rise of Asia is inherently threatening. A world system is or can be a mutual reciprocal multifaceted interrelationship.

FOUNDED on the principles of social democracy, the state of India used to lord over economic policies giving rise to extensive regulation and public ownership, not to mention sluggish growth and widespread corruption. But with economic liberalization and reforms of 1991, India migrated to a market economy and by 2008, became the second-fastest growing major economy in the world.

Yet, while it continues to grow now, the flaws and symptoms commonly associated with the capitalist system—the so-called free market economy—are glaringly present. Apart from the immense wealth inequities, there are the millions caught in the middle-income trap and hundreds of millions more caught in the quagmire of poverty. Corruption in its myriad varieties continues to plague the system.

The enigma deepens when we realise that across the vast tracts of a Second Industrial

Revolution landscape with many still stuck to manual labour, we have oases of software programmers and techies heralding the Fourth Industrial Revolution. With a gargantuan pool of half a billion workers, of whom 94 percent work in unincorporated enterprises, and millions without access to electricity, let alone the internet, there emerges the city of Bangalore, India's very own Silicon Valley. This is nothing if not indicative of the vast polarities in human capital development and the disparate state of the knowledge economy. Yet, the enigma deepens when we consider India's rich culture and democratic process and contrast that against the autocratic, dictatorial regimes of some of her proximate neighbours.

Speaking of which, China the second largest economy—if not already the largest—looms large in the equation. Common sense tells us that it is not just in India's interests but also in the geo- strategic and commercial interests of all in the region that India maintains a "balanced relationship" with China. A balanced relationship is neither a master-servant nor a superior-subordinate association. Nevertheless, on account of the realities of the respective strengths and weakness of the parties concerned, it would take a great leap of the imagination to suggest that it will be a relationship *inter pares*.

All of us—East and West, North and South—need to look back and reorder our understanding of history. Then, together as participants, we all need to look forward with greater understanding of new possibilities. We must open our minds to alternative futures that are mutually supportive, collaborative, open, and answerable to the diversity of our different requirements.

As George Santayana reminds us that "those who do not remember the past are condemned to repeat it," some quick lessons of history may be in order.

PERHAPS some inconvenient truths to begin with will remind us of atrocities that have been perpetrated in the name of religion and in this regard all are culpable. Medieval India witnessed many instances of temple desecration committed by rival Indian kingdoms and in conflicts between adherents of different deities, as well as between Hindus, Buddhists and Jains. Later on, the Islamic expansion in India during the various phases saw the destruction of temples, again ostensibly in the name of religion. And if we dial back to the era of the Crusades, we are reminded of the mayhem and bloodbath in the Eastern Mediterranean, on account of wars to recapture the Holy Land from Muslim rule.

It is hard to ignore these dynamics at work here in India. No country more publicly and vituperatively contests its own history, not to reclaim it from colonisers but to purge it of the presence of minorities. The awful history of communal violence at the birth of Indian independence continues to be incited and tragically re-enacted thanks to visions of the past that embrace the thesis of partition.

We must be thankful for the Indian sages, historians, and scholars whose work reclaims the open, tolerant mosaic of the subcontinent's past. Hindus and Muslims need to recognise the mutual influences of their shared history. Whether that is through the evidence of the early Mughals engagement with Sanskrit learning or by being honest about the convivencia of popular religion and the mixing of our cultures out on the streets. Think of the saints,

whether Muslim or Hindu, whose lives of service to the needy, whoever they were, whatever their origin, exemplified the meaning of shared values and common humanity. The shrines where these saints were buried drew worshippers from all communities.

However much religious purists might object and demur at this aspect of popular religion, as it testifies to the fact that goodness and mercy are models we all appreciate. There is a moral lesson there as we contemplate tackling insurgent ideologies. No one is won over by exclusionary ethics of self-aggrandising fervour. It is common humanity that draws people together. The task is to find pragmatic means to accommodate diversity, to enable plurality to flourish without creating barriers and boundaries to a common endeavour.

We meet at a time of rising nationalism around the globe fuelled by a hydra-headed fear. The greatest fear is the fear of the other, of the motives, intentions and aspirations of people deemed to be different. Closing borders, raising barriers, calls to rely on our own identity and to keep separate are spreading like a pandemic. What has been described as “nativist” economics in America and “nationalism” in Europe, is startling indeed. Let us not dupe ourselves by conflating nativism or “nationalism” with “patriotism” for, to my mind, they are nothing but a manifestation of unbridled populism. With the doubling down of its semantic cousins such as “xenophobia” or “ultra-nationalism” or “jingoism,” the anti-immigration discourse has morphed into toxic mutations of domestic racism, religious animosity and communal hatred with chronic race baiting and incitement to violence becoming an increasingly common occurrence. What is worse is that it blinds us from seeking solutions to the most pressing challenges facing humanity today—forced migrations and climate change, the exploitation of the natural environment, addressing education inequality and uplifting the poor and marginalized. These problems will only find solutions in initiatives which are innovative, collaborative, and inclusive.

THE resurgence of ultra-nationalism is a global phenomenon. It is a precursor to fear and a present danger to peace and security. Extreme identity politics and polemics contribute to the conditions in which the seductive call to violence festers. We must reject this.

Nevertheless, the questions raised by identity politics and contested histories cannot be brushed aside. These are crucial arenas where the fate of new departures for politics, economics and international relations will be decided.

Ladies and Gentleman, I still remember the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the very embodiment of India, as he tells us of India’s “tryst with destiny” and how “at the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom.”

Well, in Malaysia it wasn’t exactly at the midnight hour but on May 9, 2018, the people of Malaysia made their tryst with destiny by voting out a regime that had ruled the nation for more than six decades. At the 14th General Elections, with that stroke of the mighty pen, Malaysians from all walks of life—Muslims, Hindus, Christians, Buddhists and indigenous tribes - signed their warrant to hand over power to Pakatan Harapan—the Alliance of Hope, if you will—and with that a new era has begun for Malaysia.

The peaceful transition of power was nothing short of remarkable. And I strongly believe

that one of the most important reasons for this exceptional phenomenon is our very firm and consistent policy on communal and race relations. Indeed, during the run-up to the elections, the other side resorted to playing the race and religion card and while that might have gained some traction, the fact is the majority of the people rejected it in favour of cultural and religious inclusivity.

THERE is no doubt that the voices of wreck and ruin will continue to be heard from those who would want to see the new government fail. The test for us – apart from ensuring the successful stewarding of the economy – is to remain firm on our policy of eschewing all forms of extremism and fanaticism and respecting diversity and embracing communal and religious harmony.

If the world were to take one lesson from the Malaysian story it is this: Although managing a coalition of bitter rivals and different ethnicities and religions is at times olympic in the effort required. But, we must not shy away from what is fundamentally right and good only because it is hard. I believe the generations which follow will look back at this inflection point in our history with appreciation that we fought tooth and nail for a country that embraces all.

The institutional reforms that are under way including Parliamentary reforms under my direction, are primed to take Malaysia on a new path of greater constitutional democracy, rule of law, and judicial independence. These changes will provide the foundation to ensure that our democratic transition is not fleeting. Our institutions are the first line of defense against the natural tendency of power to corrupt. Leadership is of course critical. But in the long term, it is the institutions that ensure protection of fundamental liberties, vibrant contestation of ideas in the social and public spheres, further empowerment of women, and, with a proactive social justice agenda, and greater distributive justice for the poor and the marginalised.

Coming back to Asia and India, to my mind, if Asia does rise, then truth be told, it must be shorn of vain glory. As they say, history can liberate us, or it can incarcerate us. Our great opportunity in Asia in this moment of upheaval and disruption is to find new paths to heal the divisive, demeaning, and demonising ways of the past. It is the threshold across which we can transform our relationships. We could continue to be befuddled and bound by the poisoned legacy of contested meanings and ideas of the past, present, and future. Or we could rise above our prejudices and opt for real justice and peace that is equitable and fair to all.

That noble path which calls to us, where we are unwavering in the commitment to principles which are universal and timeless, is a journey, albeit difficult, that can bring us to a better place.

Thank you Ladies and Gentlemen. ■



O U T C O M E S T A T E M E N T

K E Y N O T E

P A N E L R E P O R T S

A G E N D A

MINISTERIAL ADDRESS

Sushma Swaraj

Moderated by

Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman, ORF



DELIVERING the first Ministerial Address at the fourth edition of the Raisina Dialogue, External Affairs Minister Smt. Sushma Swaraj said that India is experiencing economic and social transformation at a scale which has rarely been seen in the history of the world.

“While the prosperity and security of Indians, both at home and abroad, is of paramount importance, she said, “self-interest alone does not propel us.” India’s engagement with the world, she elaborated, was rooted in its civilizational ethos: co-existence, pluralism, openness, dialogue, and democratic values. India’s success, she said, has been a force for growth, peace and stability and an anchor for regional and global progress. India, she said, “stands for a democratic and rules based international order.”

External Affairs Minister Swaraj outlined five key principles that have defined India’s global engagement. First, India has rebuilt bridges with its immediate neighborhood. Second, India is shaping its relationship with the world in a manner that synchronizes with its economic and development priorities. Third, India seeks to become a human resources

The External Affairs Minister acknowledged that we lived in disruptive times. However, she added, a “world in flux is not an unusual situation.” The critical question, she said, is how do we respond to these transitions?

power by connecting its youth to global opportunities. Fourth, India is building sustainable development partnerships based on internationally recognized norms of good governance. Finally, India is reinvigorating global institutions and organizations.

The External Affairs Minister also spoke briefly of the challenges that confront India and the international community. Terrorism, she said, continues to be one of the most critical challenges being faced by the world today. “In this digital age, the challenge is even greater, with a greater vulnerability to radicalization,” Smt. Swaraj told the three-day conference, jointly organized by the Ministry of External Affairs and Observer Research Foundation.

She also mentioned the threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the risks associated with climate change. Speaking about climate change, she warned that that developing and under-developed nations are the most vulnerable, with neither the capacity nor the resources to meet the crisis. India, she said, has risen up to meet this challenge. Partnering with the Government of France, India launched the International Solar Alliance earlier this year with the participation of 120 countries.

The External Affairs Minister acknowledged that we lived in disruptive times. However, she added, a “world in flux is not an unusual situation.” The critical question, she said, is how do we respond to these transitions? Platforms like the Raisina Dialogue, she said, are part of the effort to find solutions in today’s networked and interdependent world. Smt. Swaraj said that discussions on foreign policy should not remain confined to the select few and that there is a need to take these conversations to villages and small towns, to school classrooms, and to vernacular media outlets. The Minister expressed happiness that the proceedings of the Raisina Dialogue will not be confined to the venue alone but will be shared with thousands of viewers outside. “This is the only way to evolve a well informed and democratic approach to foreign policy that takes into account the voices of all stakeholders,” she said.



O U T C O M E S T A T E M E N T

K E Y N O T E

P A N E L R E P O R T S

A G E N D A

1

DAY-1

PANEL DISCUSSION

When WTO Met Westphalia: Preserving the Liberal Order

MODERATOR



Rathin Roy
Director NIPFP, India

PANELLISTS



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Director, Global Relations,
OECD



Deepak Jacob
President & General Counsel,
Legal & Regulatory Affairs, Star
India



Karel Lannoo
Chief Executive Officer,
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Sanjeev Sanyal
Principal Economic Advisor,
Ministry of Finance, India



Sheryl Foo
Director, Vertech Capital,
Singapore

IN 1995, the World Trade Organization (WTO) was created with a commitment by sovereign states to entrust an authoritative institution to relay decisions on the conduct of its members. This commitment is increasingly being challenged for two reasons. First, members are reacting to inconsistent WTO conduct by imposing countermeasures on unsubstantiated justifications. Second, because of unanswered grievances, the United States has blocked appointments of new members to the Appellate Body. Thus, the WTO regime—which has governed trade relations among the world’s largest economies—is now under threat; reeling back to a unilateral Westphalian order.

With the fragmentation of the WTO regime considering the 2018 trade wars, members that want to preserve

the old economic order will be faced with a paradox: overriding the US’ non-consensual procedures in contrast with a decision by consensus. Without an authoritarian institution within the WTO, the liberal economic order will devolve into a deinstitutionalised dispute. However, one must also keep in mind that the United States has been an outlier and has refrained from signing many international agreements for the past 20-30 years, making arbitration difficult.

Thus, while the WTO has recently failed in providing mediation in the ongoing trade wars, one cannot simply argue that the organisation has not protected the liberal order without first taking into account its successes. International pacts such as the COP24 and the UN Migration Pact have been signed by many countries in recent years despite



the shifts to a protectionist mindset.

The multilateral trading system is an institutions-based regime, wherein members commit to a set of utilitarian rules but also refrain from unilaterally interpreting and reacting to the conduct of other members. This institutionalised regime established by the WTO based on central decision-making, is both weak—as it operates on a Westphalian international order—and strong, at the same time, because there are rules of conduct that guide members' interactions within the trade regime and a forum to negotiate changes.

Public policy seems to be adapting at a slow pace to the changes in globalisation and technological disruption because of the localisation of politics that has created inequality and unhappiness. The politics of economics

Without an authoritarian institution within the WTO, the liberal economic order will devolve into a deinstitutionalised dispute. However, one must also keep in mind that the United States has been long an outlier and has refrained from signing many international agreements for the past 20-30 years, making arbitration difficult.

generally plays a bigger hand in this inequality when you decide to regulate one group over the other and whether you choose prescriptive regulation over principal-based regulation. That is why every country is now looking

inwards to see if they can assuage the problems independently.

To counter this, non-state actors must participate, as they are often affected by trade restrictions and WTO inconsistent policies. They act as



“The liberal international economic order is based on the western philosophy of capitalism with a small margin for social development.”

resource enhancers to defend their strategic interests in times of changing trade policies. However, even with increased efforts from governments towards democratising trade policy development, there are hindrances with the emergence of other Westphalian ideologies. An effective public-private collaboration seems essential yet complex as their respective interests do not always align.

The WTO regime went further than any other global legal regime in institutionalising relations between sovereigns, necessitating resort to authoritative institutions, and prohibiting unilateral action. However, under this order lies the base of the Westphalian regime in which states retain control over economic and military resources and therefore have the de facto power to decide on how to respond to a perceived violation. For instance, climate

change and food security may be issues of common ground amongst the sovereign states, but the issue of intellectual property rights is not. Such a debate could bring us into a Westphalian trap as no sovereign state will be able to call upon an institution to make a non-partisan authoritative decision. To overcome this Westphalian trap, we require a well-functioning legal mechanism, along with a deeper commitment to settle disputes by resorting to a centralised institution. There needs to be accountability through nation states and their citizens.

The liberal international economic order is based on the western philosophy of capitalism with a small margin for social development. India can play a big role in proposing an order based on capitalism and social welfare in other developed and developing economies. With the rise in populism, it is evident

that something is wrong in the effectiveness of the WTO and we need to make it more adaptable and inclusive.

The Westphalian system was a deinstitutionalised system wherein some states were seeded a disproportionate say of rights to control the rules of trade. This engagement of states in damaging conduct and self-interested action is indistinguishable from a power-based struggle. As the WTO and its functioning slowly retract to the old Westphalian ways, we are forced to question how we can reform the system that has created problems from within. If we look to reform, we would be perpetuating the same disparities and power relations which must be avoided. Therefore, we need to look beyond reform, beyond the Club of the West, towards reorder and reimagination of the economic order.

—Ruchbah Rai

PANEL DISCUSSION

Accessible Health: Towards an Inclusive Human Capital Framework

MODERATOR



Anjali Nayyar
Executive Vice President, Global Health Strategies, India

PANELLISTS



Indu Bhushan
CEO, Ayushman Bharat Initiative and National Health Authority (NHA), Government of India.



Daisy Amdany
Executive Director, Community Advocacy and Awareness Trust, Kenya



Jorge Ferrao
Vice Chancellor, Pedagogic University, Mozambique



Sandhya Venkateswaran
Deputy Director, BMGF, India



Vinod Paul
Member, NITI Aayog, India

THE fast-growing populations in the world's emerging economies are increasingly demanding world-class health services. This is in the backdrop of old health challenges which remain, significant lifestyle changes, and new vulnerabilities arising from these changes. Addressing their aspirations will thus require new models of delivery, new partnerships, and novel financing mechanisms. How can communities become co-creators and co-providers of health services, instead of being passive recipients of care? What models have emerged from policy experimentation in emerging economies that are worth investing in and spreading? And how can the politics of developing countries be re-ordered around the provision of basic health? These are some questions discussed by speakers at the panel,

Accessible Health: Towards an Inclusive Human Capital Agenda at the Raisina Dialogue 2019.

Providing financial risk protection is a major component of the health-related Sustainable Development Goal (Goal 3.3). This is critical as countries are grappling with the double burden of disease, and families are falling below the poverty line due to medical expenses. When governments do not invest enough in healthcare, households end up paying a significant amount of their annual income on medical treatment. It was found that the percentage of Indian households that slipped to poverty due to out-of-pocket health expenditure was seven percent of the total households in 2014 - a massive number. In India's case, healthcare has become a topic of discussion in the highest offices of the country—some-



thing that has happened only once before during the launch of National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) in 2005.

In the context of the rollout of the Ayushman Bharat initiative— aimed at consolidating and taking forward the gains from the previous decade and which can be called the world’s most ambitious healthcare programme right now—the ethics of access provided an interesting starting point. After all, the objective of Universal Health Coverage is rendered meaningless without an egalitarian perspective. From a public health

vantage point, everyone in society deserves to be equally protected and should have access to medical care at any time it is needed without causing financial distress.

This is exactly what Ayushman Bharat is striving to achieve through its two-pronged approach. The primary-level provisioning will dramatically improve with the initiative’s Health and Wellness Centres component. Furthermore, the injection of INR 5 lakh of purchasing power to every poor household in the countryside will trigger a no-frills, high-quality pri-

vate sector moving closer to the rural populations, which are currently highly underserved. For these reasons, PM-JAY, the insurance arm of the Ayushman Bharat initiative, is considered a game changer and is expanding at a rapid pace.

Within a period of 11 weeks, approximately five lakh people have received benefits of PM-JAY and more than 18 lakh beneficiary e-cards have been issued. Improving beneficiary awareness is turning out to be crucial, as many of the intended beneficiaries are still unaware of the scheme.



However, with a massive—and expanding—network of both public and private empaneled hospitals across the country, the number of patients accessing the scheme is steadily increasing. As the scheme steadies, capacity-building and grievance management are emerging as high-focus areas within the overall PM-JAY implementation.

Kenya's experience has shown that many of the large schemes, while being populist, do not exactly reflect the ground-level needs of the people. Many diseases like TB and Malaria do not get



the policy attention they deserve, despite killing a large number of people every year. Experience from Mozambique also shows that despite the political focus on free universal health care from the time of independence in 1975, and considerable external assistance, the required infrastructural facilities and human resources do not exist in the areas which need them the most. Health systems where modern as well as traditional treatment options exist side-by-side throw-up an additional challenge for policymaker. The ground reality is similar in many pockets of India as well, where systemic under-reporting affects the public interest and the number of resources committed to fight many communicable diseases.

Economic growth in India is driven by low-skilled manufacturing but high-skilled areas of the economy. Investing in human capital is important to sustain this growth. There is a large body of evidence which shows that the health and nutrition of mothers and newborn babies influence the cognitive abilities of children. There is also



a direct link between health, nutrition, and productivity. In India, nine million people enter the labour force every year – about half of this number were stunted during childhood.

While most of the policy conversations remain around curative care, a public health agenda, focusing on prevention and promotion should provide the foundation for the country's health systems.

Global experience shows that even with insurance schemes focusing on secondary and tertiary curative care, getting information on the health initiative to reach the target communities is a major determinant of the success in improving access. In India, the biggest challenge in ensuring uptake of various health schemes other than ensuring reliable funding support is creating greater awareness amongst people. With this aim, tapping into cutting-edge technology to expand comprehensive primary healthcare needs to become a core priority, along with expanding rural infrastructure.

—Oommen C Kurian

PANEL DISCUSSION

Trust in Tech: A New Framework for Digital Security & Prosperity

Moderator



Kaja Ciglic, Director, Government Cybersecurity Policy and Strategy, Microsoft, USA.

Panellists



Chitra Subramaniam, Editorial Adviser, Republic TV, India



Jon Brickey, Senior Vice President and Cybersecurity Evangelist, Mastercard, USA.



Paula Kift, Civil Liberties Engineer, Palantir Technologies, USA



Rema Rajeshwari, District Police Chief, Telangana, India.



Scott Carpenter, Managing Director, Jigsaw, USA.



Stéphane Nappo, Global Chief Information Security Officer, International Retail Banking, Société Générale International Banking, France.

CONSUMER trust in Big Tech is at an all-time low. Governments, regulators, and courts all over the world have either introduced legislations and issued decisions to combat the growing misuse of the internet. Increasingly, policymakers are weighing in on an “impossible triangle” when deliberating on platform regulation – where it is not feasible to equally serve the interests of national security, privacy and economic growth. Online radicalisation, and hate speech, cybercrimes, and banking frauds, and disinformation online have led to not only a tech-lash amongst civil society and governments, but also to reckoning from insiders of the technology industry themselves.

Companies are now openly calling for more regulation on political advertising and harmful content online. even

setting up external advisory boards to guide them on some of these areas, including the scope for bias in the design of AI technology. The panel at Raisina 2019 primarily addressed this question: How must corporations respond to the growing trust deficit of consumers with big tech platforms?

Across the board, the experts agreed that there is no one-stop solution when it comes to companies building and maintaining trust. Paula Kift noted that “trust” itself could be difficult to define, referring to how the notion of privacy is understood differently across the globe. Definitions are crucial since they ultimately determine how a nascent regime regulating emerging technologies can be set up. Kift further noted that the impact of existing frameworks must be deeply understood by all actors before enact-



ing any news ones – specifically referring to EU’s General Data Protection Regulation.

Even as stakeholders acknowledge the range of challenges that the internet brings about, the need to devise contextual and localised solutions to fight the misuse of the internet was identified. Rema Rajeshwari shared anecdotal evidence of battling the spread of fake news in Telangana in early 2018. The mob lynchings reportedly arising out of misinformation circulated on a popular encrypted messaging platform instigated rumours of child abduction calling for law enforcement and government and community leaders to address the problem locally. Rajeshwari stressed on the urgency of tackling the digital literacy gap in the country by engaging all stakeholders to design immediate and contextual

campaigns to educate users. She recounted her team’s on-ground experience where they worked closely with local public representatives to educate residents by going door-to-door and organising extensive workshops to help law enforcement agents identify fake news online.

Such contextual and community-driven and located solutions, however, might be difficult to come by as long as decision-making is concentrated with companies located in Silicon Valley. In a world where technology is spreading rapidly across countries in areas of low literacy, among first-generation internet users, and different local realities in government-citizen engagement, technology firms driven by Western realities are struggling to evolve. Scott Carpenter reiterated that locating the blame

on technology is futile; rather, what would be more fruitful is leveraging technology to address online threats and at scale. Carpenter outlined a model where experts who understand the nature of the threat, including NGOs and investigative journalists, can collaborate with technologists to address hate speech, fake news, and vulnerabilities online.

Defining, building, and maintaining trust online will be crucial in the coming months and years as emerging technologies play a larger role in democratic processes and delivery of essential services. Devising, incubating, and curating best practices will be necessary as stakeholders from civil society to governments innovate in regulating the digital realm against its ill effects.

—Madhulika Srikumar

Two Arteries, One Heartland: As the Arctic, Eurasia, and the Indo-Pacific Converge

MODERATOR



Jeffrey Smith
Research Fellow, Asian Studies
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PANELLISTS



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François Godement
Senior Advisor, Institut Montaigne,
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Katja Gloger
Editor-at-Large, Stern Magazine,
Germany.



Merriden Varrall
Non-Resident Fellow,
Lowy Institute,
Australia.



Pornpimol Kanchanalak
Advisor to the Minister of Foreign
Affairs of Thailand.

THE Arctic, Eurasia and the Indo-Pacific have traditionally been treated as separate and distinct entities in the realm of diplomacy. However, their shared maritime geography, coupled with the economic and strategic drivers of this century are advancing a convergence of these three areas. While there is a possibility that this region will emerge as an arena for economic, military, and political competition, there is also a recognition of its potential to be an avenue for cooperation and collaboration. Thus, we may see the emergence of new power structures that can directly compete with the Atlantic system in serving as the centre of economic, military, and political dominance.

The Arctic, known as the world's "last frontier", is undergoing rapid changes as a result of anthropogenic

climate change and global warming. Currently covered by sea ice, the Arctic is different from the Antarctic and it has no landmass underneath. Accordingly, its legal regime for governance, and its role in the future of geopolitics will also be different. Nation states recognise that the region's value lies in the new areas it can open up for navigation, trade, and resource exploration.

Russia currently posits itself as an Arctic superpower, backed by the support of its naval and submarine fleet. Given the natural prolongation of its continental shelf, Russia has made expansive claims of sovereignty over natural resources on the Arctic seafloor. China, for its part, considers itself to be a "future" Arctic superpower, and has been working on a polar strategy along with its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). China's polar strategy compris-



es of three pillars, viz: security, natural resources, and scientific research. On the future, we may see cooperation between China and Russia in regards to the Arctic. This is seen in their recent agreement to develop the Yamal LNG (Liquefied Natural Gas) pipeline, which is touted to be the biggest natural gas project in the Arctic Circle. While it is easy to see military and strategic overtures in the Arctic, one must not miss out on potential areas for cooperation in the field of fisheries, migration, scientific research and climate change mitigation.

As we discuss connectivity in the region, China's BRI comes to the forefront of all discussions. Launched in 2013, China's massive development strategy involves projects and investments in all of Europe, Asia and Africa. While infrastructure can bring countries together, it can also create faultlines when glob-

al actors have divergent visions for regional integration and connectivity. China's vision for the BRI appears to be fuelled by its intention to establish a Confucian-inspired global hierarchy with itself as the key global actor. Distinct from the traditional framework of the Westphalian order, this structure sees China as the responsible and benevolent father figure at the centre.

HOWEVER, various countries have voiced suspicion—even hostility—towards the BRI project. While China's offers under the BRI are attractive, there appear to be various monetary and non-monetary costs associated with it. China is yet to clarify issues regarding rules and norms governing the project, and assuage concerns surrounding transparency and corruption. This is where other emerging countries, like

India, could play a leading role in ensuring that China adheres to the rule of law. China must recognise that no country can be an island, and national interests of every country is inevitably intertwined with those of others.

Moving to Eurasia, there is a need to define and recognise what Eurasia comprises of: is it the vast landmass covering all Europe in the West, the Indian subcontinent in the South, and Asia in the East? Or does it specifically refer to deeper engagement with Russia and Central Asia? Presently, the Central Asian Republics, lying at the heart of the continent, are experiencing a rebirth. Central Asia comprises of former Soviet Republics: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. These countries have been plagued by a host of common issues due to their autocratic structures,



poor human rights record and corruption. This is the primary reason why Atlantic states have overlooked them as an area for diplomatic engagement, cooperation, and investment. However, Russia and China have been indicating their interest to engage with the region for security, resource exploration, and infrastructure development. Given the instability in the region, there is a need for massive investment of resources, personnel, and political capital. As we see a convergence between Eurasia, Arctic, and the Indo-Pacific, Central Asian countries will form an important component of this engagement.

The Eurasian convergence will also be incomplete without the involvement of previously neglected areas of Europe. China has been the most recent country to give them a bigger, geopolitical presence. One way in which China has been doing this through the is the Belt and Road Initiative, The second way, is the 16+1 mechanism which is a platform for cooperation between

China and 16 Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC). The mechanism is envisioned to enable greater engagement between China and these countries in investment, infrastructure and transport, finance, science and technology, education and culture.

Conceived in the mid-2000s, the idea of the “Indo-Pacific” aimed for the integration of the Indian Ocean and the Western Pacific regions. Beginning from Eastern Africa, traversing through East and South Asia, and encompassing South China Sea, Japan, Indonesia and Australia, the Indo-Pacific region is an area for contest between the world’s major powers. Given the diverse and enormous nature of the region, it is crucial to recognise the role institutions can play in maintaining peace, stability and security. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has often been overlooked as a key stakeholder in the region. The ASEAN countries were initially considered as the “Balkans of Asia”, but

have now grown into a viable regional conglomeration. Another important inter-governmental forum is the Quad countries (Australia, Japan, India and the US), but they are yet to come into their own to play a significant role vis-à-vis the Indo-Pacific. Originally viewed as a containment strategy for China, the return of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QSD) indicates the establishment of more cohesive strategy for collaboration in this region.

Old institutions, and perhaps the establishment of new ones, can be a way to diffuse tensions and seamlessly connect the two arteries within the heartland. Institutions not only provide a platform for cooperation and engagement, but can also help create checks and balances for its member states. The importance of a multi-track diplomacy involving individuals, institutions, and communities through dialogue, conflict resolution, confidence building measures, and peacebuilding, can help create a peaceful neighbourhood. India must find ways to resolve its own paradoxical approach to the region, from its erstwhile neutral stance to its current path of emerging as a balancing power.

In recognising the reorder of present power structures, “uncertainty” has arisen as a common theme of current time. In this context, we need a sustainable and effective global system that is not only preserving the norm and institutions we have today, but also making them acceptable and relevant for all actors in the world.

-Aarshi Tirkey

AUTHOR'S CORNER

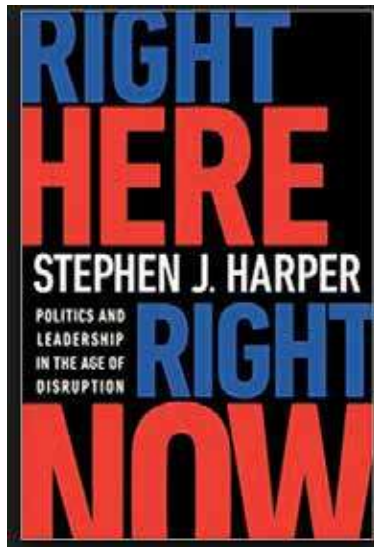


Stephen Harper

STEPHEN Harper's 2018 book, *Right Here, Right Now: Politics and Leadership in the Age of Disruption*, is based on the phenomenon of the rapid rise of new, unorthodox political movements around the globe, through the implicit or explicit use of new social media. There has been an upsurge in nationalist, populist political ideologies particularly in the West. Populist leaders challenge conventional wisdom in four areas—market economics, trade, globalisation and immigration—arguing that age-old approaches to these issues no longer work. According to Stephen Harper, while they are right in that assumption, the tactics employed by these leaders are not well thought out and will only be counterproductive. The way forward is to formulate intelligent and practical

ways to deal with these global concerns.

In his book, Harper challenges a popular political myth that there is a growing “strongman” culture in politics. In his opinion, any new and unorthodox movement or change, across the board,



involves assertive entrepreneurs/leaders. Such men and women are the products, not the creators, of these movements. The common reactions to new political waves include dismissal, ridicule, and delegitimisation, which can exacerbate an already grim situation. In a democracy, if a growing proportion of the population starts to shift to a new ideology that makes the establishment or majority uncomfortable, then either the minority must be brought back to the mainstream, or the mainstream must change some of its own long-held ideologies. Dismissing the aspirations of such a significant number of people is not a feasible option.

Harsh V. Pant

THE book *New Directions in India's Foreign Policy: Theory and Prax-*

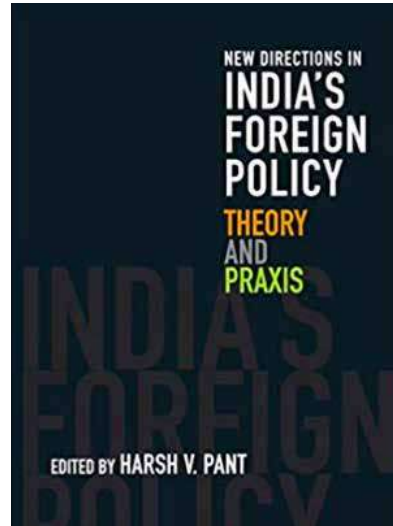
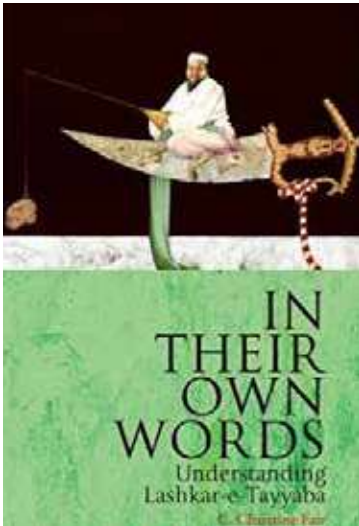


is, meanwhile—edited by ORF’s Prof. Harsh V. Pant—was conceptualised to gauge the impact of the Narendra Modi-led BJP government on India’s foreign policy. While it is too early to assess the long-term effects of this government’s decisions, the writers analyse the recent landscape of Indian foreign policy. The book is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the theoretical evolution of India’s foreign policy, which has long been shrouded in secrecy. The scholars attempt to uncover the reasons behind some of the foreign-policy decisions taken over the years. The second part of the book deals with emerging themes in India’s

foreign policy, such as new areas of engagement and old strategies that are being re-evaluated and debated. Amongst the recent changes in India’s foreign policy, one of the most significant ones revolves around the geopolitical significance of the country. While the power struggle in the Indo-Pacific is relatively new, BIMSTEC has been around for some time and has gained significant traction in recent years. India has not only strengthened its tangible display of power but also immensely fortified its soft power. There is renewed interest in topics such as non-alignment vis-à-vis entering into partnerships, India’s right to protect itself and nuclear deterrence.

C. Christine Fair

Christine Fair’s 2018 book, *In Their Own Words: Understanding Lashkar-e-Tayyaba*, deals with the internal politics of the Pakistan-based international terrorist outfit Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT). It draws upon some 1,000 biographies of LeT members to make sense of how the organisation works. Fair’s research also shows that most policies and efforts for countering violent extremism focus on the men of military age. However, it is often the families, especially the women in the lives of these recruits, that push them towards lives of extremism, seeking the vicarious glory and benefits ac-



crued from the martyred extremists. The radicalisation of these men begins after being recruited into the organisation, where they are brainwashed and given military training, and become desensitised to killing on the battlefield. This book looks at the modus operandi of LeT and its operational facets.

Stephen Tankel

STEPHEN Tankel's 2017 book, *With Us and Against Us: How America's Partners Help and Hinder the War on Terror*, also deals with aspects of terrorism. However, in his book, he looks through the lens of the United States of America and its strategic partnerships with countries in the Middle East and North African region (MENA), Africa, and South Asia, which both aid and impede the US' counterterrorism goals. The book discusses the importance of alliances, despite their oft-troublesome nature. Tankel looks at these partnerships through two lenses: the traditional view of 'alliances' and the relationship of part-

ner states with terrorist organisations. The former is the lay understanding of partnerships and alliances between countries, which involve economic and political motivation for member states to help each other. This type of an alliance is crucial for regional co-operation and training, using drones, creating military bases for operations and on-ground training. The other aspect, of the relationship between partner states and terrorist organisations, is often overlooked. Countries do not always make the effort

to understand the motivations or ground realities of their partner states. A priority threat for one country might not be one for its partner, thus leading to a dilution of common goals. A case in point is the strategic partnership between the US and Pakistan, where the latter has deep ties with many terrorist organisations such as Al-Qaeda and LeT, which are priority threats for the US, whereas the priority threat for Pakistan is India, which is an important ally of the US.

-Swati Pant

2

DAY-2

PANEL DISCUSSION

Amoebic, Asymmetric and Anarchic: Countering Terrorism as it Evolves

MODERATOR



Yalda Hakim
Host, BBC World News, UK

PANELLISTS



Gen. Bipin Rawat
Chief of Army Staff,
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Max Abrahms
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Virginia Comolli
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Security and Development,
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THE nature of terrorism has evolved over the years, as has the attitude of governments towards terrorists. Before the September 2001 attacks in the United States, one state's terrorist was considered another's freedom fighter. After 9/11 and the subsequent US war against Al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan, this thinking changed as Washington managed to create a global consensus against terrorism and shifted its attitude from a law-enforcement approach to a 'zero-tolerance' war approach against terrorists everywhere.

It has been over 17 years since the US entered Afghanistan with the aim of defeating the Taliban and ensuring that the country was never used as a launchpad for terrorist groups. However, the US and its allies have not yet managed to defeat the Taliban, calling into

to question the effectiveness of the US' counterterrorism strategy. A hardcore military approach to defeating the insurgent group has proven ineffective, and there are important lessons to be learnt.

As the global leader in the "War on Terror," the US has made the massive mistake of not dealing with the issue of state sponsorship of terror. Instead, it differentiates between state sponsors of terrorism depending on the US' need for them. Pakistan is a prime example of this, vis-à-vis the situation with the Taliban. Even if the US were to succeed in defeating the Taliban, Pakistan's insecurities are likely to lead to its resurgence. Moreover, Pakistan's support for militant groups that target and weaken the Kabul government has directly impacted US national security interests. However, appropriate action is yet to



be taken against Islamabad. Until the US decides to deal with state sponsorship of terrorism in an organised and uniform manner, the fundamental problems of militancy and radicalisation will remain.

Counter-radicalisation is a vital component of any counterterrorism strategy. However, as nation states begin to shift the goal posts of what constitutes terrorism, creating a counter radicalisation strategy becomes difficult. While the US once vowed to defeat and destroy the Taliban, it is now seeking peace with the group, desperate to leave Afghanistan in what has been their longest war. The Taliban, too, are aware that they have the upper hand vis-à-vis Washington. They know the US wants to leave and they realise that all they need to do, is continue doing what they are doing, until the US gives

up and exits. Going into negotiations, any settlement which makes the Taliban feel like they have won, will vindicate the idea that if a country sponsors terrorism they can be successful.

The loss of territory for the Islamic State (IS) in Iraq and Syria does not mean that the group has been defeated. It shows—as does the case of the Taliban—that a terrorist group's ideology remains resilient, despite battlefield losses. While ideology is only one of many components that drive radicalisation (others being economic, political and social factors), it is the most tenacious one. The Taliban remain committed to their regressive and aggressive version of Islam, devoid of fundamental human rights that the Kabul government offers its citizens. Thus, while a terror group might change its strategies, the fundamental ideology that drives the group

remains the same, making it difficult to 'change hearts and minds'.

The threat that terrorism poses is challenging to counter and defeat, especially when their strategies are constantly changing. If Al Qaeda is considered the first model for jihad and the IS—with its quest for a territorial caliphate and its rampant social-media usage—the second, more developed model, what can be expected of terrorist groups in the future? History has shown that when a terrorist group holds territory, conventional warfare is possible. A new phase of jihad will then, perhaps, focus not on holding territory but on undermining democracies using the power of the internet. It is important for states to, therefore, learn from the lessons of the past and to better anticipate and counter future threats.

—Kriti Shah

PANEL DISCUSSION

The World in a Moment: Looking Back, Looking Ahead, Looking Hard

MODERATOR



Samir Saran
President,
Observer Research Foundation,
India

PANELLISTS



Gen (Retd.) David H Petraeus
Chairman,
KKR Global Institute, US



Paolo Gentiloni
Former Prime Minister
Italy



S Jaishankar
President,
Global Corporate Affairs,
Tata Group, India

IN 2016 when Donald Trump was sworn in as the 45th president of the United States, the international community faced a watershed moment: What now, for the old global order? At the Raisina Dialogue 2019, three leaders representing India, the US, and Europe agreed that President Trump might have already ushered in a “global disorder”.

Along with the election of Trump to the US presidency, there are other defining issues of our time. Gen. (Retd.) David Petraeus pointed to the US- China relationship as one of them. There is also the rise of populism in Europe; the United Kingdom’s massive experiment, Brexit; and the lows of trans-Atlantic relationships between European powers and Washington D.C., specifically visible in the affairs of NATO. These issues are shaking the Western-liberal-glo-

balist pillar on which economic and security arguments were perched in the post-WWII era.

“There is a risk of de-globalisation,” highlighted the former Prime Minister of Italy, Paolo Gentiloni. Indeed, his country is one of the prime examples of what the new global disorder has forced some major economic powers in Europe to do. They are struggling with growth and are buried under a mountain of debt. Moreover, they are trying to find a balance between the traditional allies across the ‘pond’ in the West and the emergence of the new superpower on the block, China, with its generous offers of capital and opportunities in return for long-term regional and political influence to be leveraged mostly against the US. Italy today stands at this cusp: its economy is in tatters, and it is seriously considering joining



The three main elements of globalisation that are under stress: global markets, global supply chains, and the challenges being presented to global skills mobility

China's controversial Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). In that event, it will be the only European country to link itself to the BRI, and will pose a stark challenge to the intra-Western status quo in both strategy and alliance, considering it was a founding member of NATO.

Gentiloni's remarks reminded the audience of a basic tenet of politics and how it drives political decision-making even if means questioning age-old relationships: "It's the economy, stupid." Used widely by former US President

Bill Clinton during his 1992 election campaign, the expression means that whether a country is a vibrant democracy or an autocracy, what is imperative for political stability is economic delivery that benefits your people. This resonates equally on the domestic policies of both the US and China, and their various allies and partners. The prospect of a divergence between Rome and Beijing for better economic prospects is not the only case of serious strife within NATO. The Trump admin-

“It’s the economy, stupid.”
Used widely by former US President Bill Clinton during his 1992 election campaign, the expression means that whether a country is a vibrant democracy or an autocracy, what is imperative for political stability is economic delivery that benefits your people.



istration demands European powers to pay more attention to the NATO cause, and even perhaps give a premium to the US for sending its troops to provide military cover in states such those in eastern Europe, on the Russian border.

Other than Italy, Turkey, too—a critical ally of the US, a former model state for moderate Islam from a Western perspective—is now looking to purchase advanced defence systems from Moscow, throwing another spanner in the already strained Atlantic alliance. This argument, magnified by Italy, comes under the umbrella of the fact that the European Union used to be agnostic about Asia beyond business. This is not so anymore.

Amongst all this, the Indian stance stands as “Indian” as it ever has. Former Indian Foreign Secretary and

current President, Global Corporate Affairs, Tata Group highlighted three main elements of globalisation that are under stress. First, that of global markets; second, that of global supply chains; and finally, the challenges being presented to global skills mobility. All these, of course, can also be seen as by-products of the general rise in popularity of nationalistic politics and a pushback against globalisation.

While much of the world, including Petreaus who was the former Director of the CIA, for long have been pushing India to pick “sides”, New Delhi’s resolve to work within the framework of “strategic autonomy” has only become stronger. “Will our relationship with China help us get leverage with the US, and vice versa?” asked Jaishankar. “You can get this wonderfully

right, or badly wrong.”

India, of course, has taken a side—India’s, as the former foreign secretary said. Ultimately, New Delhi will deal with all countries that are good for its own interests and strategic aims, from China to Iran, from the US to Venezuela. “For India, there is no one answer that fits all problems on international affairs,” Jaishankar said. New Delhi’s idea of strategic autonomy is in itself going to be a challenging theory to be practiced in a changing global order, where institutions are undermined, trade wars are initiated and “deal making” is finding precedence over diplomacy. As India goes into its general elections, the new government to be appointed in May will have its hands full as far as foreign policy is concerned.

—Kabir Taneja

PANEL DISCUSSION

Engendered Globalisation: What Will it Take?

MODERATOR



Kate Hampton
Chief Executive Officer,
Children's Investment Fund
Foundation, UK

PANELLISTS



Asle Toje, Foreign Policy
Scholar and Commentator,
Member of Nobel Committee,
Norway



Richard Verma
Vice Chairman and Partner,
The Asia Group, USA



Farahnaz Ispahani
Former Member of Parliament,
Pakistan



Smriti Irani
Minister of Textiles,
Government of India

GLOBALISATION and gender equality must go hand-in-hand. Peterson and Runyan argue that 'gender' is an essential tool in analysing globalisation, as it outlines agents that frame global issues. However, gender inequalities continue to haunt the contemporary world. While the last few decades have opened multiple avenues for the increased participation of women in the workplace, the number is disproportionate to the female population and significantly smaller than the number of men in the workforce.

Globalisation is a controversial issue, not only because it is viewed differently by developed and developing countries but also in terms of gender dichotomies. While there have been attempts at breaking these dichotomies by introducing more women into formerly male-dominated fields,

globalisation processes are rooted in gendered realities and ideologies, which further strengthen inequalities.

According to Adam Smith and David Ricardo, the increase in women's economic rights will enhance international trade and globalisation. Gender rights are instrumental in promoting economic development and allowing both men and women to freely develop their potential as productive workers. Furthering these theories, McKinsey & Company estimated that if every nation achieves complete gender parity, the global GDP could increase by one-third of its current valuation at US\$28 trillion. IMF reports state that countries with greater gender equality are more diversified, with higher productivity growth and better income parity.

Lemke believes that economic rights are usually granted through political



processes, not economic and social evolutions. An assessment conducted by the World Economic Forum in 2018 on global gender gaps found that out of 149 countries, only 17 have women as heads of state. On average, only 18 percent ministers and 24 percent parliamentarians are women, and 34 percent women hold managerial positions globally. These numbers are much lower in the four worst performing countries of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Pakistan, with less than seven percent women holding positions of power.

The rates of labour-force participation across the G20 countries are between 25–30 percent. In India, three out of four women are unemployed. The gender pay gap is close to 34

percent, much of which has been attributed to factors such as educational attainment, occupational segregation and work experience. However, one of the most prevalent reasons for this gap is the “motherhood penalty.”

Investing in women’s rights and equal opportunities has now become essential at every level, including property rights and access to finance and contraceptives. Women’s empowerment is aimed at not only helping the women suffering from discrimination but also improving society by changing people’s outlook.

The political empowerment of women is considered the most essential part of engendered globalisation. While some women in the global North have advan-

tageous positions, with a few being successful in politics, many still struggle to survive. Women of all decrees, regions, ethnicities and religions face inequalities in today’s world and must stand together in this fight for equality.

IN the current international order, there are constant clashes of hard power amongst countries. While constituting strategic policies, gender rights and equality must be considered top-tier issues for global security, indispensable in shaping and driving the international system. Including more women in leadership positions is not merely a moral imperative. Data suggests that it will also increase peace amongst nations, reduce conflict, and



Investing in women's rights and equal opportunities has now become essential at every level, including property rights and access to finance and contraceptives. Women's empowerment is aimed at not only helping women suffering from discrimination but also improving society by changing people's outlook.

create sustainable, long-term outcomes. Thus, conscious efforts must be made to change the current legal and regulatory frameworks to break down the barriers to entry for women.

Minister Smriti Irani suggested that gender bias should not be viewed solely through a cultural lens. In India, girls have been outperforming boys in academia, and women's talent is well represented in space technologies and celebrated by ISRO on multiple occasions. Gender justice has been a part of the discourse for many years. The global world is now headed towards a digital economy. The pressing question is how prepared we are as a gender and as a community for what digital prospects have to offer.

According to market surveys, in daily-use devices and applications such as Siri and Alexa, consumers respond more positively to female voices, as they inherently represent a "voice of obedience." This raises serious questions about the psychology of the consumer regarding gender dichotomies, and such unconscious manifestation of bias amongst the general population must be challenged.

If it is accepted that better representation and participation leads to profit and peace, why is inequality still so rampant in society? To answer this, it is important to identify the societal factors that reinforce gender biases. Involving men in addressing the issues is also crucial.

While social change is incremental, several measures can be employed to accelerate the process. Increased investment in education and human capital are key. The nation must work towards removing the barriers that women face, such as the cost factors that hit women disproportionately because of the multiple roles they take up in society. A big step forward will be to encourage bias-recognition in all spaces and neutralise such biases and discrimination.

Globalisation and modernity are closely linked to equality. To achieve engendered globalisation, it is important to encourage and accept social transformations that lead to a more egalitarian society.

—Vasundhara Singh

PANEL DISCUSSION

Green Capital: Sustained Finance for Sustainable Growth

MODERATOR



Moutushi Sengupta, Country Director, MacArthur Foundation, India

PANELLISTS



Geraldine Ang
Policy Analyst,
Green Investment, OECD



Jonathan Charles
Managing Director, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, UK



Kanika Chawla
Senior Programme Lead,
Council on Energy,
Environment and Water,
India



Sumant Sinha
Chairman and Managing Director of ReNew Power, India

THE empirical case for climate action has been made. With a few exceptions, governments and world leaders agree that there is a need for a decisive response, a sentiment enshrined in the near-global consensus over the 2015 Paris Agreement. To achieve the goals of the Agreement, however, financing is crucial. This is especially true for emerging and developing economies where governments must prioritise poverty, healthcare, and infrastructure. Financing for the developing world's low carbon transition must, instead, come from alternative sources. The expected sources of this funding are developed countries, as prescribed by Article 9 of the Paris Agreement.

Unfortunately, the traditional economic powers have not followed through on the pledges they made

in 2015. According to UN estimates there is currently only US\$38 billion worth of finance flowing from developed countries to developing countries for climate related activities – slightly more than a third of what was originally pledged¹. However, even the original pledges made in Paris might not be enough. As mentioned during the panel, the amount of financing needed to truly generate a clean energy revolution in the developing world would be closer to US\$500 billion.

There is, however, a way to bridge the financing gap. Private capital can provide a solution to the paucity of funds for climate action projects in the developing world. Institutional investors (a catchall term for pension funds, insurance firms, and sovereign

¹ <https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/2018%20BA%20Technical%20Report%20Final.pdf>



wealth institutions) control the preponderance of private capital in global markets within Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) nations. The majority of the US\$84 trillion worth of assets under management in the OECD are contributing only marginal profits to their owners, with certain debt instruments actually providing negative returns when inflation is accounted for². Matching these institutional investors with low carbon projects in emerging and developing economies can be beneficial for all people involved; especially given

² https://issuu.com/norfund/docs/winter_is_coming_id_220290_

the double digit returns that renewable energy projects have demonstrated³. Despite the apparent synergies, finding matches between these two parties has proven to be difficult.

In order to increase the quantum of funding from the OECD for climate action projects in the developing world, there are four main challenges that need to be addressed. First, the domestic business conditions within most developing economies need to be improved to provide the correct risk-reward proposition for institutional investors. Second, governments in the

³ http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_Renewable_Infrastructure_Investment_Handbook.pdf

developing world need to streamline their domestic planning and policy at sub-national and local levels to help create a pipeline of bankable projects. Third, institutional investors need to improve their capabilities and expand their scope of due diligence for both “green” projects and projects in emerging and developing economies. Finally, innovative financial vehicles, platforms, and instruments such as blended finance, green investment banks, and asset backed securities need to be mainstreamed in order to provide risk mitigation for the developed world and liquidity for the developing world.

These challenges have been already been identified by scholars and policy analysts from the OECD⁴ and the developing world⁵. Yet, Traditional, market-driven economic solutions are simply not enough. As Sumant Sinha, CEO of ReNew Power, mentioned during the panel, to truly push for a global low carbon transition, what is needed is a re-examination of the incentives associated with investing in “green” projects. This is especially true for international financial institutions, which have been a key cog in facilitating the uptake of



climate action projects across the world. The assistance that has been provided to date, however, has been based on the principle of market returns confining these institutions to “safe” projects.

There is a case to be made for international financial institutions to receive lower than market returns in certain scenarios — especially when providing credit guarantees or hedging facilities. This is especially important for currency hedging facilities, as emerging and developing countries are still being penalised for the perceived volatilities of

⁴ <https://www.oecd.org/sd-roundtable/papers-and-publications/Integrating%20Climate%20Change-related%20Factors%20in%20Institutional%20Investment.pdf>

⁵ <https://climatepolicyinitiative.org/publication/getting-to-indias-renewable-energy-targets-a-business-case-for-institutional-investment/>

their currencies. As Mr. Sinha elucidated in his remarks, to truly catalyse a low carbon transition across the world, public finance institutions might have to reconcile themselves to receiving a two percent return for the provision of hedging facilities instead of their standard five percent return. While multilateral development banks may have to lower their profit margin on the provision of the financial instrument, the trickle down effects could significantly increase the uptake of climate action projects across the world.

As the deadline for significant action draws closer, it imperative that all stakeholders take concerted steps towards reducing the environmental costs that humanity has run up on its

proverbial historical credit card. Governments must improve their business ecosystems and ensure that their policies are streamlined at state and district levels. The private sector must engage in capacity building to ensure that it has the ability to evaluate all projects and to foster the emergence of innovative financial instruments. International governmental organisations must be more willing to step out of their comfort zone and earn only marginal profits on certain climate related facilities. It is only through collaboration and willingness to change traditional approaches, that a truly sustainable future can be achieved for the world.

—Aparajit Pandey

PANEL DISCUSSION

The Future of Work: Earning to Live vs. Living to Earn

MODERATOR



Khalila Mbowe
Founder and Managing Director,
Unleashed Africa, Tanzania.

PANELLISTS



Ashish Dhawan
Founder and Chairman, Central
Square Foundation, India.



Burcu Baran
Director, Policy Communities,
Global Relations Forum, Turkey.



Pradeep Parameswaran
President, India and South Asia,
Uber.



Srivatsan Rajan
Chairman, Bain & Company,
USA.

TECHNOLOGICAL advancements in tandem with globalisation and demographic shifts are radically transforming the fundamental nature of work, workspaces, employment relations, production processes, rights and governance. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), in two years, nearly half of all workers in the Asia-Pacific will be engaged in “vulnerable” employment.

A multisectoral panel at the 2019 Raisina Dialogue made five key observations in this context.

1: The Definition of “Decent” Jobs Will Evolve

The future of work is contextual, and it will vary in terms of form and impact in different countries. It is important to rethink the paradigm of what vulnerable means in India, where the focus is on job creation.

According to Ashish Dhawan, Founder and Chairman of Central Square Foundation, the Indian workforce is primarily agrarian and informal. India must, therefore, focus on the creation of jobs, regardless of whether these jobs are in the formal or informal sector. Dhawan stated that one of the factors behind India’s low—and possibly declining—female labour force participation rate is that the jobs simply do not exist.

The term “informal work” is often used interchangeably with “vulnerable employment.” Jobs created by digital platforms, such as Ola and Uber as well as food aggregator apps, are still considered “vulnerable jobs.” However, protections and informal work can co-exist, as exemplified by the Uber-care model in India. Moreover, some of these platforms also provide incen-

tives to perform and upskill.

2: New Security Nets will Emerge for the Informal Sector

According to Pradeep Parameswaran, President of Uber India and South Asia, of the three million people who drive or deliver goods for Uber, a majority were previously unemployed. It is also necessary to acknowledge that unemployment disproportionately affects people at the lower income scale.

It is clear that innovation and technology will drive 'new' types of employment in the future, where flexibility will be key. Thus, in the global market, the number of full-time jobs added will decline, while part-time jobs will increase. Srivatsan Rajan, Chairman of Bain India, spoke about the US, where this is already happening and the traditional pyramid management structure is changing.

This phenomenon could put pressure on social and economic systems in developing nations, as their populations continue to increase. While labour laws, safety standards and minimum wage are important, opportunities must be explored to delink social security and protections from employment. In an independent, informal and increasingly digital workforce, these must instead be linked to the individual.

3: Automation is certain; its exact impact is not

There is consensus that automation is going to be one of the most significant challenges in the future. However, views differ on how exactly it will affect the job market. While automation's impact is often overstated, there are very few job



markets that will escape without significant change. The difference between labour costs and the cost of automation will also determine such outcomes.

Burcu Baran, Director of Policy Communities, Global Relations Forum, Turkey, commented that it is unlikely for automation to happen concurrently across the world. For instance, the speed of automation in Taiwan and Indonesia is twice the global average.

In this context, two conversations are pertinent:

1. If full or partial automation results in significant job reductions and pressure on wages, what forms of adapted social safety nets could be considered and tested?
2. Since greater interaction between

humans, machines and evolving technology interfaces requires different and improved skills, how can businesses invest in helping workers acquire these?

The Platform Economy can Incentivise Reskilling and Upskilling

Companies are already facing gaps in skills needed in a more technology-driven workplace. The private sector can benefit from playing a more active role in education and training, by providing better information about their needs to learners, job seekers, and the education and training ecosystem. In fact, employers themselves can also provide more direct learning opportunities to employees.

According to Dhawan, policy con-



versations and government interventions tend to put too much focus on skilling, and not enough on job creation. Some digital platforms now incentivise employees to upskill. Uber's Uber Academy is one such example where the employees are also skill providers. Further, more Uber drivers are encouraged to use tools such as Hello English to improve their communication skills, demonstrating another way in which the platform can help in upskilling employees.

In this context, a bulk of government interventions could instead focus on the demand side. Basic education will still be necessary in all future of work scenarios, as platform workers will need to read and understand digi-

tal content. Thus, in addition to incentivising skilling, the government must also create an enabling environment.

The role of Governments will Remain Crucial

Government regulations will continue to play a crucial role in building an enabling environment for the intersection of free-market jobs and technology, which will mould the future of work. For instance, policymakers working with traditional and non-traditional education providers could play a direct role in improving basic STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics) skills through school systems, while also emphasising the need for creativity, and critical and systems thinking. Current research shows that fostering

an adaptive and lifelong learning ability will be important in future.

Further, it is imperative for the governments, especially in developing countries, to work towards job creation by investing in businesses. In particular, the creation of digital jobs is crucial in India. The government must also encourage other digitally enabled opportunities to earn, through new forms of entrepreneurship.

Finally, it is important to question the role of redistributive policies, such as higher taxation of the rich, in this context. It is clear that jobs will continue to be created, the question is whether these jobs will meet the needs and aspirations of the emerging workforce.

—Vidisha Mishra

Old World, New Frontiers: The Future of Europe

MODERATOR



Shashi Tharoor
Member of Parliament,
India

PANELLISTS



Josep Borrell
Minister of Foreign Affairs and
Cooperation,
Spain



Paolo Gentiloni
Former Prime Minister,
Italy



Marietje Schaake
Member of European Parliament,
The Netherlands

EUROPE has gradually lost its influence in world affairs. It is, after all, grappling with various problems of its own—amongst them, increasing hyper-nationalism, illiberal thoughts, political populism, extremism, and the rise of extreme right-wing parties. Europe is also facing many demographic challenges. In 1990, the continent accounted for 25 percent of the world’s population; by 2060, it will account for just over four percent. The median age is increasing and by 2030 it will become one of the oldest regions in the world. While migration has provided Europe with an opportunity to solve some of these problems, it appears to be less than ready to embrace it. The European economy has still not recovered fully and most of the countries are facing unemployment issues and rising public debt.

Estimates say that some 68 percent of the European population feel that the European Union (EU) is a “success story”, though the number varies across countries. However, the majority of the people are unhappy with the direction in which the Union is heading. The 3Ps (Peace, Prosperity, and Power) are important, in order to gauge the performance of EU. EU has made Europe the most peaceful part of the world as it has brought 70 years of peace, which was never witnessed before in the history of the continent. Though EU was thought of as a converging machine between the different European countries, today they are diverging on the issue of whether or not EU can indeed bring prosperity to their countries. This has become a point of debate between the northern and southern European countries. On



the power front, it is not clear whether Europe is willing to become a global power without US support. This would require a European Defense Policy which the people also want but for which the politicians are lagging in their efforts.

To be sure, Europe remains an extraordinary place to live in, with its higher quality of life, its education ecosystem, and respect for freedoms and human rights. The failure of EU will thus have ramifications for the entire world. There are those who believe that EU can lead the world in finding solutions to problems such as climate change, migration, and terrorism. At the same time, others are of the view that the EU is a part of the problem, to begin with, and is in fact also responsible for curbing the liberties of its people. For instance, the EU failed to han-

dle the Syrian situation and there was no collective response to the war. This led to the refugee crisis, which provoked resentment amongst the people and was then exploited by politicians to sow fear and gain votes. This has paved the way for increasing nationalism and populism. The elections in May 2019 will determine whether Europe can in fact lead the global community in reaching solutions to some of the most pressing current issues we are facing. This will require centrist political parties to work together to create narratives that can inspire people for a better Europe.

The EU has not only made peace and prosperity fundamental but has also achieved extraordinary success in making Europe the single largest market as well as second largest liberal democracy after India. The idea of the

‘welfare state’ remains alive in the EU, more than in the US or any other part of the world: the European countries spend more than 50 percent of their combined GDP on welfare expenditure. The financial crisis that emerged in the US in 2007, had serious consequences on Europe, leading to the end of the European dream of perpetual growth for the continent. The perception that migration is challenging the identity of Europeans added more to the sense of dissatisfaction. These two problems combined has triggered crises like Brexit.

The migration crisis has created a new divide between western and eastern European countries. Europe can benefit from migration because countries like Germany and Spain are facing demographic challenges. But the lack of solidarity on the issue has created problems on the Eastern borders. There is lack of clarity and consensus on how migration should be handled. Governments need to show the will and regulate migration in order to address the fears of people. The right to asylum should be non-negotiable, yet temporary until repatriation. The liberal democratic forces need to rally around the rise of ‘good identities’ against ‘bad identities’. Rules should be made for refugees fleeing war as well as for economic migrants. The panel concluded with a sense of uncertainty about the future of Europe, but suggested that there was hope that the continent will rise to the challenges.

—Pulkit Mohan

The Arrival Of Global Politics: Navigating A Multi-Perspective World Order

MODERATOR



Fyodor Lukyanov
Research Director, Valdai
Discussion Club, Russia

PANELLISTS



Anton Tsvetov
Advisor to the Chairman, Center
for Strategic Research, Russia.



Cameron Munter
Chief Executive Officer and
President, East West Institute,
USA.



Evgeny Buzhinskiy
Chairman of the Executive Board,
PIR Center, Russia



Indrani Bagchi
Diplomatic Editor,
The Times of India.



Yang Yanyi
Former Ambassador and Head
of the Mission to the European
Union, China

AS the world transitions from the ‘new world order’ established by leading powers in the late 1940s, to a newer ‘contemporary world order’ defined by diffused and decentralised networks of power, questions about its nature, scale, and direction loom large in the international community. Multiple perspectives and explanations characterise the paradigm of the current world order, and the answers to these questions remain inconclusive.

The Us’ ‘America First’ policy and its withdrawal from several multilateral agreements, including the 2016 Paris Climate Agreement, the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Iran nuclear deal are often seen as points of departure from the established ‘new world order’. However, Cameron Munter, the CEO

and President of The East West Institute and a former American diplomat, argued that these developments are not a break from the past but an indication of a directional intensification of the steady global change. Munter explained that the current global order is shaped by a diffused power structure, which makes it difficult to achieve the stability of the bipolar Cold-War period. Moreover, with the increase in the number of players and issues, the nature of the current world order has become heterodox, a concept that people are not familiar with.

Tectonic changes leading to an unfamiliar world order raise concerns about global security, especially as the rule-based arms control system, which the new world order sought to establish, seems to be gradually eroding, as seen in the Us’ recent plans to



withdraw from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty. Most states now seem to prioritise bilateral agreements over multilateral negotiations in the spheres of defence and security agreements. Evgeny Buzhinskiy, Chairman of the PIR Center, raised concerns about the shift towards a system of bilateral arms-control agreement. He argued that bilateral agreements pose problems of transparency and legality. According to Buzhinskiy, since nuclear-weapons states exist at global and regional levels, the approach to arms control must be multilateral.

Unlike the rest of the panellists, Chinese Ambassador Yang Yi made a case for the preservation of the established normative new world order, which, she argued, has helped developing countries prosper and caused the global economic pie to “become

bigger and bigger.” According to Yi, good faith and goodwill are necessary to preserve the established order. Indrani Bagchi, the diplomatic editor of the Times of India, presented an alternative perspective of the established world order, arguing that it kept India out for the better part of its existence. India has achieved its strategic goals through certain acts of disruption of the established world order, such as the 1998 nuclear-weapons tests and the 2008 Indo-US nuclear deal. Thus, according to Bagchi, disruptions are not necessarily unfavourable.

In trying to offer a sense of the emerging world order, Anton Tsvetov, from the Russian International Affairs Council, remarked that the current form of globalisation entails smaller grouping of like-minded states, which is a “globalisation of the willing.” He attributed this

form of regrouping to nations reacting to the complexities of the current world order, created by the diffusion and loss of power. Tsvetov suggested that the phenomenon of non-alignment might gain greater currency in the coming years.

The global world order is at a crucial juncture, and it is uncertain how it will unfold. Recent trends and analyses indicate a gradual shift from a non-exclusive, transnational rules-based global order to a bilateral form of international engagements. They also predict the emergence of multiple sensibilities and perspectives, which could potentially lead to chaos. The only way to conduce a harmonious world order is to let go of the Cold War psyche of cynicism and suspicion and as Ambassador Yi appealed, have a positive outlook on the developments.

—Sanjana Gogna

PANEL DISCUSSION

Indo-Pacific: Ancient Waters and Emerging Geometries

MODERATOR



Yalda Hakim
Host, BBC World News,
UK

PANELLISTS



Admiral Sunil Lamba
Chief of Naval Staff,
India.



Admiral Philip S. Davidson
Commander,
U.S. Indo-Pacific Command.



Admiral Christophe Prazuck
Chief of Naval Staff,
France.



Admiral Katsutoshi Kawano
Chief of Joint Staff
Japan Self-Defense Forces.



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

AT the Raisina Dialogue 2019, the discussion in a panel on ‘Emerging Maritime Geometries’ was all about China’s growing naval profile in the Indo-Pacific region. The panellists—consisting of five defence chiefs from India, Australia, France, Japan and the United States—found themselves taking hard questions from a probing moderator and an inquisitive audience. The essence of most queries was the same: How do Indo-Pacific navies plan to deal with the People’s Liberation Army Navy’s (PLAN’s) expanding footprint in Asia?

As the speakers were all uniformed personnel – bound by service rules and protocol—there was hardly any expectation of surprising revelations. Even so, the military leaders were clear in stating their anxieties about growing Chinese power in Asia. Ad-

miral Sunil Lamba, the Indian naval chief, observed candidly that the PLAN is already an ascendant force in the Indian Ocean. Not only is Beijing spending huge sums of money on the development of military capability, it is also modernising the PLA’s command structure. He noted that the pace of naval modernisation (with over 80 ships commissioned in the past five years) and the pattern of its recent operations, shows that the “PLAN is a force which is there to stay”.

China’s construction of a military base in Djibouti served as the starting point of a discussion on the PLAN’s power projection in the Western Indian Ocean. Admiral Christophe Prazuck, the French naval chief, observed that China’s Indian Ocean activism must be seen in the context of the region’s peculiar geometry – its ‘dots’ (choke-



points), ‘SLOCs’ (sea-lanes) and ‘stocks’ (of fishes, hydrocarbons, and minerals). The French navy, he observed, is closely watching the emerging dynamic, and is making plans of its own. This includes a robust engagement programme with the Indian navy, the first step of which is a joint operation involving French aircraft carrier Charles De Gaulle and Indian naval ships in the Indian Ocean later this year.

Admiral Kutsutoshi Kavano, Chief of Staff, Joint Staff, Japan Self Defence Forces, shared India’s and France’s concerns about China’s aggressive strategy in the Asian seas. He said that while Japan’s real conflict with China is in the East China Sea, Tokyo is obliged to contribute to the security of the South China Sea. Despite restrictions imposed by the constitution

on the SDF, said Kawano, important legislation has been amended to allow the Japanese navy to act in collective self-defence. Following robust economic growth, Tokyo is even willing to share the burden of East Asian security with Washington.

For General Anjus Campbell, the Chief of Australian Defence Forces, Canberra’s priority is to build a community of stakeholders in the Indo-Pacific. Far from serving any national ambition for strategic preeminence, Australia’s partnerships in the Western and Southern Pacific as well as the Indian Ocean are aimed at serving the interests of all regional states. Admiral Philip Davidson, the US Indo-Pacific Commander, emphasised security and prosperity in the shared littorals of the Indo-Pacific region, where the US navy was prepared to collaborate

with all regional partners to implement a free, open and inclusive ‘rules based order’.

Expectedly, many of the questions from the audience concerned China’s military muscle flexing in the Indian Ocean. For many Indian observers, China’s naval expansionism is a key driver of China’s ‘unilateralism’ in South Asia. China’s Belt and Road projects seem a strategic precursor to PLAN military bases in the Indian Ocean. With Beijing stepping up naval shipbuilding in recent years – including aircraft carriers – it seems the PLAN is intent on increasing strategic reach in the far-seas. Recent reports suggest that of the six aircraft carriers that Beijing plans to operate in the future, two will be deployed in the Indian Ocean Region. China’s second flattop, the Type 001A, is due for commissioning in 2020 and a third

aircraft carrier, the Type 002, is under construction in Shanghai.

It comes as no surprise that Japan and the US have been deploying their own aircraft carriers into the Indian Ocean Region. The Japanese helicopter carrier JS Kaga visited Colombo last year, and the USS John C Stennis established a temporary air logistics hub in Sri Lanka to receive support, supplies, and services.

What is worrying is that India, the region's principal security provider, is still playing catch-up. The Indian navy's indigenous aircraft carrier (IAC-1) has been facing chronic delays, with plans for the IAC-2 on the backburner—following steadily declining budgets, technological hurdles, and enduring holdups by the Ministry of Defence. Despite Admiral Lanba's assurances in recent weeks, there is fear that the third aircraft carrier could be indefinitely delayed.

The bigger challenge for India comes from the presence of Chinese submarines in the Indian Ocean. China's anti-piracy contingents in the Western Indian Ocean are now invariably accompanied by a PLAN submarine. These Chinese subs are known to regularly conduct patrols in India's near seas, collecting critical operational information. India's naval leadership has moved to ramp up surveillance, with P-8I reconnaissance aircraft effectively teaming up with US P-8A in the near-seas. Yet, it is not clear if the Indian navy is more successful than earlier in detecting Chinese submarines. Recent Indian initiatives, such as round-the-year de-



ployment of "mission-ready warships" near chokepoints in the IOR, an information-sharing pact with Japan, and a new 'fusion centre' in Gurgaon – while helping create better domain awareness – are unlikely to have contributed to the cause of PLAN submarine identification in the near-seas. Unfortunately, India's underwater surveillance plans have still not materialised. The indigenous submarine programme is facing delays, and a rumored proposal for a wall of undersea microphones in the Southern Bay of Bengal has been seemingly abandoned.

New Delhi's continuing wariness with a 'maritime-Quad' has not helped matters. Despite recent improvements

in the Malabar exercises with the US and Japan, the engagement still does not include Australia, a key partner in the Indo-Pacific. At the Raisina Dialogue, Australian foreign minister Marise Payne, made a compelling presentation of her country's Indian Ocean priorities. But Delhi's 'hedge-and-engage' approach towards China does not appear to allow for an accommodation of Australia in the Malabar.

Unsurprisingly, no one on the panel quite had an answer for why -- even as the PLAN freely leverages its 'places and bases' in the Indian Ocean -- does the 'Quad' not have a military component.

—Abhijit Singh

Bits and Bytes: Creating an Agile Governance Framework for the Future

MODERATOR



Isabel de Sola Criado
Senior Advisor, Secretariate for the High-level Panel on Digital Cooperation, UNSG

PANELLISTS



Carl Bildt
Co-Chair European Council on Foreign Relations and Former Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Sweden



Ankhi Das
Director, Public Policy, Facebook, India



Rajiv Kumar
Vice Chairman Niti Aayog, India



Catherine Mulligan
Visiting Research Fellow, Imperial College Centre for Cryptocurrency, UK



Scott Carpenter: Managing Director, Jigsaw, USA

TECHNOLOGICAL disruptions in the digital age provide both a challenge to existing governance frameworks and structures, as well as an opportunity for improving the efficiency and reach of governments in providing essential services for the upliftment of their citizens. At the core of an “agile governance framework” are issues of access; namely, access to quality basic services for all and transparency in the provision of these services. Accordingly, governments, private actors and civil society must tackle different aspects of the following questions: How do we ensure that the benefits of the digital revolution accrue to everyone equally? How do we prepare for any unexpected socio-economic consequences?

Proponents of the Digital Revolution believe that it has far more potential

for inclusivity than any other revolution before it. Digital technologies have empowered historically socio-culturally disadvantaged groups by amplifying their voices and enabling change at the grassroots. In South Asia, for instance, as Ankhi Das highlighted, these technologies have helped combat the oppression of women by becoming a tool for them to assert their agency. These technologies also alleviate a key challenge in transparent governance: information asymmetry. As Carl Bildt pointed out, “Even in remote areas of Afghanistan, the youth are connected to the world through their mobile phones.”

At the same time, issues such as the absence of digital literacy and the proliferation of tools that enable criminal activity and harassment are pressing challenges to the openness, safety, and fair use of new technologies. To



address these challenges, there is a need for efforts at the local, national and international level. For platforms like Facebook, for example, closing fake accounts is the first step that they can take to combat misinformation and harassment as authentic accounts tend not to engage in “inauthentic” behaviours. Furthermore, Scott Carpenter highlighted the importance of moonshot organisations, like Jigsaw, being housed within technology companies to predict and address ways in which the platforms can be misused. Finally, at the most basic level, the promotion of initiatives that generate local-language content and applications for natural language processing would ensure the creation of a truly inclusive digital ecosystem.

At the national and international level, panellists pointed to the cross-sectoral, multi-stakeholder model as the most optimal means of crafting norms and regulations in the digital space. Such an approach is crucial in striking

a balance between market and private sector-led reforms, on one hand, and government regulation on the other. From the private sector perspective, Scott Carpenter stated that the internet is an ecosystem and that it us up to companies to keep that ecosystem clean so that users do not feel like they are unsafe. Meanwhile, from a government perspective, Rajiv Kumar stressed that government responsibility in the digital age lies primarily in providing infrastructure and an enabling environment for emerging technologies. A healthy policy ecosystem is crucial as well for entrepreneurship and a future-ready workforce. As Carl Bildt correctly points out, “talent thrives in open societies”.

Nowhere is the necessity of a balance between regulation and openness more evident than in debates around privacy in the digital age. In search of frameworks for privacy online, many countries are looking to the European Union’s General Data Pro-

tection Regulation (GDPR) as a model. Yet, as Catherine Mulligan stated, the GDPR model ended up creating disproportionately high costs of compliance for smaller firms and may end up having a dampening effect on Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprise (MSME) growth. Thus, it is crucial to adopt a flexible privacy regime that protects both users and data entrepreneurs. In this vein, Rajiv Kumar suggested differential privacy — collecting aggregated information as opposed to information tagged with demographic or biometric markers that can compromise an individual — as a way of balancing individual privacy and the need for data.

The sheer scale and impact of developments in the digital sphere means that it cannot be left at the behest of laissez-faire. At the same time, however, we must avoid the trappings of over-regulation lest we kill the medium and all its promise.

— Trisha Ray

PANEL DISCUSSION

The Waning West: Can it Discover a New Direction?

MODERATOR



Ashok Malik
Press Secretary to the President of India.

PANELLISTS



Tony Blair
Former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom



Stephen Harper
Former Prime Minister of Canada.

THE rise of China and India in the last few decades has caused a shift in the global power calculus. Indeed, there is a realisation amongst the Western powers that their power is being challenged by emerging hegemonies in what is only a natural evolution of events. After all, in the post-war order, the West peddled its ideals across the globe, and by embracing those principles, the power and growth of many countries expanded. Yet, the rise of the Eastern powers is not the end of the story for the West. The US will continue to be the biggest global power along with India and China. Western ideals—of democracy, equality, liberty, and most importantly, global market economy—continue to be strong in many countries across the world. The West also remains the most coherent geostrategic bloc in the world

despite ongoing political projects that are challenging the status quo.

One of the reasons why western ideals have sustained is because democracy and a market economy often get many things right. When it gets things wrong, there is scope for undoing those wrongs as the democratic system allows for decision-making that is corrective.

Threats to the Western model

As the model of liberal democracy faces increasing challenges, it becomes the responsibility of the Western governments to find solutions for the same. For example, it will be very difficult for Europe to resolve its current problems until it recognises that the issues facing its citizens threaten their democratic systems.



The rapid outbreak of populism, for one, has become a major challenge in Europe, where economic and cultural anxiety feed into the populist discourse. What led to Brexit in the United Kingdom is an important example of dual anxiety. Stagnation in the income and growth amongst large sections of the population in Europe causes economic anxiety. and the problem of immigration fuels cultural anxiety. Unless Europe realises that these anxieties ought to be fixed—and be fixed through democratic means—populism will continue to grow exponentially.

It is important to note that the technological revolution will determine the future of politics. This revolution will change how we work, how we think, how we operate, and, most importantly, how the governments will operate. The first to understand the opportunities of technological revolution will

own the future of politics. There should be coherent responses to such big questions; otherwise, public anger will only grow, and narratives being peddled by populist leaders will continue to be embraced.

Populist discourse in itself is a threat. With social media, the public opinion is changing rapidly and unexpectedly the opinion becomes profoundly polarised, it will turn into a threat to the democratic system. Apart from the form, there is a spirit of democracy. And the spirit of democracy is: “give and take”. When two groups of people are so angry that they do not listen or talk to each other, it poses a problem for the democratic system.

Geopolitical reality

The single biggest geopolitical reality of the current century will be the

power that China will acquire over the years, by virtue of its economic growth and enormous population. This will fuel India’s desire to become bigger to maintain the global power balance. This leads us to the question: What led to the growth of India and China? It was the economic reforms embraced by both. More specifically, the embrace of market economics. In China’s case, if the country wants to further expand its economic growth, it has to embrace social reforms. If China wants to go to the next stage of economic development, they will have to resolve several systemic issues such as the rule of law and liberty to progress. Human beings everywhere want to be prosperous, free and their leaders accountable to them. It is inevitable that the people will push in that direction.

—Khalid Shah

The Road from the Khyber to the Bosphorus: Partnerships, Perils and Opportunities

MODERATOR



Suhasini Haider
Diplomatic Editor,
The Hindu

PANELLISTS



Sergey Ryabkov
Deputy Foreign Minister,
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Manish Tewari
Lawyer, National Spokesperson,
Indian National Congress



Memduh Karakullukcu
Vice Chairman and President,
Global Relations Forum, Turkey



Richard Fontaine
President, Center for New
American Security, USA

KHYBER and the Bosphorus bookend a region teeming with the world's most challenging conflicts, including the latest chapter of unrest in Afghanistan, the persisting Arab–Persian and Sunni–Shi'a divide, and the Syrian Civil War that has so far claimed over 350,000 lives.

The current potpourri of multiple actors and interests, changing interstate relationships, and a shifting regional equilibrium do not portend an easy or quick resolution to these frictions. Syria, in particular, remains a poster child for the political quagmire that is the Middle East, even as the last Islamic State (IS) stronghold in the country is being cleared and the latest iteration and round of the peace process continues, several axes of discussion are germane.

The question of US withdrawal,

which will have on-the-ground and long-term consequences. A flip-flopping policy, both under Obama and Trump, on whether and to what extent American troops and presence will shrink, stands against the significant firepower and power-projection capabilities that the US still lays claim to in the Middle East. It is unlikely to enforce a “clean cut” disengagement. If defining a “sustainable” presence—politically, economically, and otherwise—results in reduced American forces and overall presence in Syria and/or Afghanistan, will the new status quo be equally sustainable for the region? Richard Fontaine cited the regrowth of the IS as another worry, which cannot be ruled out unless a permanent security presence is established. But who will fill in the vacuum and to what extent?



2. The progression of the Russia–Turkey–Iran alliance and what it implies for Syria and the regional order. Close engagement between the three, in and on Syria, will continue, particularly with a US withdrawal on the cards. Each country has its own national security considerations and the opportunity to play a pivotal role in the broader region. The trilateral Astana format initiated by these three stakeholders—initially intended to supplement the lagging UN-led Geneva talks—has become a

front runner for the peace process in Syria. There is recognition of the role each plays in the region and of the interlocking interests that trump bilateral disputes and historicity. Long-term results remain to be seen: how far the goodwill amongst the three extends; where unilateral action stacks up against joint endeavours; how equilibrium will be reached between their respective red lines and priorities, beyond the “meta ideal of a democratically elected Syrian government”, and to what extent they

will respond collectively to other actors and their actions.

3. The Middle East as being representative of the broader tension between multipolarity and multilateralism in the world order. On the one hand is the trend, as Memduh Karakullukcu puts it, of “low-cost multipolarity,” embodied by sparser resources committed by powers and lower expectations in the region. While this will create more space for more restrained regional actors, such as Turkey, to exercise their strategic



autonomy, they too will be reticent in bearing the full costs of owning the burden of the Middle East. This will only strengthen the phenomenon of “multipolarity lite”. On the other hand is the reality of “polycentricity,” a position voiced by Sergey Ryabkov. Given the multiplicity of actors, various networks of partnerships are emerging in this region and beyond. Of these two, which interpretation finds favour in an era of increased trust deficits will be critical in determining the rules by which players



engage in Syria, the broader Middle East or elsewhere.

4. The role that an emerging power like India should play in the Middle East. India’s position remains largely that of a bystander in the political bargaining in the region, but it stands to lose a lot in the face of persisting instability in the Middle East. As such, while the present Indian government has engaged ties with countries and groupings in this part of the world, India is, as Manish Tewari put it, “happy building libraries.” Indeed, the prioritisation of

bilateral ties and humanitarian effort may serve India better in the short to medium term, even as it must watch regional developments carefully.

5. The methods that will be put to use to effect change. The issue of sanctions, pertinent across the broader Middle East, still finds proponents on both sides. Questions about the legitimacy and effectiveness of unilateral sanctions are pitted against the reality of their being a ready part of foreign policy arsenals. The phenomenon of personality-led engagement is currently on a global rise, as evident in Syria and the Middle East. While strongman politics dictate the way, what

role can institutional arrangements play? What will secure the most rational and legitimate solutions?

The humanitarian crisis engendered by both the Syrian civil war and the battle against the IS continues unabated. Now that the last pocket of IS-held territory in northern Syria has been recaptured, and expectations regarding the Assad government have been recalibrated, this discussion should occur in the specific context of stabilisation and reconstruction efforts.

—Ritika Passi

PANEL DISCUSSION

Bridging the Gulf: Towards a New Politics and Economics of a Dynamic Geography



MODERATOR



C. Raja Mohan
Director, Institute of South Asian
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PANELLISTS



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FEW regions in the world today are as consequential as the Gulf. The Gulf, which was viewed as a theatre for great power making wars, now houses one of the most radical organisations in the world that promotes extremism and violence. Given the region's centrality in the global energy economy as a key oil exporter, the Arab Spring, and developments since then have shaken the regional security order in the Middle East, impacting the entire world. Even as the Gulf embraces economic diversification to move beyond its oil business, it confronts some of the most difficult challenges that have arisen within as a result of external actors such as the US and China.

The Raisina 2019 conversation on 'Bridging the Gulf – Towards New Politics and Economics of a Dynamic

Geography' investigated some of the predominant tensions in the region while also exploring the aspiration for change, emerging from ongoing economic transformations and the challenges faced in this process. The discussion explored potential solutions to these challenges that could create a stable and sustainable environment in the region.

Various analysts view the Gulf as a battleground between Saudi Arabia and Iran, nations that have been rivals for regional hegemony for years. The bitterness between the two nations has intensified after the US re-imposed sanctions on Iran in 2018. The US and its allies continue to blame Iran of being a hegemon in the region, which Iran has refuted several times.

According to Volker Perthes, "Ironically, Saudi Arabia and Iran are the



main antagonists rather being protagonists of a common regional order, irrespective of their understanding of the need for domestic reforms.” The US re-imposition of sanctions on Iran has weakened the Iranian economy through by impacting oil exports. Seyed Mohammad Kazem Sajjadpour, while reiterating that Iran is not a hegemonic power in the region, stated, “Iran is willing to cooperate with Saudi Arabia to diffuse tension in the region.” Nevertheless, one cannot overlook the unabated tension in the region that has pushed back the domestic reforms initiated by both countries. In Iran, President Rouhani failed to capitalise on the reform process that was initiated after sanctions were removed by the Obama administration. It is believed that in spite of the revenue generated through increased oil exports,

supported by higher oil prices over several months, the Iranian economy continued to see sluggish growth and rising unemployment. This led to nationwide protests.

In the case of Saudi Arabia, its resilience to global oil price falls was tested. This prompted Prince Muhammad Bin Salman to take decisive action towards an economic transformation of the kingdom, which was built on cheap gasoline, electricity and water over the past several decades. Vision 2030 laid down the specific goals that could help Saudi Arabia prepare for a future beyond oil. However, the continuing low oil prices affected the pace of the Kingdom’s transformation from a petro-state into a diversified economy. This situation led to a shrinking of the state budget, and a suspension of large projects, which in turn increased

unemployment. The sharp increase in oil exports led by a shale boom for the US, particularly in Asia, made the conditions challenging for even Saudi Arabia, let alone high-cost oil producers. This put a strain on Saudi Arabia’s diversification plans, the biggest fallout of which was observed with the delay of the initial public offering (IPO) of 5 percent of Saudi Aramco, which was aimed at raising \$100 billion for investments in other sectors.

The long-standing discrepancy continues between the Gulf and the Maghreb countries (or countries in Northern Africa). This incongruity also acts as a stumbling block for the development of the region. Countries from the Gulf and the Maghreb disagree on several issues of regional and economic importance, primarily due to disparity in geo-strategic priorities, in-



geria remains the third largest energy provider to the EU after Russia and Norway. Moreover, the political positioning of the Maghreb countries and the Gulf is distinct, as seen with respect to Hezbollah. While GCC designated Hezbollah as a terrorist organisation, Algeria stood with Tunisia and Lebanon to oppose the move. Some of the Maghreb countries, including Algeria, even refused to support the Islamic Military Counter Terrorism Coalition which was founded in 2015. Morocco, which was part of this alliance, called back its forces a year after, owing to its friction with Saudi Arabia for being neutral to the Gulf crisis resulting from blockade on Qatar.

One of the solutions suggested by Sajjadpour to alter the current regional disorder in the Gulf, was the outright rejection of zero-sum thinking in the region and the creation of a cognitive map to enable better understanding between them. The creation of a regional security order built on common interests, threat perceptions, and mutual trust amongst countries in the Gulf and Maghreb could be an additional solution to bridge the proverbial gulf. However, any transformation without bringing transparency, good governance, and modern education in the region would remain unsustainable and incomplete.

-Manish Vaid

congruity of economic interests, and political positioning.

As noted by Dalia Ghanem-Yazbeck, security concerns of the Maghreb do not always align with those of the Gulf. For instance, Yemen, the main concern for the Gulf, is not a significant concern for the Maghreb, highlighting the difference between the regions' geo-strategic priorities. On the economic front as well, there

is a striking difference in the Maghreb-Gulf trade relationship vis-à-vis trade between Maghreb and the European Union (EU). For instance, while less than one percent of Maghreb export goes to the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), accounting for 2.5 percent of GCC import, all Maghreb states except Libya have trade agreements with the EU, signifying the depth of Maghreb-EU trade. In addition, Al-

Curating a New Concert: Multiple Visions for the Future ...of the Indo-Pacific Region

MODERATOR



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WHILE there is yet to be a consensus on what constitutes the “Indo-Pacific”, it is widely viewed as the region that covers the Asia-Pacific and India. The Indo-Pacific comprises of both Indian and the Pacific Oceans, and is essentially more of an ideological construct for a regional strategic framework.

In 2007, the formation of what would be called ‘Quad’—the informal aggrupation of Japan, India, the United States and Australia—was centred on their shared values of democracy and rule of law, and a mutual commitment to ensure the stability of their maritime commons in the Indo-Pacific. The Quad works towards maintaining the balance of power in the Asia-Pacific. The Obama administration at that time used the term “Asia-Pacific”; when US President Donald Trump took his po-

sition, the Quad began using the term “Indo-Pacific” to encapsulate the idea of greater Indian influence and isolate China at the same time. The idea of Indo-Pacific is also being firmly supported by the European Union. However, there is skepticism whether the region will succeed and be systematically institutionalised in the future, as several countries in the region are not actively involved in it, including South Korea and the Philippines.

The concept of a “free and open Indo-Pacific” is widely espoused across the world; it means that countries can act without any coercion and engage in trade and investment in simpler ways. Japan was the first country to use the concept. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has stressed that Japan is consistently working towards this vision that focuses on the creation and development of

new connectivity corridors. Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi also adopted the same concept. The primary focus of Indo-Pacific is centred on oceans, and India occupies an important strategic position in the Indian Ocean. Maritime connectivity between India and its trade partners is imperative for Indo-Pacific connectivity. PM Abe's Indo-Pacific strategy is a counterbalance with regard to the expansion of the Chinese influence in Eurasia and Africa under President Xi Jinping's massive Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Intertwined with the BRI, China has already consolidated its presence in the ports of Djibouti in the Horn of Africa, Gwadar in Pakistan, Hambantota in Sri Lanka, as well as in the Maldives and in Tanzania. Japan has seen the rise of China for long. What Japan would have never imagined is that China would end up creating an excessive supply and capacity. The BRI began as a case of managing excess capacity for China. However, it has transformed from an economic project, to a soft power initiative, and now to a hard power proposition because of responses and alternative propositions.

The Indo-Pacific idea as used by Trump means that India, the United States, Australia, and Japan will join in curbing China in the new framework of growing Cold War influence. Many Chinese scholars believe that the Indo-Pacific strategy is intended to hedge against China's foreign and security



policy. Furthermore, China's BRI gave an impetus to the economic linkages across the Indo-Pacific region, of which the US still has no accurate geopolitical response. The fundamental aim of the Indo-Pacific strategy of the US is to prevent the rise of China and lessen its influence in order to ensure and stabilise the supremacy of the US in the Indo-Pacific region through political, diplomatic and military support. Washington's efforts aim to counterbalance Beijing's ever-expanding military advancements and investments in the region. During the Raisina panel discussion, Daniel Kliman observed that China is yet to articulate a clear vision on the concept of Indo-Pacific and its future is contested.

Indeed, China is the proverbial elephant in the room. Since China has more economic presence, it is believed that Indo-Pacific is a reflection of rise of both China and India. It is also a reflection of interactions and connectivity between Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean. From a political perspective, the reflection of emerging great-power competition comes into force. The

challenge for the future order in this region is the decrease of great-power competition. It is in China's interest to keep the region open, stable and prosperous. To maintain the Indo-Pacific order, there shall be more accommodation and communication between major powers who should observe the centrality of the ASEAN in regional cooperation and its mechanisms need to play a major role. Regional economic cooperation and integration should be promoted and common challenges like terrorism, climate change, poverty and other regional and global crises ought to be addressed carefully. Differences and disputes should be managed well through peaceful settlement. Major emphasis must be given on the promise of a 'free, open and also sustainable Indo-Pacific' for developing social, environmental and governmental standards of investment and development. In addition, the US, Japan, India, and Australia must improve coordinating and joint adoption of policies and strategies.

—Simran Walia

PANEL DISCUSSION

Defending Freedom and Countering Influence Operations

MODERATOR



Eli Sugarman,
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PANELLISTS



Alexander Klimburg,
Director of the GCSC Initiative,
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Dan Schueftan,
Director, National Security Studies
Center, University of Haifa, Israel



Gulshan Rai,
National Cyber Security
Coordinator, India.



Katie Harbath,
Director, Global Politics and
Government Outreach, Facebook,
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Latha Reddy,
Co-Chair, Global Commission on
the Stability of Cyberspace, India.

THE phenomena of fake news, information warfare, and influence operations have captured public imagination over the past couple of years. From the 2016 Russian interference in the US elections to, closer to home, lynchings in India fuelled by misinformation over WhatsApp—technology firms and governments are fighting to introduce permanent fixes to this challenge. The nature of the challenge itself is not new and has manifested itself in history several times, albeit in different forms. However, the speed at which false information reaches disparate audiences and the behaviour it influences has evolved manifold with the growth of social media platforms. Open societies face the threat of manipulation more acutely with an increasing population of first-generation internet

users. Given that influence operations have far-reaching effects—especially for democratic and electoral processes—democracies are looking to institute safeguards to counter such threats while retaining their commitment to a free society.

Panelists agreed that there are nuances in how an influence operation plays out, including the actors involved and their expected outcomes. Katie Harbath noted that often, content on Facebook would be considered polarising or divisive instead of fake or untrue; the former cannot be conflated with the latter. The purpose of spreading these messages is not the content itself but to influence users' behaviour and stir up their emotions at a crucial point in time. She clarified that the role of technology firms is not to bring down such content but to ensure that the same



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is not amplified, thereby removing the economic incentive. Technology firms, therefore, need to devise scalable ways of addressing this challenge while even as they should not choose to err “on the side of caution” by bringing down all “suspicious” content.

In the realm of international multilateral and multistakeholder institutions, deterring influence operations has become an increasing priority. Especially given the overlapping nature of information warfare and cyber operations, reimagining traditional international law frameworks to mitigate, prevent and respond to attacks has assumed a lot of importance. The threshold of “armed attack” under existing international law framework only addresses kinetic operations and does not adequately address influence operations

and information warfare.

Increasingly, attacks resemble cyber operations even when the real goal is to influence public perception—not unlike information warfare. Alex Klimburg noted that traditional western powers would consider cyber warfare to be technical in nature with a cyberattack on critical information infrastructure (CII) considered as the worst scenario. China and Russia, on the other hand, view information and psychological warfare as the more real threat that necessitates norm-creation.

Latha Reddy outlined the various international initiatives focused on scripting rules and norms to ensure stability in cyberspace. The newly created UNGGE High Level Panel, open-ended working at the UN

and the new UNGGE have set out to bring up an international consensus in scripting norms, establishing confidence-building measures and building capacity across stakeholders. The private sector is also playing an increasing role in forging an international consensus with Microsoft’s Tech Accord and Digital Peace Campaign outlining the responsibility of private firms and states in protecting the integrity of cyberspace.

Panellists identified the urgency of consolidating existing platforms to create a single multistakeholder institution similar to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) or the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to take the lead on attribution, adjudication and capacity building.

-Madhulika Srikumar

PANEL DISCUSSION

SALT and Security: The Unclear Nuclear Dynamics

MODERATOR



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PANELLISTS



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Sergey Rogov
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Sciences.



S. Paul Kapur
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Rajeswari Rajagopalan
Distinguished Fellow and Head
of Nuclear and Space Policy
Initiative, Observer Research
Foundation, India.

THE changing dynamic of concurrent geopolitics has brought great power politics to the fore and, with it, the centrality of nuclear weapons. The current global nuclear order consists of multiple actors increasing the complexity of arms control negotiations and treaties. This fact is highlighted by the withdrawal of the United States (U.S.) from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) with Iran, and President Donald Trump's meeting with North Korean leader Kim Jong-un. Moreover, the Cold War-era Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty has been abrogated by both the US and Russia.

John F. Kennedy, the 35th U.S. President, had predicted that the world will witness multiple nuclear powers. However, the Cold War geopolitical dynamic confined the dom-

inance of global nuclear order to the two superpowers. The Mutually Assured Destruction mechanism meant neither side could contemplate initiating nuclear exchange. This assurance, coupled with bipolarity, simplified the arms control negotiations leading to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I in 1972 and SALT II in 1979), Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty I (START I) entering into force in 1994 and the New START currently in force since 2011. Along with these, the INF treaty ratified in 1988 banned the deployment of ground based intermediate range weapons, which otherwise puts Europe in the crosshairs.

The bipolarity underlying these arms control measures no longer exists, and major nuclear powers continue to fail to arrive at a consensus on new measures required for arms control. Even



if a consensus is found, the absence of a strong enforcer makes the rules inefficient. The shifting balance of power and the withdrawal from global engagements weaken the American position as a reliable enforcer, not to mention the negative effect on its extended deterrence. This is an alarming situation given China's rapid pace of military modernisation, especially the development of a missile force. China insists that Taiwan should be reunited with the mainland using military force if necessary. It deployed intermediate range missiles for this purpose, complicating the deterrence dynamic in the Western Pacific.

Therefore, the abrogation of the INF treaty is seen as useful to the U.S., allowing it to deploy more intermediate range missiles in Asia to counter China. The U.S. is following the logic that had seen it abrogate the Anti-Ballistic

Missile Treaty in 2002. It intends to maintain advanced capabilities and possess flexibility for deterrence. The result of this thinking is increasing hostility from the U.S. administration against arms control measures. The deployment of intermediate range weapons is more about political posturing on the trans-Atlantic side, but the trans-Pacific deployments possess pure military logic. Russia too will start deploying its missiles as a counter to China and to balance American deployments in Asia. These actions would tend to initiate an action-reaction cycle that forces China to further increase its arsenal and as a result, India, and eventually Pakistan. Proliferation will be on the rise and adherence to 'first use' by states like Pakistan increases the danger of nuclear weapon use.

A new set of global rules relevant



to the current situation must be adopted to deter such dangers. However, the fundamental assumptions and conditions of the global geopolitical landscape have changed since the Cold War, thus undermining the authority of traditional actors (the U.S. and Soviet Union/Russia) to set norms for others. The US finds itself differing within the administration and with its allies. Moreover, the 2010 US Nuclear Posture Review emphasised nuclear weapons contradicting former President Barack Obama's efforts for glob-



al disarmament. The U.S. withdrawal from JCPOA and the reimposition of sanctions caused a rift with its allies in Europe, while the Asian allies South Korea and Japan differ over the North Korean strategy. Moreover, the division within the U.S. administration regarding rapprochement with Russia and the ongoing trade war with China make discussions on drafting new rules for the fluctuating global nuclear order difficult. Amidst this situation, China has emerged a major nuclear power with increasing missile capabilities being

unconstrained by the INF treaty.

This situation signals that major powers are divided over political and economic affairs, constraining attempts to find a consensus on new norms and rules for the global nuclear order. Therefore, the de facto nuclear weapon states such as India possessing a nuclear posturing that is not directly related to the US-Russia nuclear perplexity, but feeling the impact of changing dynamic at the global level, need to take charge. India should be able to find suitable

partners such as Israel in building consensus for new rules.

These new rules should be based on emerging multipolarity and the changing character of warfare. They also should consider the impact of hypersonics and cyber warfare on nuclear weapons and delivery platforms. More importantly, the responsibility to enforce the rules and the punishment mechanism in response to breaking the rules need to be stringent, yet acceptable to all the nuclear powers.

—Vidya Sagar Reddy

3

DAY-3

PANEL DISCUSSION

A New Delhi Consensus: India's Imagination and Global Expectations

MODERATOR



Dhruva Jaishankar
Fellow, Foreign Policy,
Brookings India

PANELLISTS



Gen. (Retd.) Dr V. K. Singh
Minister of State for External
Affairs, India.



Mohamad Maliki Osman
Senior Minister of State, Ministry
of Defence and Ministry of Foreign
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David Malone
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Ron Prosor
Former Ambassador to the UN
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Theresa Fallon
Founder, Centre for Russia Europe
Asia Studies, Belgium.

IN 2014, India declared its intention to position itself as a “leading power” in the international order. From a structural perspective, it was easy to see why. Wealth and power have long been defusing eastwards—with China and India being the primary points of focus of such a shift. Both nations boast long civilisational histories, unique political and economic norms, and large populations and territories.

Both countries now sense that they are in a position to influence global affairs in a manner that can suit their national interests. This implies that both are also attempting to “globalise” their own ideas for how societies and states must be organised. In fact, China already possesses its own consensus under Chairman Xi Jinping: “Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era.” It consists of a blend of techno-political authoritarianism and mercantilist state capitalism.

Does India have its own “consensus”? Five years after declaring its ambition, what are the policy implications for India—both domestically and in international affairs? And how would these policy choices implicate the future of the international order? The Raisina Dialogue panel, “New Delhi Consensus”, attempted to interrogate how India was evolving, and how other actors were responding to these changes.

At home, it was clear that the consensus is that India must aggressively grow its industrial and technological capabilities. These capabilities have formed a part of the core strength of all consequential nations in international affairs. For India, this requires systemic reforms in its political and economic institutions. Gen. (Retd.) Dr V. K. Singh, Indian Minister of State for External Affairs stated that only when India’s young were connected to and driving global opportunity through



industry, business and technology would an Indian proposition on economic growth emerge.

India will also have meet the expectations of its citizens as a democratic society. Arguably, it will be one of the largest societies to have achieved high rates of economic growth while guaranteeing political freedoms. Ron Prosor, Former Israeli Ambassador to the UN and the UK, argued that this was one of India's key strengths. He believed that only free societies could create the optimal conditions for talent, innovation and entrepreneurship to flourish.

The panel also agreed that India's domestic transformations would translate into greater international agency. Mohamad Maliki Osman, Senior Minister of State of Singapore, said as much when he stated that Southeast Asian states expected India to play a greater economic role in the region and the world. He mentioned RCEP—which has been a sour point between India and other South East Asian economies—calling for India's continued engagement with the negotiation process. India is yet to emerge

as an “engine” for globalisation in the same way that China, or the US before that, has achieved.

On the strategic front, India was discovering and shaping new geographies, Eurasia and the Indo-Pacific key amongst them. In many ways India is an emerging lynchpin between these two geographies. “The current uncertainty in the international order is driving this urgency to find new partners,” said Theresa Fallon, Founder of Centre for Russia Europe Asia Studies in Belgium. With the US and China both adopting increasingly competitive international postures—often at the cost of the structural integrity of the international system—it is clear that other powers will have to preserve a rule-based institutional order.

Indeed, India has also gradually expanded its role and interest in international institutions. On some of the key multilateral processes underway, whether in negotiations about cyberspace or multilateral trade, India is actively attempting to set the rules of the road. David Malone, Rector of the United Nations University, observed that this has been the case since the

end of the Cold War. As India rises, he said, it was only natural that international institutions would accommodate its interests and preferences.

Undercutting the conversations in this panel were two themes. First, that the international order needed new ideas and guarantors. The “international liberal order” was straining under the weight of global powershifts. Second, that India's choices would play a key role in shaping its future. With time, this will require India to put forward a clear proposition on the norms and institutions that govern international affairs.

It is clear that this consensus on this proposition is still evolving. Nevertheless, a few elements appear central to it. India will be a democratic and plural society capable of delivering economic opportunity and social mobility to its citizens. And as an international power, it will advocate multilateral and rules base solutions. Perhaps a well-articulated “New Delhi consensus” will eventually allow India to claim its position as the as the natural heir to the liberal international order.

—Akhil Deo

PANEL DISCUSSION

Africa First: Global Growth's New Frontier

MODERATOR



TS Tirumurti
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PANELLISTS



Reginah Mhaule
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Koketso Tlhabanelo
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Stefano Manservisi
Director General, International
Cooperation and Development,
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THE African continent is often described as “the new frontier” for global growth. Indeed, most of the African countries have experienced high rates of economic growth in the last decade, and five of the world’s fastest growing countries of the world are in Africa. The continent has also made substantial progress in terms of peace and security, and democratic processes have grown stronger. Africa has about 600 million hectares of arable land and the world’s youngest and fastest growing population—together, these provide an ideal base for sustained, long-term growth.

Many other things work in Africa’s favour. For instance, unlike in the past, African governments now have the agency to chart out their own development pathways. Agenda 2063, the continental framework for socio-economic transformation, lies at the heart of Africa’s vision for the future. The first ten-

year implementation plan has identified the following priority areas: continental free trade area; integrated high-speed rail network; African passport; silencing the guns by 2020; and free movement of people. According to Reginah Mhaule, the ratification of the continental free trade area was the most significant step towards African development. The continental free trade area presents a huge opportunity to alter the current trade paradigms by allowing African countries to restructure their economies to support industrialisation and value addition within Africa through regional value chains.

Although Africa is well-positioned to be the growth pole for the world economy, there is a high risk that extreme poverty will be concentrated in Africa by 2050. Though the high share of youth in Africa’s population presents many opportunities, Africa will not be able to reap its demographic



dividend if it fails to invest in human resources. This is particularly important in the context of the fourth industrial revolution which requires a highly skilled workforce. Moreover, a young and growing population means Africa would need to create millions of jobs every year. This will be a key challenge for African governments because high growth in the last decade has largely been led by commodity exports. According to Stefano Manservigi, sustainable jobs can be created for African youth only through greater value addition within the continent. Development aid alone will not be sufficient to create well paying jobs in the manufacturing sector for Africa's youth. There is a need to de-risk private investment and augment the capacity of the private sector to invest in Africa. India's experience is also relevant for African countries. In India, the spread of public sector banks and development finance institutions played an important role in industrial development. Africa must also strive to create an effective banking system to mobilise

domestic savings.

Pete Vowles suggested three ways through which the international community can ensure that Africa will not fall into a poverty trap. First, developed countries will have to meet their aid commitment of 0.7 percent of gross national income per year. Second, African countries must be treated as equal partners in development, and not as mere recipients of aid. Third, new types of development partnerships need to be forged. India and UK's partnership in Africa is a good example of triangular cooperation in Africa. India has a longstanding development partnership with Africa but the scale of its operations in the continent has expanded tremendously since the early 2000s. India is helping build critical infrastructure in Africa through the EXIM Bank's concessional lines of credit. One of the most successful Indian projects is a hydropower project in Rwanda which used to be highly power-deficient. The cost of power was steep in Rwanda because the country relied on imported diesel to produce electricity. The hydro project built by In-

dia now covers 25 percent of Rwanda's power requirements. Indian projects are purely demand-driven and capacity building is a key component of India's development cooperation. UK and India seek to address future development challenges by combining their experiences and knowledge. The UK Department for International Development is partnering with Indian institutions like the Observer Research Foundation and Research and Information System to develop new knowledge and create platforms for African development.

It is important to note that peace and security are critical prerequisites for economic development. Although the pockets of conflicts have reduced remarkably and democracy has taken stronger roots in Africa, the real challenge lies in converting elections into impactful leaderships, according to Keketso Tlhabanelo. Elected governments must be accountable to the African people. In a nutshell, long-term peace and accountable governments hold the key to African development.

—Malancha Chakrabarty

Conflicted Coalitions: Discussing the Curious Partnerships Shaping Eurasia and the Indo-Pacific

MODERATOR



Alyssa Ayres
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PANELLISTS



Alejandro Alvargonzález
Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs and Security Policy, NATO.



Geoffrey Van Orden
Member of the European Parliament, UK.



John Lee
Professor and Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Australia.



Stephen Smith
Former Minister of Defense, Australia.



Vice Admiral Herve de Bonnaventure
Deputy Director General, Ministry of Armed Forces, France.

AS we move towards a new global order, we are seeing an increasing development of issues-based alliances or “coalitions of the willing”; this, arguably, is going to be the way for the future. This is especially true for the twin geographies of Eurasia and the Indo-Pacific, which play host to a myriad of shifting and sometimes contradictory partnerships.

While the Indo-Pacific is a union of two maritime geographies, Eurasia is the intersection of two continental and prescriptive spaces. It is interesting to observe that rather than sharp and consistent divisions over ideology and influence, regional powers are developing issue-based alliances with each other. States that cooperate on land can compete at sea, and vice versa.

China, through its Belt and Road Initiative, is aiming to erase the “west-

ern” artificial constructed divide between Europe and Asia by solidly defining and managing Eurasia. This has spurred new engagements in both the Indo-Pacific and Eurasia.

In Eurasia, most major alliances have been subregional in nature with the primary vision of shared borders, shared currency, shared security, and shared economy. A significant number of countries remain unconnected from the global economy and supply chain and, in turn, do not have the same kind of global footprint. This has created a situation where rules, institutions, the strategic order, and competition in Eurasia is far less clear and far less predictable.

The European Union (EU) is the largest coalition with a shared vision of environment protection, trade, security, health, social welfare, and democratic principles. The unpredictability around



Brexit and a deepening political crisis due to the migrant influx is redefining its evolutionary theme. The Greek, Irish and Spanish economic crises, the Russian resurgence, and a heightened terrorism threat are all creating ‘Euro-sceptics’ who are giving considerable attention to the possibility of a ‘multi-speed EU’ in which some EU members opt out while those wanting to pursue greater integration in specified areas could remain to refine its agenda.

Europe is becoming more intertwined within itself; the divide between the US and the EU is increasing while Europe and Asia have remained separate ideologically due to their historical social

construct rather than simply a physical separation. Russia is building a narrative in the Middle East to have a controlling say in jihadi terrorism and in regional ethnic conflicts. Israeli-Russian relations have never been better — Saudi Arabia has begun turning to Russia for regional issues, more so than to the US. Russia may introduce new emerging powers to the world — the Russia-China-Iran triangle in Eurasia may create a new future of the world. Russia sees Eurasia as a way to reassert itself as one of the poles in the region and cement its influence in the post-Soviet space amidst emerging rival powers. For Iran, the Eurasia concept is trade within the entire central

and eastern European region stretching across to Far East Asia through Russia and China.

The interdependence between Eurasia and the Indo-Pacific has also been consistently growing. The EU-Russia Common Spaces alliance formed on the basis of four shared interests covering economic issues and the environment; issues of freedom and justice; external security, including crisis management and non-proliferation; and research and education including cultural aspects, has not made progress due to Russian overtures in Crimea and Ukraine. The EU and Russia are locked in a normative

war over international conduct. Even though the EU members have held an intrusive position in Russian affairs and have remained remarkably united in their assessment of Russia's authoritarian statism. Experts analyse that the path to winning the overall normative war will not go so much through countering Russia as through improving Europe's resilience by translating the unity into a political strategy that reflects not just European values, but also Russian realities.

Then there is the emerging Eurasian alliance among Russia, Iran and Turkey and Qatar. Turkey has NATO's second largest military and is a strategic easternmost member. Qatar has been the US' largest forward base in the region. Lack of clarity in US foreign policy is telling Iran how to run and govern the country, and Saudi Arabia's efforts to isolate Qatar have helped Turkey, Iran and Qatar congregate on ideological, geopolitical and economic platforms. This mini-grouping is powerful in its intent and reach in the conflicted and weaponized zones of central and western Asia.

China's rising economic clout, its maritime, road, rail route infrastructure investments across Asia and Europe, its military modernisation and expansion, and its complex manoeuvres to contest territorial claims in the Indo-Pacific now compete directly with the United States' military and soft power in the region. The US' pivot to Asia would not have occurred without China's surge. While the Western countries try to position China as a rising

eastern power, China sees itself as a Eurasian power with influential sea power in the Indo-Pacific and a strong continental power across Central Asia and Europe.

The US has forged coalitions in Eurasia to prevent Russia from assuming the role of a continental superpower again. It wants to control China from becoming a global economic superpower and it wants to contain Iran while continuing to control the Middle East. While the US strategy is to balance and contain China by pushing China's wary Asian allies into its own arms, only Japan and Australia engage in anti-China balancing through US-led engagements. Singapore has positioned itself as neutral state while the Philippines has adopted the hedging strategy.

The EU's role in South East Asia and South Asia has largely been in the development and aid donor sectors with focus on institution-building, democracy, good governance, and human rights. Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) forum between the EU and Asia has 53 partners from across Europe and Asia, representing nearly 65 percent of the world's GDP, 55 percent of global trade and more than 60 percent of the world's population, but it is yet to contribute anything meaningful to the two regions.

Japan and India seek to rebalance the regional order not only against China but with China. On the one hand, India boycotted the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) of China while on the other, it participated in the China-led Shangri

La Dialogue and joined the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation to articulate and expand on its geopolitical conception of the Indo-Pacific and Eurasia in maritime and continental contexts. It is strongly emerging that the large multilateral organisations that dominated the second half of the twentieth century are no longer in a position to steer the Eurasian or Indo-Pacific dialogues. A competition between democracy and authoritarianism with new means of interaction—hybrid and cyber—is taking place in the increasingly globalised world. One cannot exclude the possibility of non-democratic countries being successful and selling the idea of success. The Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum continues to make the mistake of not including India, while the Saudi led oil groupings exclude Iran. Israel is isolated from several regional and sub-regional groupings. It has spurred these countries to seek new, issue-based opportunities for partnerships and coalitions. There have been discussions around the EU developing defence capabilities in the Indo-Pacific region. However, its ambitions are not clear: Does it want to be a great power, or is it looking at bolstering regional security for its trade lanes? As such, the world is advancing towards post-Western sets of modest 'minilateral' coalitions that operate through diffused security structures, informal legal frameworks, and soft trade coalitions that honour and integrate diverse national interests with an eye on balance of trade.

—Gayathri Iyer

IN CONVERSATION

Hamid Karzai

Former President of Afghanistan

Moderator: **Ashok Malik**,
Press Secretary to the President of India



EVEN as the world is being driven by technological advancements, rapid economic growth, and multi-sectoral institutional cooperation, the landscape of Afghanistan remains mired in political instability and insurgent violence. Given the geopolitically strategic location of the country, it continues to be the theatre of regional and global power struggles, with very little scope left for a local calibration of the problems confronting the war-torn nation. Although multiple efforts at negotiating a political settlement with the Taliban have been unable to make considerable headway, the Taliban are perceived as a key player by the general Afghan population, in discussions on the most viable and realistic peace proposition for the country. That Afghanistan's regional neighbours too have a crucial role to play in bringing peace to the country, along with support from the United States, has been accepted by the majority of the Afghan people, including a large section of the political elites. How then, will a peace deal come into being, which caters to all potential stakeholders involved, while at the same time prioritizing the interests of Afghans, is a tough question that demands extensive debate and discussion by policy and government experts.

At the Raisina Dialogue 2019, Hamid Karzai, Former President, Afghanistan, and Ashok Malik, Press Secretary to the President of India, explored the prerequisites of an Afghan-led, Afghan-owned peace deal, and the collective responsibility of key regional and global players in facilitating the same. They discussed the inevitability of the Taliban acquiring a seat at the negotiation table, Afghanistan's complex relationship with Pakistan, implications of a potential US withdrawal from Afghan soil, Afghan engagement with Russia and China, and India's role in facilitating institution building and strategic stability in Afghanistan.

At the very core of the issue of an elusive peace in the Afghan context, is the lack of opportunity to the Afghan population, to shape the contours of negotiation. For enduring peace to exist in Afghanistan therefore, it is imperative to treat all possible Afghan perceptions and points of view with utmost importance and consideration. In fact, for any peace process to be successful, it is crucial that it be entirely Afghan-led and Afghan-owned, entailing extensive intra-national dialogue and brainstorming. The support of external actors such as the US, India or Pakistan too is con-

sidered indispensable in facilitating the creation of an indigenously negotiated peace deal by Afghans themselves, and in ensuring seamless execution of the same. Therefore, the Afghan peace process ought to be fundamentally based on intra-national Afghan dialogue, conducted and implemented in a transparent manner, secure the support of regional and global stakeholders, and most importantly, must not be conflated with the idea of a US deal with Pakistan on Afghanistan. As for the growing concerns about the insurgent activities of the Taliban, it cannot be denied that they too are bona fide Afghans and thus, any effort at bringing peace to Afghanistan will be contingent on active participation of the entire Afghan population, including the Taliban.

IN case of a complete US military withdrawal from Afghan soil, Afghanistan will likely be pushed to diversify and strengthen regional relationships, regardless of America's strategic priorities and objectives. However, the dominant view in Afghanistan is that the US will continue to maintain presence in the country, at the very least in the form of military bases as per the bilateral security agreement. Given the geographically strategic character of Afghanistan, the country is viewed by Americans as too important to relinquish influence over. Situated at the confluence of some of the great global powers such as India, Russia and Iran, Afghanistan provides a conduit for US engagement with Asia and the Middle East. For the US, Afghanistan provides the quintessential platform for calibrating contentious bilateral relations with Pakistan, and to exercise greater influence over the geopolitics of the region. Although Afghans may have reconciled with the fact that the American departure may be a long way off, they remain steadfast in their belief that US presence in Afghanistan must benefit the Afghans as well, and facilitate stability and peaceful coexistence with neighbouring countries. Moreover, the political elite in Afghanistan has implored the US to reconcile with Afghan support for Russian presence in the country, given the cultural linkages Afghanistan shares with Russia, and regular engagement with China on the side. Afghanistan's ties with Iran have also remained strong, despite a severe lack of diplomatic relations between Washington and Tehran.

Afghanistan's bilateral ties with Pakistan are built on strong people-to-people relations, and an environment of mutual goodwill based on the provision of safe havens by Pakistan, to Afghan refugees that had fled their home country upon the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. Although Afghans share a friendly relationship with the general Pakistani population, their relations with Pakistan's government and military apparatus, have been strained. Afghanistan's political establishment continues to unequivocally condemn Pakistan's blatant support for religious extremism and cross-border terrorist violence, along with attempts made by Pakistan-based terror outfits to destroy Afghan institutions and infrastructure, and traditional Afghan value systems. Therefore, Afghanistan's relationship with Pakistan is acutely characterised by a duality of feelings – a feeling of camaraderie and brotherhood towards the general Pakistani population, and that of frustration towards the political and military establishments in Pakistan.

India's contribution to Afghanistan's civilian reconstruction efforts, along with humanitarian assistance and institutional development, has been the cornerstone of the bilateral relationship between the two countries, one that is based on mutual trust and respect. Given the historically close ties between the two, Afghanistan's expectations from its South Asian neighbour have been steadily increasing. The Afghan government is in favour of India assuming a bigger role and responsibility in matters related to the Afghan peace process, and the overall political and economic stability of Afghanistan, regardless of the involvement of other external forces. Afghanistan too has extended support to India's ambitious Chabahar Port project, which is critical to New Delhi's Eurasia strategy and connectivity initiatives in the Indo-Pacific.

In the times to come, global interest in the geopolitics of Afghanistan is likely to grow, owing to the geographical centrality of the country, and its vast, untapped energy reserves. However, before any multilateral institutions of trade and economic cooperation can flourish in Afghanistan, it is essential for Afghans to arrive at a domestically negotiated peace deal that is backed by international stakeholders, and establish governance based on the principles of peace, equality, dignified relations with regional neighbours.

—Shubhangi Pandey

PANEL DISCUSSION

Shaping Policy in the Asian Century: New Politics, Ethics, and Economics

MODERATOR



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PANELLISTS



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AS the conventional ways of approaching policy issues are not working, it has necessitated fresh ideas and approaches. This space has been filled by think tanks. Today, there are close to 8,000 think tanks around the world, with the highest growth in Asia. There is also tremendous interest being shown by governments and civil society in having a relationship with these think tanks. Historically, during crises such as economic recession and following catastrophic events like 9/11, there has been a surge in the number of think tanks.

Certainly, the rate of change of technology will have a great impact on public policy which, in turn, will lead people to look to think tanks to comprehend the changing nature of global politics. There remains a difference between how government

and non-governmental organisations approach issues. It is important for think tanks to work in tandem with governments rather than simply being auxiliary bodies. Moreover, those think tanks that employ people of varied nationalities, also offer more holistic solutions to issues facing their countries domestically, or the international community.

Instead of merely responding to day-to-day events, think tanks should involve themselves in anticipatory work. It is not enough to point out the problem; they must anticipate the future too. India, compared to other countries, is in a unique position in the evolving global environment. While the global pace of change is altering the work space in India, the country is still grappling with 19th-century problems. The inability of the Indian State



to provide solutions for basic issues including sanitation, education, and livelihoods, constrains its capacity to think with a long-term perspective.

At the same time, change such as urbanisation should not take place in the same way as they have in the West. India has to offer an alternative approach to urbanisation that is sustainable, unique, and organic. India is looking at a new developmental deal in view of future challenges and perhaps more than universities; think tanks here occupy a space of knowledge generation. This implies that they would have to complement the role of the State in finding sus-

tainable solutions to basic issues.

In the post-Cold War period, think tanks aimed at comprehensively understanding the process of globalisation and its implications. Analysis units of established newspapers like 'The Economist' are today offering competition to think tanks and are a reflection of the shifting politics in the West. As think tanks hope to influence policy with trickle down means, their core purpose should emphasise on engaging a larger public. Their analysis should be based on facts and evidence and should offer dispassionate, long-term analysis. This would help them in gaining trust and le-

gitimacy from the public.

Facing competition from well-established institutions and western think tanks, analysis by Indian think tanks should offer new perspectives. One way to do this is to look at issues that are of interest to us but often fall through the cracks. While in earlier times, governments in India were resisting associations with the West, today's governments are much more willing to disengage from that inclination. On the other hand, traditional regional organisations in India's periphery and beyond are losing their relevance. There is a growing division within the European Union, and in Asia, India has decoupled itself from the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC). These developments have implications for regional and security relations.

The rising importance of countries such as China, South Korea, and India in the international system has also influenced Latin American engagement with these countries. Today, more events are being arranged between Latin American countries and organisations which are based in Asia, compared to countries which were the former's traditional partners, such as the US and EU. This signifies that Latin America today realises the importance of this emerging relationship.

In times of growing populism and nationalistic fervor in different regions of the world, think tanks should aim to provide analyses with both, short-term and long-term perspectives.

—Ketan Mehta

PANEL DISCUSSION

From Labor to Leadership: Investing in Children

KEYNOTE SPEAKER



Sh. Sidharth Nath Singh
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MODERATOR



Kate Hampton
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PANELLISTS



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HUMAN capital is defined as the “stock of competencies, knowledge, social, and personality attributes, including creativity, and cognitive abilities, embodied in the ability to perform labor so as to produce economic value.” The role of human capital in economic development is so vital that the modern growth theory considers it an important growth factor. Economic growth can bring about prosperity and opportunity, and it is therefore crucial to increase investment in human capital. Healthy women and children are the pillars of a flourishing society. Thus, investing in their well-being is crucial to achieving the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) agenda.

Education plays a pivotal role in creating valuable human capital and improving productivity. The 1,000-day period between conception and two years of age—called the “window of opportunity”—is critical for improving

birth and nutrition outcomes, as children learn faster during this age. Thus, investing in early childhood yields the highest economic returns.

The Government of India has launched a wide array of interventions that address the most essential needs of children during this window of opportunity—these schemes focus on aspects such as nutrition, food items and supplements, feeding practices, and antenatal and postnatal caregiving. Good nutrition, stimulation, safe environment and care also need to be ensured for optimum physical, mental, social, and cognitive development and to prevent adverse impacts on short-term survival as well as long-term health and development.

Human capital development strategies that improve social mobility must be made an integral part of growth efforts by the government. Factors such as poverty, nutritional deficiencies and



poor health hinder social and economic progress. Child labour remains a challenge, despite the UNESCO's "Education for All" campaign, and is rampant around the world, especially in developing countries.

India has a wealth of human capital and must make cost-effective investments to improve child health, nutrition and education, to develop and sustain a healthy, highly skilled workforce. Education plays an important role in overcoming the various challenges that affect the performance of human capital in the world. Education with requisite skill can create competencies, improve the national gross product, allow the integration of technology in labour, and increase efficiency and effectiveness in the sphere of decision-making and socioeconomic governance. Moreover, such education inculcates confidence in job seekers. Investment in health facilities con-

tributes to building a physically and mentally strong human capital pool and is essential for improving productivity, economic growth and security.

Nobel Prize-winning economist James Heckman has long argued that governments must "invest in early childhood education now or pay later." Evidence suggests that an additional dollar invested in quality early-childhood programmes yields a return of between US\$6 and US\$17. Early stimulation interventions for infants and toddlers increase their future earnings by 25 percent. Gender inequality must also be addressed in early childhood, and the father's role has proven significant in creating long-term positive effects. Empowering women in achieving gender equality also helps in sustainable development.

Early childhood practices affect the brain's development and subsequent learning behaviours. Millions of young

children fail to realise their full potential due to poverty, nutritional deficiencies, lack of early stimulation and limited learning opportunities. According to the World Bank, countries can use the Human Capital Index to assess how much income they are foregoing because of human capital gaps, and how these losses can be turned into gains.

Child-focused corporate social responsibility for the welfare of children can go a long way towards sustainable development. Investing in children is fundamental to protecting their human rights and leads to better social outcomes, including reduced poverty, inequality and improved efficiency.

A life cycle approach to investing in human capital can improve expected return. Investing in human capital will thus build a solid foundation for a more sustainable and equitable development in the future.

—Shoba Suri

Development Amid Disruption: Uncommon Pathways for the Common Good

MODERATOR



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FROM changing demands, to technologies and competitions, the world is facing various disruptions that could have a transformative impact to people's daily lives. Three aspects underpinning the globalised world that we live in — markets, movement of skills, and supply chain — are all severely under threat today. An increasing sense of populism and nationalism, as reflected in policies, along with notions of culture are propagating threats and leading to major disruptions.

Disruptions, however, are invoking a sense of hope and fear alike on whether they are going to aid development in becoming more equitable, progressive and sustainable or thwart the achievements the world has made so far.

Will the growing sense of unilateralism create opportunities to reshape the global order in a way where more diverse opinions are allowed to be part

of the development conversation? Or will it imply that the limited diversity in the world that we have come to accept so far would be thrown out and instead held accountable by populists?

One of the major aspects of disruptions today is trade barriers challenging the rule-based trading systems. Trade barriers have been detrimental to local economies that are left unable to create additional jobs and opportunities for sustainable growth. One example is the targeted solar panel tariff hike of the Chinese products implemented by the US in 2012 with the rhetoric of protecting the local US industries from Chinese imports. However, the protectionist move has only benefitted few large producers who make up the industry in the US. Since the manufacturers of solar panels are becoming highly atomised in the US, this has not led to any significant job creation, either. Moreover, the move



has impacted the installation industry and affected investments in future start-ups. Based on a job census in the US in 2018, 61 percent of solar projects who were polled said they were anticipating installations to drop by more than 25 percent, with a majority expecting higher business costs and more difficulties securing financing due to the tariff hike. This has also impacted economies at a household level, as an increase in product rate due to trade barriers would divert financial resources away from development necessities such as investments in quality education and healthcare.

Trade barriers are not only damaging to the countries involved themselves, but disrupt global supply chains, raising prices for consumers worldwide. Such disruptions to supply and distribution chains, which are a key part of world trade, could have a lasting impact, particularly on companies relocating factories or distribution centres. Investment decisions in turn affect employment and tax raises that could be more disruptive than tariffs.

Another major aspect of global disruption is the inability of a large part of the population to comprehend the financial sources. There is a need therefore to create a system and dia-

logue where people who are marginalised come to the table to talk about financial inclusivity. An inclusive financial ecosystem is essential for a social contract. It surmounts both physical, and more importantly, psychological barriers, and helps achieve sustainable economic growth. In this context, microfinance institutions are aimed at playing a significant role in developing countries in facilitating inclusion, as they are uniquely positioned to reach out to the rural poor. However, governance and regulatory barriers have led to their failure in several contexts. Thus there is a need to strengthen the underlying power structures and foundations of a society in order to achieve financial inclusion in the first place. Efforts such as land reforms would give women more control over land, and subsequently empower them to make systems more inclusive and equal. The challenges that lies ahead of development efforts at the time of various disruptions are how to engage in countries that have decades of inequities? How to contribute to changes that do not lead to capital flights and migrations? And most importantly, how do we define “inclusive narratives”?

In terms of offering development solutions amid disruptions, education-

al institutions such as universities have the potential to level the playing field where there are rising disparities and income gaps between the rich and the poor, and to build on the notion of economic prosperity through inclusivity.

Two critical communities, a growing youth population and an increasingly displaced population, are faced with employment gaps and lack of opportunities across the world today. Universities could play a key role in including the youth as well as marginalised groups and providing them with necessary employment skills. Through creation of knowledge bases such as research and data, empowering women and providing gender equity in higher education, and innovation to address critical challenges, educational institutions could be at the forefront of leading development amid disruptions

Besides the role of education institutions, storytelling for community building could play a key role in creating a vocabulary for conversations on biases without offending cultures. Amplifying the voices of the marginalised in public policy debates and public advocacy, as well as getting them to frame the issues could lead to significant changes.

—Aparna Roy

PANEL DISCUSSION

A Renewed Imperative: Strategic Cooperation among Democracies

MODERATOR



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PANELLISTS



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FOR decades, the world was dominated by a western democratic liberal order. After World War II, the United States and its partners built an international order that was organised around certain values including economic openness, security cooperation, multilateral institutions, and democratic solidarity. The third-wave democratisation in the 1980s and 1990s was unprecedented and resulted in a great expansion of democratic values and institutions in Latin America, Southeastern and Eastern Asia, as well as in the former communist bloc (Eastern Europe and the republics of the then Soviet Union). However, this democratisation process began to stagnate in the last decade, across countries and regions, with a decline in freedom, human rights, the transparency and efficacy of the state, justice and equality, and the simultaneous rise of populism and isolationism. This problem has been aggravated by a paralysis of institutions of global cooperation and

governance. To tackle the challenges of disinformation, populism, migration and demographic shifts within nations and across the world, it is imperative for democracies to cooperate.

At the Raisina Dialogue 2019 session on “A Renewed Imperative: Strategic Cooperation amongst Democracies,” the panellists discussed the need for democracies to work together to address the challenges faced by the current global order.

Since independence, India has remained a well-established democracy whose credentials as a responsible, non-interfering democratic country have been appreciated by the world. Hardeep Singh Puri, Indian Union Minister of State for Housing and Urban Affairs, called India affluent, both in terms of democracy and demography. The country is a great example of a successful post-colonial economy and is set to achieve a GDP of US\$5 trillion by 2025, and US\$10 trillion by 2035.

However, it is important to realise



that democracy is going through a difficult phase with great threats. There is a 'new competition' between democracies and authoritarian governments of the world, which puts pressure on countries such as the UK, the US, Italy, Germany and France. Democracies reflect society and are constantly changing. They are the connections between government officials and citizens. One of the challenges to democracies is the public's increasing lack of appreciation for policies, strategies, economic initiatives as well as the government's failure to engage people in these aspects.

Democratic collaboration between countries benefits political strategies, military cooperation and exercises and economic cooperation. While most democracies share common goals, there are limiting factors when it comes to cooperation, including disputes over strategy or policy, trade disputes, and differing national interests and objectives. Complete alignment is yet to be achieved, but countries must continue working towards it.

Globalisation and international trade also create and further inequalities. The multilateral trading system is in limbo at the moment, since many countries

did not anticipate the rise of China and Russia. Almost 80 percent of the goods traded go through Free Trade Areas, which are extremely selective. Therefore, cooperation among countries must reflect a high democratic quotient: this means that global democracies must look to engage with each another more closely.

The Chinese model is a state model and is a blend of political and economic interest, governed by a political party. China's presence and its 'sharp power' have affected many European economies. Its influence has grown dramatically in recent years, and the smaller European countries are most susceptible. Chinese influence operations aim to serve three purposes:

1. Build consensus amongst EU countries,
2. Exacerbate existing divide amongst EU countries, and
3. Foster acceptance for the Chinese political system.

Cooperation amongst democracies also entails cooperation amongst democrats. The western institutions need to reflect the changing realities in today's world, such as the introduction of technology, and the rise of China. There is

undoubtedly a need to accommodate the truly legitimate desires of countries like India and China. This is important at a time where there is a trend in the world towards authoritarianism/populism/ and ultra-nationalism in the last few decades. Populism is usually defined as the condemnation of the global elite. Populist grievances include issues of immigration, as well as technological and economic transformation. Grievances must be treated with respect and dealt with pragmatic responses and solutions. Populist movements aim to test institutions to find areas in which they can thrive. Emerging democracies, where such institutions are weaker, are thus at greater risk and require stronger cooperation.

Democracies have to work together more effectively due to the pressures and challenges of the current realities. Different countries are dealing differently with the issue of a 'rising' China, and the crucial deciding factor for each country will be its national interests. However, given the challenges of the current context, all democracies must work together to tackle authoritarian governments and populist movements.

—Abhishek Mishra

PANEL DISCUSSION

Diversity Within the Union: The EU's Midlife Checklist

MODERATOR



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Member of European Parliament,
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Zaneta Ozolina
Head of Department, Political
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THE European Union (EU) is going through a midlife crisis, as was evident in the highly controversial discussion between European policymakers at the Raisina Dialogue. While the EU was never as united as its name suggests, certain events have exposed the faultlines in this unfinished project—namely, the global churning for a new world order, which found expression in the financial crisis of 2007–08; Donald Trump's election as President of the United States in 2016; and the “Brexit” referendum in the United Kingdom (UK) in the same year.

The 28 member states of the EU seem divided on most urgent global issues, including Brexit, the exit of the union's second-largest economy, the UK. If one wants to interpret this as a harbinger of the EU's doom or the birth

pangs of a progressive experiment with an open future, depends on nationality, political preferences and the timeframe in question.

It is clear that the oft-cited idea of an “ever closer union” has hit a stumbling block with the rise of right-wing populism and nationalism in the last few years. However, most European nations have not given up on the EU just yet. Contrary to English-language media's narrative, in 2018, support for the EU among its citizens reached the highest level since 1983: 67 percent of Europeans believe that membership had benefited their country (and even 53 percent of Britons believe so)—according to the May 2018 “Eurobarometer,” a survey commissioned by the European Parliament.

“Europe will be forged in crisis,” said Françoise Nicolas during the discus-



sion, quoting ‘The Father of Europe’ and French diplomat Jean Monnet. “Difficulties always lead to progress. We will find appropriate solutions,” assured the economist. However, ahead of the upcoming elections to the European Parliament in May 2019, politicians must show “more team spirit” to reassure their citizens that the EU really is the best answer to the crisis of globalisation, warned Dutch MEP Marietje Schaake.

“Brussels” can often do little to solve the problems it is blamed for—for example, the slow progress in reforming the Eurozone, immigration-related issues, and the new question of distributive justice that triggered the success of anti-European populism.

Too often, the EU serves as an easy scapegoat for political failures of and in the member states.

A good “dog fight”—as British journalist John Elliott called it in his report on the Raisina Dialogue—might help clear the air. Schaake and her co-panellist Péter Sztáray vehemently disagreed on issues of immigration and the course that right-wing populist government of Hungarian President Victor Orbán has taken. The discourse between the two exemplifies the difficulties of integrating the different perspectives of Western and Eastern European countries.

Schaake accused Hungary of not accepting Syrian refugees while taking “billions of dollars of EU funds.”

She insisted on “shared obligations” and “shared burdens,” while Sztáray argued that Hungary has the right to protect its borders. “Hungary is an illiberal democracy; the European Union is liberal,” said Schaake. There are “political differences” that cannot be ignored. Schaake is a member of the “Alliance of Liberals and Democrats” in the European Parliament and likely has one eye on the upcoming elections. “We grew up in a socialist democracy,” countered Sztáray. “We want democracy without labels.”

While the East–West divide needs historical patience to be resolved, the North–South divide over Eurozone governance is more urgent. Eastern European countries are well aware



that “the EU is about peace,” said Latvian panellist Zaneta Ozolina, and a breakup is highly unlikely. Matti Anttonen from Finland insisted that “the EU enlargement has been a positive thing” and said that Serbia will be the next candidate for accession. Despite the differences, Péter Sztáray, too, attested to the EU’s significance, saying, “I am optimistic that we can avoid division. This is the largest integration scheme in the history of mankind.”

However, despite intense discussions about Eurozone reforms throughout 2018, between French President Emmanuel Macron and German Chancellor Angela Merkel, the lack of a common fiscal policy leaves the EU ill-prepared for the looming economic

downturn. “The Franco-German couple is not in a good shape,” admitted Françoise Nicolas. The agreed-upon “fiscal compact is not yet a common fiscal policy.” This requires “pool(ing) more sovereignty”, but common taxation for the Eurozone will be going “too far at the moment”. It remains an open question if it is even necessary to save the common currency.

The rise of China and the economic offers it makes to smaller European countries has triggered another controversy. According to Nicolas, while China has “created frictions” within the EU, this is not necessarily a bad development. It has thrown light on the specific situation of smaller countries and their needs.

One positive result of this is the new “EU-China Connectivity Platform,” which aims at supporting infrastructure investment.

The question is whether these arguments are reason enough to leave the EU, “a divided club with ... unreal disruptive ambitions,” as John Elliot calls it. Groucho Marx answered this question in his famous quote, “I do not care to belong to any club that will accept me as a member.” Whether this is neurosis or a midlife crisis remains to be seen. “There is a lot of movement at the moment in Europe,” observed Marietje Schaake. Given the upcoming elections, this is a clear sign that there is still life in the old continent.

—Britta Petersen

PANEL DISCUSSION

Accountable Autonomy: When Machines Kill



MODERATOR



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PANELLISTS



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Renata Dwan
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Maj. Gen. Susan Ridge
Major General, Army Legal
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THE advent of artificial intelligence (AI) and the emergence of Lethal Autonomous Weapon Systems (LAWS) has made it necessary to re-contextualise many of the established principles of international humanitarian law (IHL). While AI represents the maturing of critical technologies – around data collection, computing power and algorithmic decision-making – the conversation around LAWS has begun to engage deeper issues around the ethics in the conduct of warfare and democratic decision-making itself.

Although the international community has been engaged in debates around the use and regulation of LAWS for almost a decade, discussions remain trained on clarifying fundamental ideas such as characterisation of these weapons, and the adequacy of human control. The Group of Governmental Experts (GGE) under the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons has only had a limited degree of success in clarifying these issues. The first set of meetings under the GGE that concluded in 2018 reaffirmed that international humanitarian law applies to autonomous

weapons, that human control must be retained over the use of these weapon systems, and that the LAWS should be subject to weapons review processes under Article 36 of the Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions.

As Kara Frederick, Research Associate at the Centre for New American Security pointed out, future deliberations on LAWS such as the second iteration of the GGE must be mindful of the fact that international diplomatic processes that are deliberating on these issues may be falling behind the rate of development of these technologies. Many countries insist that conversations (especially ones focusing on a legally binding treaty) may be premature in light of the fact that no fully autonomous weapons currently exist. Others insist that weapons such as Israel's Harpy—which can autonomously select and engage enemy radar installations—are proof that not only do these weapons exist, they are being actively deployed by militaries.

Renata Dwan, Director of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research highlighted the necessity



to clarify exactly what it is that regulations must seek to achieve. Should the focus only be on controlling the lethality of these weapons or should questions around safety and predictability of weapons take centrality? These are important questions and will certainly arise when weapons with different designs and capabilities interact to produce unpredictable outcomes. Hans-Christian Hagman, Senior Adviser and Head of Strategic Analysis, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden who chaired the panel, noted that these issues may be further complicated when AI is integrated with other equally complex technologies like nano-tech and synthetic biology.

In light of this uncertain future, will ensuring human control over these weapons be enough? If so, at what stage—the design and R&D level, the policymaking level, or at the stage of deployment? As Dwan further highlighted, it may be important to think of meaningful human control as a spectrum rather than a clear red line. That the involvement of humans at every stage in the weapon development and deployment

process must be ensured. The thought was echoed by Susan Ridge, Major General, Army Legal Services, Ministry of Defence, UK. Ridge maintained that even at the stage of deployment while machines can discharge some critical functions around targeting and engagement, these decisions must necessarily rest with human operators.

Gilles Carbonnier, Vice President, International Committee of the Red Cross stressed on the need for granularity and contextual analysis in the use of LAWS. Even when these weapons are deployed, he insisted, there must be systems in place to take into account the fluid nature of battlefields and to deactivate these weapon systems. For example, an autonomous system may not be able to distinguish between a regular enemy combatant and one that is injured or is attempting to surrender. Human operators, therefore, must have the ability to instantly respond to these changing circumstances and deactivate these weapons as necessary.

These discussions must also take into account the fact that despite the application of IHL principles, many

country positions will be determined by pragmatic concerns rather than ethical ones. The perceived effectiveness of LAWS in improving targeting and mobility—and consequently, their ability to reduce military casualties—will be key considerations as nations decide the future of autonomous systems.

Three important questions will be central to the future of autonomous systems. First, relatively few countries comply with the weapons review process under Article 36. How can this compliance be improved and measures for accountability be incorporated into these domestic decisions? Second, how will developers of AI systems address the question of bias in design of these technologies – what cultural contexts and realities inform, for instance, a facial recognition system that autonomously guides a missile to its target in the war zone? And lastly, if the war machines of the future are getting smarter with each passing year, then how will an international multilateral process – bureaucratic and slow by its very nature – outsmart them?

—Bedavyasa Mohanty

PANEL DISCUSSION

Innovation Capital: Ideas for Industrialisation 4.0



MODERATOR



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THE Fourth Industrial Revolution is the latest in a series of disruptive changes in production models, promising to become the new engine for economic growth. The technologies of Industrialisation 4.0 – among them, AI, robotics, and biotechnology – will increasingly cause the blurring of lines between the physical and the digital and dramatically scale up the rapidity and efficiency with which we engage in the production and consumption of goods and services.

In light of this, there are growing efforts to craft forward-thinking policies that capitalise on each nation's unique strengths and weaknesses. Digging down to the building blocks of Industrialisation 4.0, human capital and data, panellists debated ways in which countries could equip their

workforces with skills needed to adapt to a rapidly evolving economic context and discussed frameworks for assessing and maximising the value of data in the new industrial age. Vivek Lall, for instance, emphasised the need to overhaul the education system to impart practical experience in Industrialisation 4.0 skills at an elementary school level. This, he further said, should be supplemented with both basic and applied research at universities. It should also be noted that India, despite producing the second-largest number of STEM graduates, is unable to retain top talent as most STEM professionals immigrate to other countries that are perceived to present better opportunities for professional growth. Thus Vivek Lall's final suggestion — providing a platform to entrepreneurs that supplies financial capital



as well as guidance on how to commercialise innovative ideas—would be a crucial step for a country like India to maximise its workforce potential and achieve its annual GDP growth goals.

The second crucial ingredient for growth in the Fourth Industrial Revolution is Big Data. Amitabh Kant, highlighting what he saw as a key strength in this realm for India, pointed out that the bulk of data is owned by public entities, as opposed to the US or Europe where most data is owned by private companies like Facebook and Google and cannot be easily tapped into for public services. Thus, the Indian government can leverage its own vast databases to improve access, personalisation and quality of basic services such as education and health.

However, while Big Data is now a widely used catchword, most entities

are not aware of the value and potential of their data. One reason for this knowledge gap is lack of awareness on the part of business owners and government that their existing databases are an asset, not simply an administrative necessity. The second reason is that there is simply no standardised framework to evaluate data. Pippa Hall, while pointing out the sluggishness of legislation in catching up with technological development, elucidated the need for industry standards to provide a framework for how to value intangible data assets and access finance to capitalise on these assets. Francis Gurry observed that the existing framework, built during the Industrial Revolution, for valuing intangibles is well-suited to the emerging digital economy, although there will still remain unresolved issues that policy-

makers may need to address.

The panellists cautioned against a universal set of standards for data for a couple of reasons: first, because innovation has become the basis of competition, the capacity to build international rules is limited due to the often incompatible interests involved. Second, the different capacities and levels of development of countries also prevents consensus-building needed for rulemaking. Ultimately, countries would have to brainstorm how best to strike the balance between innovation and inclusivity, and between the interests of the multitude of stakeholders. Indeed, the core purpose of Industrialisation 4.0 should not simply be innovation for innovation's sake, but the positive transformation of the lives of the world's 7.8 billion denizens.

—Trisha Ray

The Road to 2030: Challenges, Partnerships and Predictions

MODERATOR



Samir Saran
President,
Observer Research Foundation,
India

PANELLISTS



Vijay Gokhale,
Foreign Secretary
India



Mark Sedwill
National Security Adviser, Cabinet
Secretary and Head of the Civil
Service, UK



Maurice Gourdault-Montagne
Secretary General,
Ministry for Europe and Foreign
Affairs, France

THE second decade of the 21st-century has been marked by turbulence, with tectonic shifts in the governance foundations of the world. The changes are perhaps best marked by the breakdown of digital, geographic, and economic divisions across the world – all having implications on one other. As internet access becomes more pervasive across the world, the neat packaging of the digital and real world have collapsed. This breakdown has had further effects on the separation of continents, regions, and sub-regions which are less meaningful in a world where a citizen from Brazil can be virtual neighbours with a citizen from India. The rift within the walls that separate digital and geographical borders has also had repercussions on the traditional divide between the supporters and non-supporters of globalisation. The distinction between the two economic groups has become increasingly

conflated, with the biggest defenders of globalisation also believing that the system has largely broken down. The results of these developments help lay out the key challenges that the world will likely face over the next decade.

Both, developed and developing world will need to deal with three main issues as they strive towards calming and stabilising the foundations by 2030. The most important of these is the advent of the 4th Industrial Revolution, and the impact that Artificial Intelligence and Automation will have on the global labor market. The 4th IR and theseemingly subsequent expiration of the manufacturing sector in many countries is certainly of great economic concern. However, the challenges brought about by the 4th IR will span beyond simple economic losses. If the current trend of jobless growth continues, the implications on the social stability of nations will be enormous, leading to the second major challenge



the world will face over the next decade – the rise of radicalism.

There has already been a noticeable rise in radicalisation in the second half of the current decade. A dearth of employment opportunities has manifested itself in the form of a disaffected populace frustrated with the outcomes of globalisation – an issue that has the potential to worsen as the 4th IR progresses. However, these are not the only factors sparking the dissatisfaction with the global economic order of the 20th century. The disenfranchised populations also include those with ideological aversions, as well as people who are of the view that globalisation has led to a detrition of traditions and sense of personal and national identity. The situation has been further enflamed by the financial crisis of 2008-2009, which highlighted the inherent inequality of globalisation. The schism has only grown in the decade since. The increased radicalisation has already been demonstrated through the election of fringe candidates to some of the highest political offices in the world – and has the potential to

evolve into something far more dangerous if it remains unaddressed.

The recent fragmentation has not been confined to domestic arenas. It has spilled over into the international stage – which presents the third challenge that will need to be dealt with over the coming decade. The liberal world order that dictated global governance since the end of the Second World War has become obsolete, as the poles of geopolitical and economic power shift to the Indo-Pacific. The concept of multilateralism itself has come under fire, with nations increasingly adopting isolationist policies. More importantly, the traditional model of multilateralism has been coopted, with nations testing new forms of global governance through regional and unilateral cooperatives. These models have been largely spearheaded by nations that have recently emerged in economic and political power, but find themselves constrained by the outdated Atlantic governance architecture. Instead of attempting in vain to bring down the metaphorical bulwarks that impede reforms in the Bretton Woods system, these new powers have

instead created counter mechanisms that will allow them to dictate rules and regulations as they see fit.

Counterintuitively, the new partnerships created by these nations may yet provide the solution to deal with the three major challenges that the world will have to contend with over the coming decade. Managing economic progress, ensuring employment, and reducing radicalisation require a functioning global world order. With the liberal world order of the 20th century having proven itself to be outdated, a new governance architecture is clearly needed. The partnership models used by recently emerged economies provide the ideal archetype for this. The regional and unilateral cooperatives formed in recent years, have brought together nations that have political and economic differences but also share a common commitment to an overarching set of ideals and principles. Global governance for the next decade will be built on bringing such regional and unilateral organisations to a consensus to create new a new set of global norms.

—Aparajit Pandey

PANEL DISCUSSION

Populism and Prosperity: Confronting the Looming Trade Wars



MODERATOR



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

PANELLISTS



Gen. (Retd.) David H. Petraeus
Chairman, KKR Global Institute, USA



Heribert Dieter
Senior Associate, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Germany



Shamika Ravi
Director of Research, Brookings India



Shihoko Goto
Senior Associate for Northeast Asia, Asia Program, Wilson Center, USA



Wang Wen
Executive Dean, Chongyan Institute of Financial Studies, Renmin University, China

AS the world moves towards the third decade of the 21st Century, the concept of globalisation as a valid economic model has come under fire. Undeniably, free global trade has delivered prosperity to hundreds of millions in the post-World War 2 era: consumers benefited from low costs and producers gained access to new markets. The detrimental effects, however, have become more pronounced over the past few years, as manufacturing centres move to new geographies and income inequality rises. The contributing factors and responses have moved the world towards increased economic instability; without considered steps to de-escalate the current geo-economic détente, a downward spiral leading to recession is increasingly likely.

The current economic situation in many developed nations is the

by-product of a number of key elements. Since its inception, the social contract of Globalisation 1.0 has implicitly stipulated that the fruits of export-led growth be invested back into society in the form of education, welfare, and healthcare. The global financial crisis of the late 2000s fractured this contract across much of the Western world, with large corporations hoarding profits and governments easing tax laws to avert the prospect of an extended economic recession.

As a consequence of the fracturing of the social contract, education systems across the traditional Atlantic centres of



power have suffered from a lack of funding. Public schools and universities are now finding it harder to equip the next generation of workers with the skills and abilities they need to be competitive in a global labour market.

Moreover, the advent of the 4th Industrial Revolution has placed additional strain on labour markets. Traditional employment opportunities have continued to decline, with artificial intelligence and distributed centres of production leading to a surge of automation in the manufacturing sector.

Policymakers, who have been largely content with overlooking the friction

within their domestic labour markets due to trade drive economic growth, are now scrambling for solutions. Meanwhile, astute politicians have capitalised on the anxieties of the economically disenfranchised, stoking anti-globalist movements and utilising isolationist sentiments to engineer electoral victories.

The upheaval has gone beyond disturbances to domestic governance, bleeding into the arena of international relations. Leaders elected on anti-globalist movements have unsurprisingly enacted policies aimed at keeping their electorate happy. The situation is perhaps most aptly seen in the ongoing

trade war between the two largest economies in the world—the United States and China. There are two distinct prisms that this conflict can be viewed through.

From the American point of view, as China has gained geopolitical power, the strategic steps it has taken have become increasingly more aggressive. As David Petraeus stated during the panel, there have been a number of grievances instigated by China – including the militarisation of manmade islands; the theft and forced transfer of patents and intellectual property; and the employment of unfair trade



practices. Moreover, policies such as “Made in China” and strategic investments in certain technological sectors are clear signals that China is making overt attempts to challenge the global economic leadership established by the United States. From an American prism, its initiation of the recent trade conflict is simply a counter measure to several calculated acts of economic hostility by the Chinese government.

The Chinese interpretation of the events leading up to the trade war is significantly different. As Wang Wen stated during the panel in response to Mr. Petraeus’ statements, tension between the top two economies of the world is a natural phenomenon. In this context, the actions taken by China are neither overtly aggressive nor hostile. According to Mr. Wang Wen, despite the ongoing trade conflict, China wants to ensure that it does not initiate a ‘cold war’ with the United States.

This is best signified by the lack of formal political response by China’s leadership structure to a number of incendiary statements and tweets sent out by the American President.

There are valid points made by both parties in their interpretation of the trade conflict, and it is easy to be drawn in by partisanship and propaganda. The overarching problem, however, is the fact that the trade war is economically harmful to both nations, and will in all probability only further exacerbate the economic anxiety of already disenfranchised populations within both countries. Global growth projections for the next two years have already been lowered as a result of the dispute, and a continuance of the trade barriers would result in the world becoming a “poorer and more dangerous place”, according to the Chief Economist of the IMF.

To address the fears and concerns

of the people driving the current wave of populism, the core causes of income inequality need to be addressed. While it is foolish to expect a resurgence of manufacturing within the developed world, there are a number of steps that can be taken to help unemployed people from the sector, transition to other jobs. Investing money into reskilling academies and institutions that can help unemployed people learn new skills and abilities, is the first step to easing economic anxiety. Additional investment in education systems and a revamping of curriculums to include subject areas relevant to the 4th IR will reduce youth unemployment. As the economic pressure and inequality is reduced, it will allow for the most important step: the election of global leaders that are focused on good governance rather than destructive pandering to a populist electorate.

—Aparajit Pandey

PANEL DISCUSSION

Clicks and Kalashnikovs: A New Battle for Hearts and Minds

MODERATOR



Colin Crowell
Vice President, Global Public Policy & Philanthropy, Twitter, USA

PANELLISTS



Erin Saltman
Policy Manager
Facebook, UK.



Mariam Safi
Founding Director, Organization for Policy Research and Development Studies, Afghanistan.



Chris Felton
Deputy Director, Joint International Counter-Terrorism Unit, UK.



Knut Doermann
Head of Legal Division, International Committee of the Red Cross



Shiv Sahai
Joint Secretary, National Security Council, India

THE lines between offline and online conduct are becoming increasingly blurred, with online rhetoric affecting offline conduct, and vice versa. The “internet age,” allows ideas, content, and information to be disseminated with unprecedented speed. Since the cyberspace has become an integral part of everyday life, it is important to study its dynamics with and effects on the offline space.

Recent instances of terrorism have revealed the growing use of cyberspace in terror attacks. The West is thus increasingly aware of the need to change existing legislation pertaining to online conduct and safety, as well as overseas counterterrorism strategies and operations. Both online and offline strategies must cover a broader scope to make them more holistic and comprehensive. The new policy changes encompass not only Islamic extremism but also home-bred, violent

right-wing extremism.

There are two aspects of terrorism, online narrative and on-ground violence, connected by a common thread: the rule of law. While the former does influence the growth of radicalisation, counterterrorism efforts primarily deal with on-ground battles between terror groups and state actors. As part of the War on Terror, non-partisan frontline response organisations, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, aim to minimise civilian casualties in war zones, producing tangible results. Civilian casualties are caused not only by terrorist or extremist violence but also the government’s actions to counter them. In conflict zones, the rule of law is often blurred by all parties involved. It is thus important for governments to respect the rule of law while formulating counterterrorism policy, offline as well as online. States committing abuses or human rights violations in the name of



counterterrorism, whether online or offline, leads to a spike in retaliatory violence, creating a vicious cycle.

Governments, tech companies as well as civil society organisations (CSOs) acknowledge that online extremist propaganda is widespread. However, there is some debate on the efficacy of online counternarrative. Some actors believe that a lack of trust in the government makes people suspicious of such narrative, especially if it is backed by the government or a political party. Counternarrative works

best if it resonates with its target audience and comes from credible actors in local communities. Thus, the pairing of narrative creators (tech companies, CSOs or governments) with creative actors can go a long way in holding the audience's attention.

Many experts and activists believe that government involvement in the formulation of social-media or other cyberspace policies can muzzle freedom of speech and expression. However, some oppose this view. According to them, since the rights and freedoms

enjoyed by people are eventually protected and upheld by the government machinery, the state's involvement and feedback are crucial while formulating policies on online conduct. While efforts by tech companies, such as content takedown, do contribute, it is ultimately the state machinery that maintains and upholds the rule of law.

Social-media companies have consumers outside their geographical locations, which makes it imperative for them to engage with local CSOs, governments and the tech sector of other countries, to



form region-specific online CVE (Countering Violent Extremism) policies. The task of social-media companies is two-fold: to remove extremist content when required, combining artificial intelligence (AI) and human expertise, and to empower local organisations to tackle these issues at the grassroots level.

Machine learning has come a long way in identifying online threats. Until a few years ago, consumers of technology were reporting the bulk of extremist content online. Now, it is predominantly machines that identify

such threats. However, the human element is irreplaceable, since machines do not understand nuance or context. Social-media and tech companies must come together to share their experiences and learn from each other, to identify and take action against groups that post various extremist content on different online platforms. This will also help improve the AI so that it can recognise the commonalities in content.

With bigger platforms becoming better at identifying and removing ex-

tremist content, a new development has been the migration of such content to less-regulated platforms or the dark web. Big tech companies are now combining their resources and expertise to reach out to smaller platforms and train them in identifying radical content. To this end, the tech giants, Facebook, Microsoft, Twitter, and YouTube, formed the, “Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism” (GIFCT), in June 2017. This platform aims to work in collaboration with tech companies, CSOs and governments, to disrupt the promotion of violent extremist propaganda on their platforms.

The role of governments is crucial in tackling insurgent ideologies, both online and offline. Non-state actors, too, play a significant part in the formation of governmental policies and in cooperation between state and non-state actors. Currently, there is only a macro-level understanding of the online extremist space, with a dearth of evidence-based research on the multi-dimensional processes involved in extremist propaganda and the tools used for online recruitment of extremists. However, researchers and CSOs are making efforts to study the micro-level causes of extremism, to help policy and strategy builders.

Global notions of liberal democracy are changing, and it is important to re-visit them. Cyberspace is an integral part of society now, and the rights and freedoms linked to speech and expression must be updated keeping in mind the global and local context.

—Swati Pant



O U T C O M E S T A T E M E N T

K E Y N O T E

P A N E L R E P O R T S

A G E N D A

Programme

Raisina Dialogue 2019 is held under the Auspices of

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

DAY-1 Tuesday, January 8, 2019

1800-1900 Inaugural Session at the Durbar

1915-2100 Dinner
Conversations



Shahjehan: **Foreign Secretary's Dinner** (By invitation only)

Sergey Ryabkov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Russia

Reginah Mhaule, Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa

Helga Schmid, Secretary-General, European External Action Service

Mumtaz: **When WTO Met Westphalia: Preserving the Liberal Economic Order**

In recent years, three secular tendencies have begun to challenge the economic progress recorded in the last seven decades. Firstly, non-market economies have become models of success, with their state-owned and state-run enterprises engaging in zero-sum economics; meanwhile, perverse trading arrangements seek to create national or regional advantages. Second, the rise of nationalist politics has created a basis for nativist economics; countries across the globe are increasingly looking to economic policy as a means of populist political propagation. Finally, the illicit movement of information and intellectual property is challenging what was a fundamental part of free markets: knowledge creation. Can the economic order that served as the basis for decades of growth and prosperity survive? Must it adapt to meet these challenges—and, if so, should it fight them or accommodate them? Is there no populist, or even popular, case to be made for the liberal economic order?

Andreas Schaal, Director, Global Relations, OECD

Deepak Jacob, President & General Counsel, Legal & Regulatory Affairs, Star India

Karel Lannoo, Chief Executive Officer, CEPS

Sanjeev Sanyal, Principal Economic Advisor, Ministry of Finance, India

Sheryl Foo, Director, Vertex Capital, Singapore.

Moderated by **Rathin Roy**, Director NIPFP, India.

DAY-1 Tuesday, January 8, 2019

1915-2100

Dinner
Conversations



Jehangir: **#AccessibleHealth: Towards an Inclusive Human Capital Framework**

The fast-growing populations in the emerging world are now demanding world-class health services. This is in the backdrop of significant lifestyle changes, old health challenges, and new vulnerabilities arising from affluence. Addressing their aspirations will thus require new models of delivery, new partnerships, and novel financing mechanisms. How can communities become co-creators and co-providers of health services, instead of passive recipients of care? What models have emerged from policy experimentation in emerging economies that are worth investing in and expanding? And how can the politics of developing countries be re-ordered around the provision of basic healthcare?

Indu Bhushan, CEO, Ayushman Bharat Initiative, India

Daisy Amdany, Executive Director, Community Advocacy and Awareness Trust, Crawn Trust, Kenya.

Jorge Ferrao, Vice Chancellor, Pedagogic University, Mozambique

Sandhya Venkateswaran, Deputy Director, BMGF, India.

Vinod Paul, Member, NITI Aayog, India

Moderated by **Anjali Nayyar**, Executive Vice President, Global Health Strategies, India

Roshanara: **Trust in Tech: A New Framework for Digital Security and Prosperity**

Is the digital realm an impossible trinity, where national security, privacy, and economic growth can never be served equally? Cyber crimes, banking frauds, radicalisation online, repressive free speech regulations, and biased technology design have led to a growing pushback against technology in general, and technology companies specifically. How must corporations respond to the growing trust deficit that consumers have with the big technology platforms and technology service providers? How do we ensure that digital freedoms and rights are served and protected by governments and regimes? Is it inevitable that citizen collectives will aggregate together to demand better performance from corporations, regulators, and licensors? Do we need a new framework to ensure digital peace and well-being?

Chitra Subramaniam, Editorial Adviser, Republic TV, India

Jon Brickey, Senior Vice President and Cybersecurity Evangelist, Mastercard, USA.

Paula Kift, Civil Liberties Engineer, Palantir Technologies, USA

Rema Rajeshwari, District Police Chief, Telengana, India.

Scott Carpenter, Managing Director, Jigsaw, USA.

Stéphane Nappo, Global Chief Information Security Officer, International Retail Banking, Société Générale International Banking, France.

Moderated by **Kaja Ciglic**, Director, Government Cybersecurity Policy and Strategy, Microsoft, USA.

2130-2230

Conversations
over Kahwa



Mumtaz: **Author's Corner**

Stephen Harper, Former Prime Minister, Canada

C Christine Fair, Professor, Georgetown University, USA.

Harsh Pant, Director, Studies and Head, Strategic Studies Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India.

Stephen Tankel, Associate Professor, American University, USA.

Moderated by **David Malone**, Rector, United Nations University.

DAY-1 Tuesday, January 8, 2019

2130-2230 Conversations
over Kahwa



Roshanara: **Two Arteries, One Heartland: As the Arctic, Eurasia, and the Indo-Pacific Converge**

The economic and strategic drivers of the 21st century are forcing the political convergence of three hitherto distinct geographical entities: the Arctic, Eurasia and the Indo-Pacific. As in the parable of the blind men and the elephant, states are feeling their way around these geographies, each seeking its own understanding of their unique importance to national interests. This panel will unpack the panoply of actors and strategies enmeshed in these geographies. Is a collision of interests inevitable? Which institutions are best placed to manage and defuse emerging tensions? Must the norms governing international cooperation in these areas be abandoned, or can it be salvaged?

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

François Godement, Senior Advisor, Institut Montaigne, France.

Katja Gloger, Editor-at-Large, Stern Magazine, Germany.

Merriden Varrall, Non-Resident Fellow, Lowy Institute, Australia.

Moderated by **Jeffrey Smith**, Research Fellow, Asian Studies Center, Heritage Foundation, USA.

ITC Maurya: **The U.S. and Us: Reset or Retreat**

Reports of USA's decline have often been greatly exaggerated. After all, it has remained central to international politics, even as the size and scale of the global economy has grown. Questions are often asked about USA's engagement with the world, but this panel will seek answers to an even more pressing query: how should the world engage with this power? Can actors in global governance that have newfound purpose and capacity assist it through the difficult transition to a flatter world? How does the world view a US that has long enjoyed a constancy of strategic goals and ambition?

Alexander Gabuev, Senior Fellow and Chair, Russia in the Asia-Pacific Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Russia.

Anton Tsvetov, Advisor to the Chairman, Center for Strategic Research, Russia.

Julie Sheetz, Chief of Staff for Asian & Pacific Security Affairs, Department of Defense, USA.

Benedetta Berti, Head of Policy Planning, NATO

Yuanzhe Ren, Associate Professor, China Foreign Affairs University

Moderated by **Georg Mascolo**, Journalist; Dean, Bucerius Summer School on Global Governance, Germany.

DAY-2 Wednesday, January 9, 2019

0900-1000	Panel Discussion	<p>Durbar: Amoebic, Asymmetric and Anarchic: Countering Terrorism as it Evolves</p> <p><i>What was once called the “Global War on Terror” will soon enter its third decade. While there have been successes, the threat has evolved over time; new vulnerabilities within free nations and societies have been identified and exploited. Have our tactics and strategies evolved in tandem? What are the new measures and mechanisms required to counter new terrorist threats? Can centralised national security states deal with radically decentralized dangers?</i></p> <p>General Bipin Rawat, Chief of Army Staff, India</p> <p>Max Abrahms, Assistant Professor, Northeastern University, USA.</p> <p>Husain Haqqani, Senior Fellow and Director for South and Central Asia, Hudson Institute, USA.</p> <p>Virginia Comolli, Senior Fellow for Conflict, Security and Development, International Institute for Strategic Studies, UK</p> <p>Moderated by Yalda Hakim, Host, BBC World News, UK.</p>
1000-1100	Panel Discussion	<p>Durbar: The World in a Moment: Looking Back, Looking Ahead, Looking Hard</p> <p><i>Grand strategy seeks to distill the essence of eras into ideas; international relations is the study of epochs, not of years, hours, or minutes. But the 24x7 cycle of the digital era lends itself to insta-punditry, making it difficult for both states and scholars to understand the world for its complexity and sophistication. This panel will press pause on that picture. What broad trends can we see affecting the world in this moment? Where did they come from, and where will they cause us to end up? Is there a discernible pattern to contemporary geopolitics—and what can the past teach us about the present, and the future?</i></p> <p>Gen. (Retd.) David H. Petraeus, Chairman, KKR Global Institute, USA</p> <p>Helga Schmid, Secretary-General, European External Action Service</p> <p>Paolo Gentiloni, Former Prime Minister, Italy</p> <p>S. Jaishankar, President, Global Corporate Affairs, Tata Group, India</p> <p>Moderated by Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p> <p><i>Release of Raisina Files 2019</i></p>
1100-1130	Break	
1130-1200	<p>MINISTERIAL ADDRESS At the Durbar</p> <p> Sushma Swaraj, Minister of External Affairs, India</p> <p>Moderated by Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman, ORF, India</p>	
1200-1300	In Conversation	<p>Durbar: Engendered Globalisation: What will it take?</p> <p><i>Fifty years of globalisation has rendered people, goods and ideas more mobile than ever. But this brave new world mirrors the biases of the provincial and feudal one that it sought to replace. The involvement and induction of women into factory floors, office suites, and the corridors of political power changed the way we think and tackle problems of global governance. Is this progress now irreversible? What can be done to make this participatory process more sustainable? How are different communities and regions responding to the global realisation of engendered growth and political decision making? Is there a new ethics of politics and power on the horizon that puts gender justice at the centre?</i></p>

DAY-2 Wednesday, January 9, 2019

1200-1300

In Conversation



Durbar: **Engendered Globalisation: What will it take?**

Smriti Irani, Minister for Textiles, Government of India

Asle Toje, Foreign Policy Scholar & Commentator, Member of the Nobel Committee, Norway.

Farahnaz Ispahani, Former Member of Parliament, Pakistan.

Richard Verma, Vice Chairman and Partner, The Asia Group, USA.

Moderated by **Kate Hampton**, Chief Executive Officer, Children's Investment Fund Foundation, UK.

1300-1430

Lunch
Conversations



Shahjehan: **Green Capital: Sustained Finance for Sustainable Growth**

A lack of access to finance remains the key barrier for emerging economies trying to discover sustainable development pathways. What new instruments can they leverage to utilize previously unexploited finances? What can we learn from the successes and failures of such experiments as blended finance and green bonds? How can the development community partner more successfully with international finance to overcome the barriers that prevent greater cross-border investment in green infrastructure?

Release of *Financing Green Transitions*

Geraldine Ang, Policy Analyst, Green Investment, OECD.

Jonathan Charles, Managing Director, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, UK.

Kanika Chawla, Senior Programme Lead, Council on Energy, Environment and Water, India.

Sumant Sinha, Chairman and Managing Director of ReNew Power, India.

Moderated by **Moutushi Sengupta**, Country Director, MacArthur Foundation, India

Mumtaz: **The Future of Work: Earning to Live vs. Living to Earn**

The International Labour Organisation estimates that, in two years, nearly half of all workers in Asia-Pacific will be engaged in "vulnerable" employment. Economic trends, a vast gap between the skills needed to succeed in the global economy and the skills actually available to the most at-risk sections of the workforce, and changing technology have made "decent" jobs ever harder to create. How can governments deal with the skilling and re-skilling needed to emerge from economic vulnerability? Is there a role for redistributive politics to correct a distribution of value that is increasingly seen as perverse—and, if so, how must social welfare and security nets change? Has the notion of "decent jobs" become obsolete?

Ashish Dhawan, Founder and Chairman, Central Square Foundation, India.

Burcu Baran, Director, Policy Communities, Global Relations Forum, Turkey.

Pradeep Parameswaran, President, India and South Asia, Uber.

Srivatsan Rajan, Chairman, Bain & Company, USA.

Moderated by **Khaila Mbowe**, Founder and Managing Director, Unleashed Africa, Tanzania

DAY-2 Wednesday, January 9, 2019

1300-1430

Lunch
Conversations



Jehangir: **Old World, New Frontiers: The Future of Europe**

A specter of renewed nationalism looms large over Europe, haunting its political future. Once seen as a beacon of liberal prosperity and strategic stability, today the continent is buffeted by multiple headwinds, not least of which are the intertwined concerns of migration, populism, nativism, and extremism. Can the European idea, which emerged from the chaos of two great wars, survive this new confrontation with the demons from its past? Is the notion of an “illiberal Europe” a contradiction in terms, or are the institutions developed over decades of integration robust enough to deal with a populist upsurge? Is reform within Europe necessary—and will that require greater integration, or greater distance?

Josep Borrell, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Spain

Paolo Gentiloni, Former Prime Minister, Italy

Marietje Schaake, Member of European Parliament, The Netherlands.

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

Roshnara: **The Arrival of Global Politics: Navigating a Multi-Perspective World Order**

The post-1945 world order, created and sustained by a small group of nations, has dissolved into an apparently chaotic contest for power and influence involving individuals, institutions, and states. As global governance moves away from states and towards more diffused and decentralised networks in which governments are but one player, can traditional methods of diplomacy and troubleshooting remain effective? Are new strategic cultures emerging that reflect this new phase of globalisation? How are these tectonic shifts in power and influence seen by different regional and national worldviews, and can these differing perspectives be reconciled?

Anton Tsvetov, Advisor to the Chairman, Center for Strategic Research, Russia.

Cameron Munter, Chief Executive Officer and President, East West Institute, USA.

Evgeny Buzhinskiy, Chairman of the Executive Board, PIR Center, Russia.

Indrani Bagchi, Diplomatic Editor, The Times of India

Yang Yanyi, Former Ambassador and Head of the Mission to the European Union, China.

Moderated by **Fyodor Lukyanov**, Research Director, Valdai Discussion Club, Russia.

1430-1450

MINISTERIAL ADDRESS At the Durbar



H.E. Marise Payne,
Minister for Foreign Affairs, Australia

1450-1550

Panel Discussion

Durbar: **Indo-Pacific: Ancient Waters and Emerging Geometries**

The waters of the Indo-Pacific regions are the high roads of globalisation—but may also be the domain of the greatest contestations of this century. Is the Indo-Pacific merely a reactive concept willed into being by regional tensions? Or can it become a conduit for economic and political diplomacy that advances prosperity in Eurasia and beyond? The pre-requisite for such cooperation is a peaceful and secure maritime realm, whose prospects this panel will discuss.

Admiral Sunil Lanba, Chief of Naval Staff, India.

Admiral Philip S. Davidson, Commander, U.S. Indo-Pacific Command.

Admiral Christophe Prazuck, Chief of Naval Staff, France.

Admiral Katsutoshi Kawano, Chief of Joint Staff, Japan Self-Defense Forces.

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

Yalda Hakim, Host, BBC World News, UK.

DAY-2 Wednesday, January 9, 2019

1550-1610 Break

1610-1710 Panel Discussion

Durbar: Bits and Bytes: Creating an Agile Governance Framework for the Future

The digital revolution is transforming jobs, growth and even the very conception of profit. It is within this fluid context that policy makers must balance access, security and business-friendliness. How can growth be made sustainable and inclusive in an economic framework characterised by the transfer of wealth and value over giant trans-national tech platforms? What will governments expect from corporations in terms of security and nurturing prosperity—and what can corporations reasonably ask in return? And how can we create institutions that ensure both governments and corporations respect individual rights and respond swiftly to individual preferences?

Ankhi Das, Director, Public Policy, Facebook, India.

Catherine Mulligan, Visiting Research Fellow, Imperial College Centre for Cryptocurrency, UK.

Carl Bildt, Former Prime Minister, Sweden.

Rajiv Kumar, Vice Chairman, Niti Aayog

Scott Carpenter, Managing Director, Jigsaw

Moderated by **Isabel de Sola Criado**, Senior Advisor, Secretariate for the High-level Panel on Digital Cooperation, UNSG

1710-1730 **MINISTERIAL ADDRESS** At the Durbar



H.E. Josep Borrell,
Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Spain

1730-1810 Panel Discussion

Durbar: The Waning West: Can it Discover a New Direction?

The global economy's centre of gravity is relentlessly shifting eastward. Emerging powers seek to become guarantors of local and regional security, and are experimenting with new norms for international engagement and imagining alternative global governance architectures. Must the West reconcile itself to a steadily declining role in international affairs? Can the values associated with the liberal democracies of the West still lay claim to universality? Are the societies shaped by those values capable of discovering a renewed dynamism and a fresh direction? Can partnerships with the East aid this process? Or is it time for the West to rethink its founding propositions?

Stephen Harper, Former Prime Minister, Canada

Tony Blair, Former Prime Minister, UK

Moderated by **Ashok Malik**, Press Secretary to the President of India

1810-1840 Break

1840-1900 **MINISTERIAL ADDRESS** At the Durbar



H.E. Mohammad Javad Zarif,
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Iran

DAY-2 Wednesday, January 9, 2019

1900-2000 Panel Discussion **Durbar: The Road from the Khyber to the Bosphorus: Partnerships, Perils and Opportunities**

The ancient powers that are Turkey and Iran have new ambitions. Their rise permanently alters the balance of power in Asia. As critical conduits for flows of energy, and as repositories of faith for millions of people, their diplomacy will profoundly influence the region. How much autonomy do these states truly possess in a multipolar age? Can they be contained, or only confronted? And does the apparent stability of their politics offer the tantalising possibility of developing a unique Asian blueprint for development?

Sergey Ryabkov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Russia

Manish Tewari, Lawyer, National Spokesperson, Indian National Congress

Memduh Karakullukçu, Vice Chairman and President, Global Relations Forum, Turkey.

Richard Fontaine, President, Center for a New American Security, USA.

Moderated by **Suhasini Haidar**, Diplomatic Editor, *The Hindu*, India

2000-2130 Dinner Conversations



Shahjahan: Bridging the Gulf: Towards New Politics and Economics of a Dynamic Geography

Today, the Gulf is dominated by two strong trends. On the one hand, it is emerging from its old political order and economy and is embracing the information age vigorously. It is visualising a future where it can be a part of global value chains in the information age. On the other hand, we see the festering of old divides. Is this region an economic powerhouse held back by its political realities? What are the old and new fault lines that need urgent attention of the region and beyond? What new institutions and coalitions can help to respond to these differences? What is the prognosis for a new dynamic and economically-integrated region emerging in the near future?

Dalia Ghanem-Yazbeck, Resident Scholar, Carnegie Middle East Centre, Lebanon.

Ebtesam Al Ketbi, President, Emirates Policy Centre.

Jérôme Bonnafont, Director, Middle East and North Africa, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France.

Seyed Mohammad Kazem Sajjadpour, President, Institute for Political & International Studies, Iran.

Volker Perthes, Director, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Germany.

Moderated by **C. Raja Mohan**, Director, Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore.

DAY-2 Wednesday, January 9, 2019

2000-2130

Dinner
Conversations



Mumtaz: Curating a New Concert: Multiple Visions for the Future of the Indo-Pacific

The Indo-Pacific as a concept was born amid great power rivalry, but is becoming concrete through the formation of various coalitions between the democracies of the region—countries that see a free, open and inclusive order as being being to their mutual benefit. This panel will consider possible threats to such an order, and their implications for the future. Can a positive economic vision, for states both large and small, emerge from these autonomous concerns? What are the benefits of a multi-polar Indo-Pacific, and can co-operation replace competition in both the security and economic domains? Are alternative, sustainable paths to connectivity, development and infrastructure being made available to the countries of the Indo-Pacific?

Alicia Garcia Herrero, Chief Economist for Asia Pacific, Natxis, Spain

Daniel Kliman, Senior Fellow, Asia-Pacific Security Program, Center for a New American Security, USA.

Li Li, Senior Fellow, Institute for International Relations, Tsinghua University, China.

Ram Madhav, National General Secretary, Bharatiya Janata Party, India

Rūta Miliūtė, Member of Parliament, Lithuania.

Moderated by **Manpreet Anand**, Adjunct Professor, National Defense University, USA.

Jehangir: Defending Globalisation in the Age of Populism

The rising tide of globalisation over the past decades was supposed to lift all boats – instead, it has lifted only some of them. The resentment of those believing that globalisation has left them behind has fuelled the rise of populist politicians across both the developed and developing worlds. Has the high water mark of globalisation passed? If not, how can the next generation of leaders re-create pro-globalisation coalitions both within countries and across international borders? Did politics and politicians fail to anticipate how urgent it was to compensate globalisation's losers—and, if so, how must our policies change going forward? And in a political landscape increasingly distrustful of experts and expertise, can leaders still use evidence-based argument to change minds?

Interaction with **Tony Blair**, Former Prime Minister, UK.

Roshanara: State of Play: In Defence of the Liberal Order

(by Invitation only)

2200-2300

Conversations
over Kahwa



Mumtaz: Defending Freedom and Countering Influence Operations

The more open the society, the more vulnerable it is to manipulation of public opinion and interference in its political processes. What safeguards do democracies need to counter such threats while retaining the core values of a free society? Must individuals, companies, and the state be mutual adversaries in this effort, or can a new consensus be forged that protects the integrity of liberal democracy?

Alexander Klimburg, Director of the GCSC Initiative, Austria.

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

Gulshan Rai, National Cyber Security Coordinator, India.

Katie Harbath, Director, Global Politics and Government Outreach, Facebook, USA.

Latha Reddy, Co-Chair, Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace, India.

Moderated by **Eli Sugarman**, Program Officer, Hewlett Foundation, USA.

DAY-2 Wednesday, January 9, 2019

2200-2300 Conversations
over Kahwa



Roshanara: **SALT and Security: The Unclear Nuclear Dynamics**

The treaties, that have for decades underwritten the nuclear order, are fraying. A generation ago, the nuclear arms race was consigned to the dustbin of history; but a new age has brought new politics and the possibility of fresh competition. Meanwhile, new actors have arisen that challenge the very basis of the nuclear order of haves and have-nots. Are we moving to a world in which both nuclear and technically non-nuclear states have decided to normalise proliferation and enable an arms build-up? Is there any way to avoid damaging competition over missiles and warheads while reassuring regional powers?

Dingli Shen, Professor, Fudan University, China.

Feodor Voitlovsky, Director, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russia.

Sergey Rogov, President, Russian Academy of Sciences.

S. Paul Kapur, Professor, Department of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School, USA.

Rajeswari Rajagopalan, Distinguished Fellow and Head of Nuclear and Space Policy Initiative, Observer Research Foundation, India

Moderated by **Rachel Rizzo**, Bacevich Fellow, Center for a New American Security, USA.

ITC Maurya: **Deconstructing #MeToo: Mobilization, Impact and Transformation?**

The #MeToo movement is a concatenation of serious, individual grievances, but its collective impulse and implications need more careful study. Will identity politics and mobilisation be different in the aftermath of this movement? Does it have the potential to transform power relations within states, businesses — and households? Can formal institutions respond adequately to the aspirations and demands that fueled this movement across the world?

Angelika Arutyunova, International Feminist Consultant, USA.

Mohamed El Dahshan, Managing Director, OXCON, Egypt.

Sarah Margon, Washington Director, Human Rights Watch, USA.

Vani Tripathi Tikoo, Board member, Central Board of Film Certification, India.

Moderated by **Sascha Suhrke**, Program Director, Politics and Society, ZEIT Stiftung, Germany

DAY-3 Thursday, January 10, 2019

0900-1000 Panel Discussion

Durbar: A New Delhi Consensus—India's Imagination and Global Expectations

In 2014 India declared its intention to be a “leading power.” This ambitious proposition was matched by the greater visibility and determination of New Delhi’s foreign policy, especially its regional engagement. Yet, in a world buffeted by multiple disruptions, does an emerging power have room to manoeuvre? Does India’s policy and implementation capacity match its new aspirations? How can this emergent New Delhi consensus effect favourable changes in the trajectory of Asian and global politics?

Gen. (Retd.) V. K. Singh, Minister of State for External Affairs, India

Mohamad Maliki Osman, Senior Minister of State, Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore

David Malone, Rector, United Nations University.

Ron Prossor, Former Ambassador to the UN and the UK, Israel.

Theresa Fallon, Founder, Centre for Russia Europe Asia Studies, Belgium.

Moderated by **Dhruva Jaishankar**, Fellow, Foreign Policy, Brookings India

1000-1100 Panel Discussion

Durbar: Africa First: Global Growth’s New Frontier

Despite the world’s professed commitment to assist African countries emerge from their lost decades of development, more needs to be done in order to improve and sustain livelihoods in the continent. Financial inclusion and enhanced access to liquidity for African entrepreneurs are crucial to achieve this goal. How can development stakeholders worldwide, including elsewhere in the global South, capitalise on the emerging shoots of prosperity in Africa? Can agile economic institutions be created that are capable of converting these green shoots into irreversible, broad-based improvement in living standards? Is the current trade and financial architecture capable of catering to emerging Africa’s needs?

Reginah Mhaule, Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa

David Rasquinha, Managing Director, EXIM Bank, India

Koketso Tlhabanelo, Senior Manager, A.T. Kearney, South Africa.

Peter Vowles, Asia Director, Department for International Development, UK.

Stefano Manservigi, Director General, International Cooperation and Development, European Commission.

Moderated by **T.S. Tirumurti**, Secretary (ER), Ministry of External Affairs, India

1100-1130 Break

1130-1150 **Ministerial Address** At the Durbar



H.E. Damdin Tsogtbaatar,
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mongolia

DAY-3 Thursday, January 10, 2019

1150-1250	Panel Discussion	<p><i>Durbar:</i> Conflicted Coalitions: Discussing the Curious Partnerships Shaping Eurasia and Indo-Pacific</p> <p><i>The twin geographies of Eurasia and the Indo-Pacific play host to a myriad of shifting and sometimes contradictory alliances and partnerships. Rather than sharp and consistent divisions over ideology and influence, regional powers are developing issue-based alliances with each other. States that co-operate on land can compete at sea, and vice versa. This panel will seek to untangle the strategic threads that problematize the politics of these regions. Is there coherence in this confusion? Can a sustainable balance of power emerge from such apparently contradictory partnerships? Or is strategic ambiguity the characteristic that will determine the order in these regions?</i></p> <p>Alejandro Alvargonzález, Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs and Security Policy, NATO</p> <p>Geoffrey Van Orden, Member of the European Parliament, UK.</p> <p>John Lee, Professor and Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Australia.</p> <p>Stephen Smith, Former Minister of Defense, Australia.</p> <p>Vice Admiral Herve de Bonnaventure, Deputy Director General, Ministry of Armed Forces, France.</p> <p>Moderated by Alyssa Ayres, Senior Fellow for India, Pakistan, and South Asia, Council of Foreign Relations, USA.</p>
1250-1320	In Conversation	<p><i>Durbar:</i> Hamid Karzai, Former President of Afghanistan</p> <p>with Ashok Malik, Press Secretary to the President of India.</p>
1320-1450	Lunch conversations	<p><i>Shahjehan:</i> Shaping Policy in the Asian Century: New Politics, Ethics and Economics</p> <p><i>The concerns that determine policy and the interest groups that shape them are changing as rapidly as the global economy itself. The rise of new powers and the growth of new sectors means that a new architecture of influence and ideation is needed. Are the traditional norms governing the creation of policy-related thinking capable of dealing with new challenges? What is the role for domestic think tanks in a new, integrated world — and how can they create a role for themselves beyond national borders? In a world in which influence operations are increasingly suspect, is the funding of policy research the first victim of insecure nationalism? What would a more multi-polar policy discourse look like in reality, and are we moving sufficiently quickly in that direction?</i></p> <p>Cameron Munter, Chief Executive Officer and President, East West Institute, USA.</p> <p>Gustavo Martinez, Managing Director, Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Internacionales, Argentina.</p> <p>Hervé Lemahieu, Director, Asia Power and Diplomacy, Lowy Institute, Australia.</p> <p>Neelam Deo, Co-Founder, Gateway House, India.</p> <p>Yamini Aiyar, President and Chief Executive, Centre for Policy Research, India.</p> <p>Moderated by James Mcgann, Director, Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program, Warton School and School of Arts and Sciences, USA.</p>

DAY-3 Thursday, January 10, 2019

1320-1450

Lunch
Conversations



Mumtaz **From Labour to Leadership: Investing in Children**

Harnessing human capital is an imperative for societies and governments today. Rapid technological change is rendering low-skill-intensive manufacturing less effective as a pathway to growth and development. In a world in which skilling, entrepreneurship and adaptability are essential strategies for developing countries, investing in children is not just a moral but a central economic one. How can governments mainstream the need to invest in social and economic potential of their young demography? Can the private sector be incentivised to share the responsibility for creating a well-fed, well-educated and healthy child population — thereby ensuring sustained productivity growth in the future? Is there a need to formulate a new prosperity-rights nexus?

Junaid Kamal Ahmad, Country Director, World Bank Group, India.

Manoj Jhalani, Additional Secretary & MD (NHM), Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, India.

Priyank Kanoongo, Chairperson, National Commission for Protection of Child Rights, India.

Rina Ray, Secretary, Ministry of Human Resource and Development, India.

Yasmin Ali Haque, UNICEF Representative, India.

Moderated by **Kate Hampton**, Chief Executive Officer, Children's Investment Fund Foundation, UK.

Jahangir **Development amid Disruption: Uncommon Pathways for the Common Good**

Twentieth-century governance paradigms were not broad-based: both the conception and the delivery of development assistance tended to prioritise and privilege a handful of actors and geographies. New technologies and political churn provides the chance to change this. The panel will address the two big questions that emerge from this opportunity: Can sustainable and future-proof livelihoods be created? Can previously marginalised communities have a greater voice in the design of development assistance, and be included in the benefits of growth?

Amanda Chong, Lawyer and Poet, Singapore.

Catherine Duggan, Vice Dean and Professor, African Leadership University School of Business, USA.

Juita Mohamad, Economist, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Kristina Lunz, Co-Founder and Country Director Germany, Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy, Germany.

Lina Beydoun, Director of Development, American University of Beirut, Lebanon.

Moderated by **Shikha Basin**, Programme Lead, Council on Energy Environment and Water, India.

DAY-3 Thursday, January 10, 2019

1320-1450 Lunch
Conversations



Roshanara: **A Renewed Imperative: Strategic Cooperation Among Democracies**

Democracy is a process of discovery for both established and aspiring democratic nations. That process offers new democracies the opportunity to learn from the successes and failures of their older counterparts, while the latter can draw renewed vigor from the enterprising ideas and novel practices that newer democracies bring to the table. There is also the broader global setting to consider. Institutions and alliances established after the Second World War are looking increasingly eroded; isolationism and populism pose a challenge to core democratic values. Looking at the big picture, what have been the successes and failures of democracy in the past 100 years? In an increasingly more globalized and interconnected world, what new risk factors threaten democracy today? How do we deal with the challenges of disinformation, populism, migration, and demographic shifts within nations and across the world?

Hardeep Singh Puri, Union Minister of State for Housing and Urban Affairs, India

Gen. (Retd.) David Petraeus, Chairman, KKR Global Institute, USA.

Rexon Ryu, Partner, The Asia Group, USA.

Stephen Harper, Former Prime Minister, Canada

Theresa Fallon, Founder, Centre for Russia Europe Asia Studies, Belgium.

Moderated by **Peter Van Praagh**, President — Halifax International Security Forum, USA.

1450-1510 **Ministerial Address** At the Durbar



H.E. Pradeep Kumar Gyawali,
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nepal

1510-1610 Panel Discussion

Durbar: **Diversity within the Union: The EU's Midlife Checklist**

The European Union, long seen as a collective of technocratic institutions, has struggled to accommodate the growing diversity of political opinion in its midst. Debates about migration and economic austerity have thrown up hard choices for the region's leaders. Can the ethos that drove European states to create a functionally integrated union adapt to a new era of disagreement and disputation? Are the structures of the Union flexible enough to accommodate this growing diversity of views? Can we even imagine a Europe without the European project?

Péter Sztáray, Minister of State for Security Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Hungary

Matti Anttonen, Permanent State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Finland

Françoise Nicolas, Director, Center for Asian Studies, Institut français des Relations Internationales, France.

Marietje Schaake, Member of European Parliament, The Netherlands

Žaneta Ozolina, Head of Department, Political Science, University of Latvia.

Moderated by **Peter Van Praagh**, President — Halifax International Security Forum, USA.

1610-1630 Break

DAY-3 Thursday, January 10, 2019

1630-1730 Panel Discussion

Durbar: Accountable Autonomy: When Machines Kill

Although the international community appears to have moved away from a pre-emptive ban on lethal autonomous weapons to discussing the parameters of “effective regulation”, there is still no consensus as to what constitutes meaningful human control over LAWS. How would a new legal instrument for fully autonomous weapons supplement existing international humanitarian law? Further, how should the development of autonomous platforms contend with the looming threat of cyber exploitation?

Gilles Carbonnier, Vice President, International Committee of the Red Cross

Kara Frederick, Research Associate, Technology and National Security Program, Centre for New American Security, USA.

Renata Dwan, Director, UN Institute for Disarmament Research

Maj. Gen. Susan Ridge, Major General, Army Legal Services, Ministry of Defence, UK

Moderated by **Hans-Christian Hagman**, Senior Adviser and Head of Strategic Analysis, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden

1730-1830 Panel Discussion

Durbar: Innovation Capital: Ideas for Industrialisation 4.0

Innovation will be central to governments’ efforts to grow jobs and incomes in the decades to come. Nations will compete to foster a hospitable climate for innovation and innovators, and to provide a solid foundation for the digital transformation of analog economies, even as big data and artificial intelligence usher in a new era of intangible economics. What does it take to become an innovation hub? Can human capital-scarce countries use technological breakthroughs to leapfrog into their digital futures? Can innovation capital be regulated or protected like other forms of capital, or will new trans-national norms have to be developed?

Omar Al Olama, Minister of State for Artificial Intelligence, UAE

Amitabh Kant, Chief Executive Officer, NITI Aayog, India

Francis Gurry, Director General, World Intellectual Property Organization

Pippa Hall, Director of Innovation and Chief Economist, UK

Vivek Lall, Vice President, Lockheed Martin, USA.

Moderated by **Patrick Kilbride**, Senior Vice President, Global Innovation Policy Center, US Chamber of Commerce.

1830-1900 Break

1900-1920 **Veledictory Address** At the Durbar



Dato’ Seri Anwar bin Ibrahim,
President of the Parti Keadilan Rakyat, Malaysia

DAY-3 Thursday, January 10, 2019

1920-2000 Showstopper



Durbar: **The Road to 2030: Challenges, Partnerships and Predictions**

A world in the midst of re-ordering itself is one in which there are more questions than answers. Yet this panel will seek clarity in the midst of confusion; it will identify and discuss three challenges that will shape the next decade, three partnerships that will evolve in response to these challenges, and finally attempt three predictions about the shape of the world in 2030.

Vijay Gokhale, Foreign Secretary, India

Mark Sedwill, National Security Adviser, Cabinet Secretary and Head of the Civil Service, UK.

Maurice Gourdault-Montagne, Secretary General, Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, France

Moderated by **Samir Saran**, President, Observer Research Foundation, India.

2030-2200 Dinner
Conversations



Shahjehan: **Populism and Prosperity: Confronting the Looming Trade Wars**

Conflict over trade between the United States and the People's Republic of China dominates the world's headlines—but discontent about the conditions and consequences of trade is widespread among both developing and developed countries. Insecurity about livelihoods has driven a populist turn towards industrial policy, protective tariffs and national corporate champions. Will the world's global trading architecture be forced to respond, and if so how? Can shared prosperity be preserved in an era increasingly defined by competition and not co-operation? How can liberal, open market economies deal with the challenges of state capitalism without resorting to zero-sum confrontations?

Gen. (Retd.) David H. Petraeus, Chairman, KKR Global Institute, USA.

Heribert Dieter, Senior Associate, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Germany.

Shamika Ravi, Director of Research, Brookings India.

Shihoko Goto, Senior Associate for Northeast Asia, Asia Program, Wilson Center, USA

Wang Wen, Executive Dean, Chongyan Institute of Financial Studies, Renmin University, China

Moderated by **Mohan Kumar**, Chairperson, Research and Information System for Developing Countries, India

Mumtaz: **Clicks and Kalashnikovs: A New Battle for Hearts and Minds**

What extremists cannot win through bombs and battles, they seek to win through online rhetoric. The internet has become a potent tool for those who seek to radicalise and recruit across borders. Combating new terrorist threats will require national security policies that prioritise cooperation with individuals and corporations. Do we understand how these new terrorist networks are created and can be countered? What tools exist in policy makers' arsenals that can be brought to bear on a conflict that is now as much about discourse as it is about traditional counter-terrorism? How can the liberal state balance policing and individual rights in this new and frantic environment? What would be the role of the individual and the state in combating online and offline extremism?

Erin Saltman, Policy Manager, Facebook, UK.

Mariam Safi, Founding Director, Organization for Policy Research and Development Studies, Afghanistan.

Chris Felton, Deputy Director, Joint International Counter-Terrorism Unit, UK.

Knut Doermann, Head of Legal Division, International Committee of the Red Cross

Shiv Sahai, Additional Secretary, National Security Council Secretariat, India

Moderated by **Colin Crowell**, Vice President, Global Public Policy & Philanthropy, Twitter, USA.

DAY-3 Thursday, January 10, 2019

2030-2200



Keynote
Addresses and
Interaction

Jehangir: **Rethinking Leadership: Responding to Traditional and Non-Traditional Challenges in the 21st Century**

In an increasingly multipolar world, power is more diffuse than ever before. The emergence of new actors, stakeholders and networks means that leadership is not restricted to those wielding the power of the state. How power is projected has also changed, moving beyond the conventional barometers of economic and military might to norms, ideas and narratives. Leadership in the 21st century must influence individuals at the other end of a screen as much as governments at the world's high table. Leaders will also have to respond to the new challenges posed by climate change, automation and digitization. What methods and institutions must leaders adopt and incubate to address these challenges?

Leadership for Peace: Rebuilding Communities and Capabilities:

Hamid Karzai, Former President, Afghanistan

Leadership through Diversity: Rethinking Agendas, Institutions and Aspirations:

Kate Hampton, Chief Executive Officer,
Children's Investment Fund Foundation, UK

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

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