

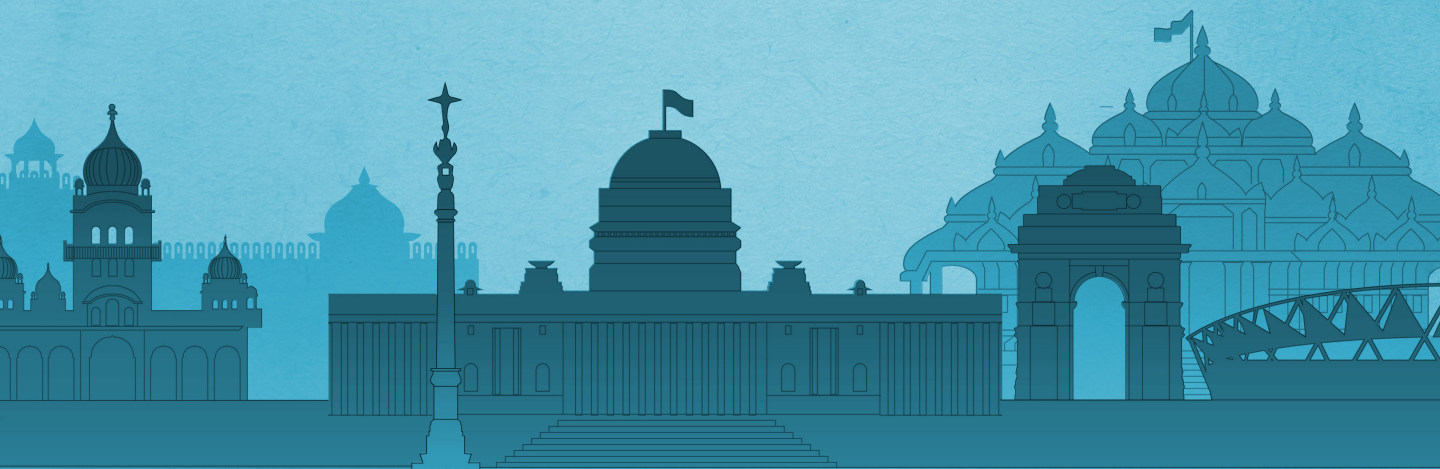


# Conference Booklet 2019

January 8-10

## A WORLD REORDER

NEW GEOMETRIES | FLUID PARTNERSHIPS | UNCERTAIN OUTCOMES



MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
Government of India





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**MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS**  
Government of India



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सुषमा स्वराज  
*Sushma Swaraj*

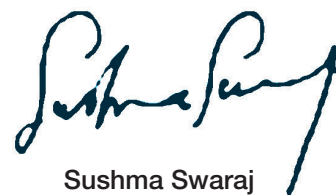


I am pleased that the 'Raisina Dialogue-2019' is once again being co-hosted by the Ministry of External Affairs and the Observer Research Foundation. Now in its fourth year, the Raisina Dialogue has firmly established itself as a leading international forum for discussions on the challenges posed by current as well as emerging geo-strategic and geo-political trends. The Dialogue's journey as India's flagship conference on international relations coincides with India's expanding diplomatic engagement and exchanges across the world.

The theme for this year, "*A World Reorder: New Geometries, Fluid Partnerships, and Uncertain Outcomes*", represents a logical progression from the previous edition, which focused on Managing Disruptions and Transitions. As the world seeks solutions to the constantly changing political, economic, and strategic landscape, "*A World Reorder*" is indeed an appropriate and timely theme. I hope the discussions will foster frank deliberations on the geopolitical reordering that is underway and point us towards creative and innovative solutions.

I am confident that the enriching discussions from the Dialogue would supplement the strategic discourse taking place in other fora in helping us collectively address the challenges of our times.

I convey my best wishes to all participants for successful deliberations at the conference.



Sushma Swaraj





## Message from Foreign Secretary of India

**T**HE Raisina Dialogue began as a initiative of the Ministry of External Affairs to institutionalize a uniquely Indian platform for exchanging perspectives on contemporary geopolitical trends. In its 4th edition, the Dialogue has quickly evolved into a forum that has attained recognition as a platform for discourse on a truly global scale. Each successive edition has witnessed enhanced participation from thought leaders and the strategic community around the world, a clear indicator of the Raisina Dialogue's growing significance.

This year's theme - "A World Reorder: New Geometries, Fluid Partnerships, and Uncertain Outcomes"- is inspired by unique leaders, their ideas and solutions and the pathways and partnerships they are proposing. Taken together, these developments are compelling subtle and not so subtle modifications in the existing international order. Dramatic geopolitical events, altered socio-economic structures and rapidly developing technology are creating both turbulence and new opportunities. In the face of such transformations, longstanding alignments and assumptions are shifting even as we search for effective and durable solutions to the challenges before us.

The 4th Raisina Dialogue seeks to shine a light on the variety of ideas and perspectives, as also the diversity of solutions, being generated in different parts of the world. It is with this in mind that I am confident that the carefully selected roster of speakers and panels will further enhance the quality of discussions of this year's Dialogue.

As in the previous editions, the Ministry of External Affairs is once again pleased to collaborate with the Observer Research Foundation. I am extend my warm greetings to all participants of 'Raisina Dialogue 2019'.

—Vijay Gokhale





## Message from the Chairman, Observer Research Foundation



**W**E are delighted to welcome our distinguished guests from across the world to the fourth Raisina Dialogue. The Dialogue has emerged as a unique multi-stakeholder policy forum attracting global statesmen, thinkers, and leaders across politics, government, business, media, civil society and academia to New Delhi.

This year's Raisina Dialogue: **"A World Re-Order: New Geometries, Fluid Partnerships, Uncertain Outcomes"** gathers over 1600 delegates representing 92 countries. They are all here to engage each other in meaningful conversations on the disruptive changes re-ordering and shaping our world. Their presence underlines the commitment of the global community to come together to find solutions that can light the way to a stable, prosperous and peaceful common future for all.

Peace and stability have indeed become a global imperative. It is also starkly apparent that the existing international order built and led so far by a small group of western democracies is adrift. It is searching for new impetus, guidance and ownership. The arrangements of this order are visibly fraying and the consequences are clearly visible across trouble spots not just in the Middle East but Western Europe itself.

International institutions designed to manage trade, arms control, environment, gender and human rights struggle to reach consensus. Rising nationalism in deeply polarized societies on the one hand and trade wars between nations on the other seem to be in a race to ensure that the only truly globalized entities remaining in the world will either be networks of terror, or cartels running drugs and trafficking people.

Technology has emerged with unprecedented promises of plenty, yet the disruptive forces it unleashes actually demand more of global governance, not less. Therefore the urgent need to explore alternatives to help shape a transition that can restore equilibrium and reset the global order to another phase of harmony and growth.

Here lies the opportunity to reorder old arrangements and re-write the rules to shape human endeavor for this century. It is to this task that Raisina attempts to bring diverse voices. It tries to provide a platform where diversity is celebrated in both its form and content. That is the one principle shaping the design of this global summit located in New Delhi.

I wish the Dialogue all the Best for three days of insightful discussions that can break new ground in contributing to an inclusive world at peace with itself..

—Sunjoy Joshi





## Curator's Note

**Samir Saran**  
President, ORF

**P**ERHAPS 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 it 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 agency 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. 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, 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 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.

**T**HE 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 Pacific and the Atlantic Ocean, even as the regions' incumbent powers scramble to create new arrangements. The Indo-Pacific, meanwhile, is already fast becoming a domain for great power competition. Yet, 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, then, 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.

The emergence of these new geographies is no coincidence. They are symptoms of a new normal in global politics—the eastward tilt in the concentration of economic wealth and military might. Two prominent questions arise from this trend. For one, what does this mean for the West? Can the liberal international order remain viable even as Western values, norms and influence steadily decline in international affairs? Second, what is the future of governance in Asia? The rise of new powers and interests is necessitating the ideation of new norms and institutions; however, there is little consensus on how to go about this process as old tensions eclipse the potential for cooperation.

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. Both the US and China are exerting their influence upon the rules of trade and commerce—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?

**E**VEN 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 finance to fuel their sustainable development pathways, while trillions of dollars remain locked up in Western pension funds and insurance schemes. 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 certainly 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 America.

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 made more accountable to the constituencies that drive their growth and profit. Or else must we rethink regulation that 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.

**T**HIS year at Raisina, we also explore an often-ignored aspect of governance; one that will be increasingly relevant in today's complex world: leadership. In a world buffeted by multiple headwinds, it appears that we are experiencing 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 the same relationship with the world. Its billion-plus population is an embodiment of all that is right with the world and 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 and religion and identities and ideas intermingle to script a unique narrative of progress.

It 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 1,500 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. ■



P R O G R A M M E

S P E A K E R S

D E L E G A T E S

Y O U N G F E L L O W S

A L U M N I

I N F O R M A T I O N

# 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. 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, Vertech 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 spreading? And how can the politics of developing countries be re-ordered around the provision of basic health?*

**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 Triangle, where national security, privacy, and economic growth are impossible to 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 generally, 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 Bricky**, 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 will feel 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 they 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.

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

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><b>Durbar: Amoebic, Asymmetric and Anarchic: Countering Terrorism as it Evolves</b></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><b>General Bipin Rawat</b>, Chief of Army Staff, India.</p> <p><b>Max Abrahms</b>, Assistant Professor, Northeastern University, USA.</p> <p><b>Husain Haqqani</b>, Senior Fellow and Director for South and Central Asia, Hudson Institute, USA.</p> <p><b>Virginia Comolli</b>, Senior Fellow for Conflict, Security and Development, International Institute for Strategic Studies, UK.</p> <p>Moderated by <b>Yalda Hakim</b>, Host, BBC World News, UK.</p>
1000-1100	Panel Discussion	<p><b>Durbar: The World in a Moment: Looking Back, Looking Ahead, Looking Hard</b></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 geo-politics—and what can the past teach us about the present, and the future?</i></p> <p><b>Gen. (Retd.) David H. Petraeus</b>, Chairman, KKR Global Institute, USA.</p> <p><b>Helga Schmid</b>, Secretary-General, European External Action Service.</p> <p><b>Paolo Gentiloni</b>, Former Prime Minister, Italy.</p> <p><b>S. Jaishankar</b>, President, Global Corporate Affairs, Tata Group, India</p> <p>Moderated by <b>Samir Saran</b>, President, Observer Research Foundation, India.</p> <p><i>Release of Raisina Files 2019</i></p>
1100-1130	Break	
1130-1200	<b>MINISTERIAL ADDRESS</b> At the Durbar	<p> <b>Sushma Swaraj</b>, Minister of External Affairs, India</p> <p>Moderated by <b>Sunjoy Joshi</b>, Chairman, ORF, India</p>
1200-1300	In Conversation	<p> <b>Durbar: Engendered Globalisation: What will it take?</b></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 finance? 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? And 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 **Khalila 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, the continent is today 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 of 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 influence involving individuals, institutions and states. As global governance moves away from states to more diffused and decentralised networks in which governments are but one player, can traditional channels 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 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, India.

**Scott Carpenter**, Managing Director, Jigsaw, USA.

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.  
**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: Leadership through Diversity: Rethinking Agendas, Institutions and Aspirations**

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?

**Keynote Address by Kate Hampton**, Chief Executive Officer, Children's Investment Fund Foundation (CIFF).

**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	<p><b>Durbar: A New Delhi Consensus—India's Imagination and Global Expectations</b></p> <p><i>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?</i></p> <p><b>Gen. (Retd.) V. K. Singh</b>, Minister of State for External Affairs, India.  <b>Mohamad Maliki Osman</b>, Senior Minister of State, Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore.  <b>David Malone</b>, Rector, United Nations University.  <b>Ron Prossor</b>, Former Ambassador to the UN and the UK, Israel.  <b>Theresa Fallon</b>, Founder, Centre for Russia Europe Asia Studies, Belgium.</p> <p>Moderated by <b>Dhruva Jaishankar</b>, Fellow, Foreign Policy, Brookings India.</p>
1000-1100	Panel Discussion	<p><b>Durbar: Africa First: Global Growth’s New Frontier</b></p> <p><i>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?</i></p> <p><b>Reginah Mhaule</b>, Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa.  <b>David Rasquinha</b>, Managing Director, EXIM Bank, India  <b>Koketso Tlhabanelo</b>, Senior Manager, A.T. Kearney, South Africa.  <b>Peter Vowles</b>, Asia Director, Department for International Development, UK.  <b>Stefano Manservigi</b>, Director General, International Cooperation and Development, European Commission.</p> <p>Moderated by <b>T.S. Tirumurti</b>, Secretary (ER), Ministry of External Affairs, India.</p>
1100-1130	Break	
1130-1150	 <p><b>Ministerial Address</b> At the Durbar</p>	<p><b>H.E. Damdin Tsogtbaatar</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mongolia</p>

**DAY-3 Thursday, January 10, 2019**

1150-1250	Panel Discussion	<p><b>Durbar: Conflicted Coalitions: Discussing the Curious Partnerships Shaping Eurasia and Indo-Pacific</b></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><b>Alejandro Alvargonzález</b>, Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs and Security Policy, NATO.</p> <p><b>Geoffrey Van Orden</b>, Member of the European Parliament, UK.</p> <p><b>John Lee</b>, Professor and Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Australia.</p> <p><b>Stephen Smith</b>, Former Minister of Defense, Australia.</p> <p><b>Vice Admiral Herve de Bonnaventure</b>, Deputy Director General, Ministry of Armed Forces, France.</p> <p>Moderated by <b>Alyssa Ayres</b>, Senior Fellow for India, Pakistan, and South Asia, Council of Foreign Relations, USA.</p>
1250-1320	In Conversation	<p><b>Durbar: Hamid Karzai, Former President of Afghanistan</b></p> <p>with <b>Ashok Malik</b>, Press Secretary to the President of India.</p>
1320-1450	Lunch conversations	<p><b>Shahjehan: Shaping Policy in the Asian Century: New Politics, Ethics and Economics</b></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><b>Cameron Munter</b>, Chief Executive Officer and President, East West Institute, USA.</p> <p><b>Gustavo Martinez</b>, Managing Director, Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Internacionales, Argentina.</p> <p><b>Hervé Lemahieu</b>, Director, Asia Power and Diplomacy, Lowy Institute, Australia.</p> <p><b>Neelam Deo</b>, Co-Founder, Gateway House, India.</p> <p><b>Yamini Aiyar</b>, President and Chief Executive, Centre for Policy Research, India.</p> <p>Moderated by <b>James Mcgann</b>, 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 Bhasin**, 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	<p><i>Durbar: <b>Accountable Autonomy: When Machines Kill</b></i></p> <p><i>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?</i></p> <p><b>Gilles Carbonnier</b>, Vice President, International Committee of the Red Cross</p> <p><b>Kara Frederick</b>, Research Associate, Technology and National Security Program, Centre for New American Security, USA.</p> <p><b>Renata Dwan</b>, Director, UN Institute for Disarmament Research.</p> <p><b>Maj. Gen. Susan Ridge</b>, Major General, Army Legal Services, Ministry of Defence, UK.</p> <p>Moderated by <b>Hans-Christian Hagman</b>, Senior Adviser and Head of Strategic Analysis, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden.</p>
1730-1830	Panel Discussion	<p><i>Durbar: <b>Innovation Capital: Ideas for Industrialisation 4.0</b></i></p> <p><i>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?</i></p> <p><b>Omar Al Olama</b>, Minister of State for Artificial Intelligence, UAE.</p> <p><b>Amitabh Kant</b>, Chief Executive Officer, NITI Aayog, India.</p> <p><b>Francis Gurry</b>, Director General, World Intellectual Property Organization.</p> <p><b>Pippa Hall</b>, Director of Innovation and Chief Economist, UK.</p> <p><b>Vivek Lall</b>, Vice President, Lockheed Martin, USA.</p> <p>Moderated by <b>Patrick Kilbride</b>, Senior Vice President, Global Innovation Policy Center, US Chamber of Commerce.</p>
1830-1900	Break	
1900-1920	<p><b>Veledictory Address</b> At the Durbar</p> <p> <b>Dato’ Seri Anwar bin Ibrahim</b>, President of the Parti Keadilan Rakyat, Malaysia</p>	

**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, India.

Moderated by **Colin Crowell**, Vice President, Global Public Policy & Philanthropy, Twitter, USA.

2030-2200



Keynote  
Addresses and  
Interaction

*Jehangir:* **Leadership for Peace: Rebuilding Communities and Capabilities**

*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?*

**Keynote Address by Hamid Karzai**, Former President, Afghanistan.

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





P R O G R A M M E

S P E A K E R S

D E L E G A T E S

Y O U N G F E L L O W S

A L U M N I

I N F O R M A T I O N



# Inauguration



**Erna Solberg**  
Prime Minister of Norway



**Narendra Modi**  
Prime Minister of India

# Speakers



**Alejandro Alvargonzález**

Assistant Secretary General, Political Affairs and Security Policy, NATO.



**Alexander Gabuev**

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



**Alexander Klimburg**

Director, Cyber Policy and Resilience Program; Director, Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace initiative, The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies, Austria.



**Alica Kizeková**

Senior Researcher, Institute of International Relations, Czech Republic.



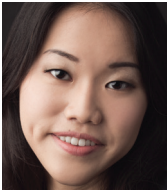
**Alicia Garcia Herrero**

Chief Economist for Asia Pacific, Natixis, France.



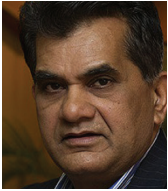
**Alyssa Ayres**

Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, USA.



**Amanda Chong**

Lawyer and Poet, Singapore.



**Amitabh Kant**

Chief Executive Officer, NITI Aayog, India.



**Andreas Schaal**

Director, Global Relations, Organization for Economic Cooperation Development.



**Angelika Arutyunova**

International Feminist Consultant, USA.



**Gen. Angus J. Campbell**

Chief of the Defence Forces, Australia.



**Anja Therese Kaspersen**

Director, Office of Disarmament Affairs, United Nations.



**Anjali Nayyar**

Executive Vice President, Global Health Strategies, India.



**Ankhi Das**

Director of Public Policy, Facebook, India.



**Anton Tsvetov**

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



**Anwar Bin Ibrahim**

President, Parti Keadilan Rakyat, Malaysia



**Ashish Dhawan**

Founder and Chairman, Central Square Foundation, India.



**Ashok Malik**

Press Secretary to the President of India.



**Asle Toje**

Foreign Policy Scholar and Commentator, Member of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, Norway.



**Burcu Baran Türem**

Director, Policy Communities, Global Relations Forum, Turkey.



**Benedetta Berti**

Head of Policy Planning, NATO.



**Gen. Bipin Rawat**

Chief of Army Staff, India.



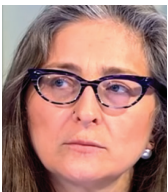
**Brandon Lewis**

Member of Parliament; Chairman of the Conservative Party, UK.



**Chris Felton**

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



**C. Christine Fair**

Professor, Georgetown University, USA.



**C Raja Mohan**

Director, Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore.



**Cameron Munter**

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



**Carl Bildt**

Former Prime Minister, Sweden.



**Catherine Duggan**

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



**Catherine Mulligan**

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



**Chitra Subramaniam**

Editorial Advisor, Republic TV, India.



**Colin Crowell**

Vice President, Global Public Policy & Philanthropy, Twitter, USA.



**Adm. Christophe Prazuck**

Chief of Staff, France.



**Gen. Christopher Michael Deverell**

Commander, Joint Forces Command, UK.





**Daisy Amdany**

Executive Director, Community Advocacy and Awareness Trust, Kenya.



**Dan Schueftan**

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



**Dalia Ghanem Yazbeck**

Resident Scholar, Carnegie Middle East Center, Lebanon.



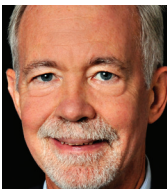
**Damdin Tsogtbaatar**

Minister, Foreign Affairs, Mongolia.



**Daniel Kliman**

Senior Fellow, Center for a New American Security, USA.



**David Malone**

Rector, United Nations University, Japan.



**Gen. (Retd.) David Petraeus**

Chairman, KKR Global Institute, USA.



**David Rasquinha**

Managing Director, Export Import Bank of India, India.



**Deepak Jacob**

President and General Counsel, Legal and Regulatory Affairs, Star India, India.



**Dhruva Jaishankar**

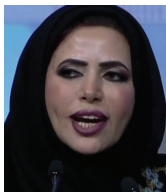
Fellow, Brookings India, India.

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**Dingli Shen**

Professor, Fudan University, China.



**Ebtesam Al Ketbi**

President, Emirates Policy Centre, Abu Dhabi.



**Eli Sugarman**

Program Officer, Hewlett Foundation, USA.



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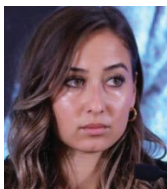
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**Kate Hampton**

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**Katie Harbath**

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**Mohamed El Dahshan**

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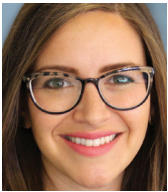
**Pradeep Parameswaran**

President, India and South Asia, Uber.



**Priyank Kanoongo**

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



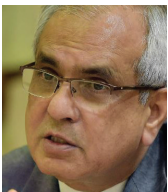
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**Theresa Fallon**

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**Yang Yanyi**

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**Yamini Aiyar**

President and Chief Executive, Center for Policy Research, India



**Yasmin Ali Haque**

Representative, UNICEF India, India.



**Yuanzhe Ren**

Associate Professor, China Foreign Affairs University.



**Žaneta Ozolina**

Head of Department, Political Science, University of Latvia.

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**Ajay Khanna**

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**Lt. Gen. Amarjeet Singh Bedi**

Lieutenant General, Indian Army.



**Vice Admiral Ajit Kumar**

Vice Chief of Naval Staff, Indian Navy, India.



**Andre de Mello e Souza**

Senior Fellow, Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, Brazil.



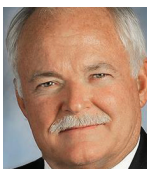
**Akmal Burkhanov**

Member of Parliament; Director, Development Strategy Center, Uzbekistan.



**Anna Ekeledo**

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**Alan Bradley Hicks**

Vice-President, Lockheed Martin, USA.



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**Ayu Abdullah**

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**Bright Gameli**

Co-Founder, Africa HackOn, Kenya.



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**Cathleen Berger**

Global Engagement Lead, Mozilla, Germany.



**Chhaya Shiram**

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**Cristina Serrano Leal**

Director General for International Economic Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, European Union.



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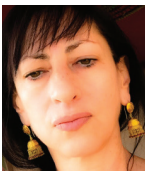
**Georgy Toloraya**  
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**Emma Hakala**  
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**Hsiao, Bi-khim**  
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**Vice Admiral G. Ashok Kumar**  
Deputy Chief of Naval Staff, Indian Navy, India.



**Jakub Klepal**  
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**Gary North**  
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**Jamila Ksiksi**

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**Janaina Tewaney-Lala**

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**Nirbhay Sharma**

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**Philip Parham**

Commonwealth Envoy, UK  
Government, United Kingdom.



**Randall G. Schriver**

Assistant Secretary of Defense  
for Asia and Pacific Security  
Affairs, U.S. Department of  
Defense, USA.



**PK Gulati**

Chief Executive Officer,  
Optimistix Ventures, UAE.



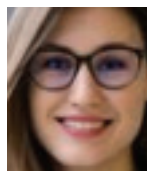
**Ravi Velloor**

Associate Editor and Global  
Affairs Columnist, The Straits  
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**Rebecca Lorentz**  
Faculty Associate, Naval  
Postgraduate School, USA.



**Rūta Miliūtė**  
Member of Parliament, Lithuania



**Reem Al Hashimi**  
Minister of State for International  
Co-operation, UAE.



**Samiran Gupta**  
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India.



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**Rohit Bansal**  
Group Leader, Reliance  
Industries Limited, India.



**William Cohen**  
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Officer, The Cohen Group, USA.



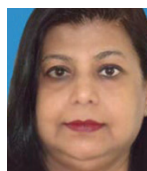
**Riva Ganguly Das**  
Director General, Ministry of  
External Affairs, India.



**Seshadri Vasani**  
Director, Chennai Centre for  
China Studies, India. (Not so  
sure about this photograph will  
find another one)



**Ruhee Neog**  
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Conflict Studies, India.



**Shaheen Afroze**  
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Institute of International and  
Security Studies, Bangladesh.



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**Sunit Tandon**

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**Sharon Buteau**

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**Takenori Horimoto**

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**Vice Admiral  
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Director General Naval Operations, Indian Navy, India.



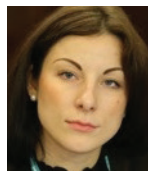
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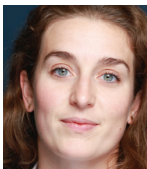
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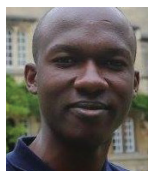
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## Raisina Associated Events

### **Asian Forum for Global Governance (AFGG)**

January 7-16, 2019, ITC Maurya, New Delhi

Organised by ORF, ZEIT Stiftung, Wadhawan Group, NPS

### **India Think Tank Forum**

January 7, 2019, Aftab Mehtab Hall, Taj Mahal Hotel, New Delhi

Organised by: Observer Research Foundation (ORF) and Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program (TTCSP), Lauder Institute, University of Pennsylvania.

### **EU Twining**

January 8, 2019, Mumtaz, Taj Palace, New Delhi

Organised by European Union Delegation to India

### **Roundtable on Transformative Innovation**

January 8, 2019, Nizwam Room, Taj Palace, New Delhi.

Organised by USIBC, GIPC

### **BRICS Think Tank Council**

January 9, 2019, Roshanara, Hotel Taj Man Singh, New Delhi

Organised by BRICS

### **In Conversation with CIFF**

January 9, Noor, Taj Palace, New Delhi

### **A New Agenda with Africa**

January 9, Roshanara, Taj Palace, New Delhi

### **ORF Global Advisory Board**

#### **General Meeting**

January 9, 2019, Noor, Taj Palace, New Delhi

#### **Breakfast**

January 10, 2019, Roshanara, Taj Palace, New Delhi

### **Addressing the Accountability Gap in Cyberspace**

January 10, 2019, Chaitya, ITC Maurya, New Delhi.

Organised by Microsoft & Hewlett

### **Facebook Saloon**

January 10, 2019, Roshanara, Taj Palace, New Delhi

Organised by Facebook

### **U.S.-India Nuclear Safety and Security Forum**

January 11, 2019, ITC Maurya, New Delhi

Organised by the Naval Postgraduate School, USA and Observer Research Foundation, India

# Raisina: Dialogues from Facebook

January 9, 2019

**In Conversation with Erna Solberg**

**There is no political center left, right?**

**Rockets & Tweets: The Korean Peninsula in the time of Trump**

**The Seven Habits of Highly Effective Terrorists**

**The Commonwealth & Us: Why should 19th-century bonds matter in the 21st century?**

**Centralised Capital, Distributed Ledgers: Will the Internet work for us or for the 1%?**

**Fresh Waters: Europe in the Indian Ocean**

**Soft Power, Hard Choices: Influence & Ideas in the Asian Century**

**The Swing Continent: What is South America's Place in the World Re-order?**

**FTAs: Taking the Pulse of Globalisation**

**Big Data, Fresh Oppression: Can we still avoid a high-tech dystopia?**

**Rights vs Risks: Does securing the world mean controlling the Internet?**

January 10, 2019

**Two by Land, One by Sea: Can Eurasian & Indo-Pacific strategies converge?**

**In Conversation with Dato' Seri Anwar Bin Ibrahim**

**The Dubai Model: City, immigration, innovation**

**One Union, Two Europes?**

**Women in Power: Getting there and staying there**

**Technology in a Troubled World: Peacekeeper or weapon?**

**Counter-terrorism & Cooperation: How can we help each other?**

**Africa is rising, but is it rising fast enough?**

**Liberal Democracy on Life Support: Will the internet kill it or save it?**

**Eastern Partnerships, Eastern Perils: Is an endangered Europe a stronger Europe?**

**Financing Green Transitions: Why aren't  
Western institutions filling the investment gap?**

## Hosts



**Vijay Gokhle**

Foreign Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs,  
Government of India



**Sunjoy Joshi**

Chairman, Observer Research Foundation



**Dr. Samir Saran**

President, Observer Research Foundation



**Gaddam Dharmendra**

Additional Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs,  
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Programme Director, ORF



**Arka Biswas**  
Associate Fellow, ORF



**Brig. Naveen Nijhawan**  
OSD, Policy Planning and Research,  
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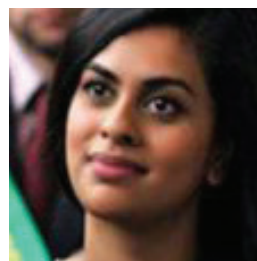
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**Ritika Passi**  
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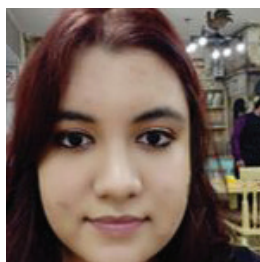
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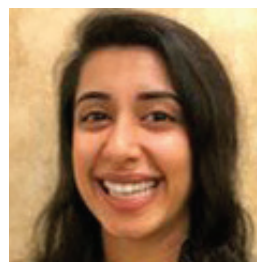
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**Kamakshi Katyal**  
Research Intern, ORF

# Location New Delhi Taj Palace Hotel

## LEGENDS

★ Conference Venue

★ Other Hotels

■ Park/Forest

Map not to scale



# Venue

## Conference map

Locate your sessions/facilities at the Taj Palace Hotel



# Raisina Dialogue Charter of Participation

**A**T The Raisina Dialogue, we intend to foster an inclusive and diverse environment with participants from as many different backgrounds as possible. We place a high premium on ensuring that the conference is an open and safe venue for every attendee, regardless of gender identity, sexual orientation, nationality, ethnicity, religion, or disability. With this goal in mind, we request that all those associated with the Raisina Dialogue, including participants, organisers and hotel staff, follow our Charter of Participation and understand the repercussions of any violations. We will also announce house rules and updates throughout the conference, which we request all to follow as well.

## VIOLATIONS OF THE CHARTER OF PARTICIPATION

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

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

## RESOURCES

### Reporting Inappropriate Conduct:

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

### Law Enforcement

If an emergency arises, please first contact the Delhi police immediately by dialling 100 and proceed to notify a conference organiser of the issue.

### Doctor on Staff

We will have a doctor on-call throughout the conference. In the event you need medical attention, please contact Mr. Vijay Seth at +91 9910028658.

## EXPECTED CONDUCT

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

### Attendance and Dress Code

We restrict access to the Raisina Dialogue to participants with valid confirmation cards. All participants must attend the conference in formal attire. For professionals, we request you dress in business formal or traditional.

### Conference Participation

During the conference, we request all involved to be respectful, understanding and mindful of fellow participants. Conversations should be framed in an open and inclusive manner, and profanity or slurs are strictly prohibited. If you choose to attend a panel discussion, we request you stay seated for the duration of the event.

### Drugs and Alcohol

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

### Safety

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

## ANTI-HARASSMENT POLICY

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

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

# Media Advisory

## REGISTRATION

In order to cover the Raisina Dialogue, interested members of the media must register and receive a confirmation email. Please find a link to the registration page here: <https://www.orfonline.org/raisinadialogue/new-media-registration/>.

Upon confirmation, each member of the media will receive further instructions that will facilitate your participation.

## CONFERENCE ACCESS

The Raisina Dialogue will be held in New Delhi from Tuesday, January 8th to Thursday, January 10th, 2019 at the Taj Diplomatic Enclave. On January 8th, registration for media opens at 15:00 in the lobby of the hotel. The inaugural address, which is open to the media, begins at 18:00. Please ensure that you are present at the registration desk at least two hours before the inaugural address.

Registration and entry will be closed at 17:00. The inaugural dinner sessions following the address are by invitation only, however, we invite the media to join us for meals in Rani Bagh throughout the conference. January 9th and 10th will consist of full day sessions starting at approximately 9:00. The media will have access to all public sessions. If someone is interested in recording any of the other sessions for broadcast purposes, please seek specific and special permission by email at [raisinadialogue@orfonline.org](mailto:raisinadialogue@orfonline.org) with the subject line "Raisina 2019: Media Special Permission." We will do our best to accommodate your request.

The agenda will be made public three days prior to the conference. Please keep in mind that session timings are subject to change. Please follow the Raisina Dialogue Twitter handle (@RaisinaDialogue), facebook page (@orfonline) and our website for updates on changes to the schedule.

## CONFERENCE LOGISTICS

Camera risers and audio output will be available at the back of each public session on a first come, first serve basis. These risers will have space for approximately 12 cameras. There will be a media room available in the hotel for interviews with important dignitaries. Media outlets shall arrange for their own equipment. To reserve the room, please email [raisinadialogue@orfonline.org](mailto:raisinadialogue@orfonline.org) with the subject "Raisina 2019: Media Room Reservation" and indicate the time slot you would like to reserve. You are requested to arrange your own times with interviewees. We will be happy to forward your request for an interview but will not be responsible should the interviewee not respond.

In addition to the private media room, there will be an open, designated zone in the foyer area where the media can conduct public interviews. Please be mindful and brief while using this space.

## MEDIA CODE OF CONDUCT

All members of the media are bound by The Raisina Dialogue Charter of Participation, which is available on the registration page. If any members of the media are found in violation of conference rules, access may be revoked.

In addition, we expect the media to be transparent and accurate in its reporting of conference events. During the conference, the media is expected only to report on active sessions and discussions, as well as mutually consented interviews.

For all media coverage during and following the conference, "The Raisina Dialogue" and its hosts "The Observer Research Foundation" and "The Ministry of External Affairs, India" must be acknowledged in full.

No media organization/personnel may use videos, stills, photos and/or related Intellectual Property, excluding mutually consented interviews, for any purpose other than general public viewing. All use must be duly attributed to the "Raisina Dialogue" and its hosts the "Observer Research Foundation" and the "Ministry of External Affairs, India." All Media including photos, videos and any other form of electronic recording at the Raisina Dialogue are shared by the Observer Research Foundation for fair and non-commercial use under a Creative Commons 4.0 License.

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# Raisina 2019 Partners

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