



# CHATURANGA

CONFLICT, CONTEST, COOPERATE, CREATE

**Conference Booklet**

21-23 February, 2024

New Delhi, India



RAISINA

DIALOGUE 2024



**RAISINA**

**DIALOGUE 2024**

# **CHATURANGA**

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The Raisina Dialogue is India's flagship conference on geopolitics and geoeconomics, and is hosted by the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) and the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India.

Since its inception in 2016, the Dialogue has been committed to addressing the most challenging issues facing the global community. Every year, leaders in politics, business, media, and civil society converge in New Delhi to discuss the state of the world and explore opportunities for cooperation on a wide range of contemporary matters.

This year, participants from over 115 countries will gather at this ideas arena. They will share unique perspectives, concerns, and experiences that are essential for charting important pathways, building consensus, and strengthening communities for our common future.



# RAISINA

DIALOGUE 2024

Organising Partners



**Ministry of External Affairs**  
Government of India



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This booklet is created by collating information from participants, speakers, and other key organisers of the event. Although due diligence has been applied while editing and publishing the book, inadvertent human errors are plausible and sometimes unavoidable. Since the speakers' schedule and other aspects of the programme can change at the last minute, the schedule and agenda published in this book might be different from the actual. Please check [www.raisinadialogue.org/agenda](http://www.raisinadialogue.org/agenda) for the latest agenda.

For any publishing or factual errors, please notify **Stelin Paul** ([stelinpaul@orfonline.org](mailto:stelinpaul@orfonline.org)).



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## Messages





### Message

The 9<sup>th</sup> edition of the Raisina Dialogue focuses very appropriately on the ancient Indian strategy game of Chaturanga. While its underlying theme is the reality of competition that has long characterized world politics, its elements are the facets of Conflict, Contest, Cooperate and Create. These four dimensions today drive the games that nations continue to play. It is the risks, challenges, choices and outcomes that the Raisina Dialogue gathers to deliberate upon.

We can all see for ourselves the reality of re-balancing that is compelling the democratization of the global order. The G20 that India just chaired is itself a reminder of the transformation of our times. But these trends, however imperfect and incomplete they may be, are not proofed against the shocks which international politics experiences from time to time. This decade, we have already seen the backlash against globalization develop into a potent force in many societies. The trauma of the Covid was magnified by the dangers of over-concentration. Across geographies, societies are now seeking to be more resilient and self-sufficient. Two years ago, the fighting in Ukraine dominated the debate. In the last few months, the conflict in Gaza has captured our collective attention. Even as they unfold, the possibilities and challenges of emerging technologies are beginning to be assessed and analyzed. As always, the old and established co-exist with the new and disruptive.

Over the next few days, the Raisina Dialogue will host conversations and hear arguments on the pressing issues of our times. In doing so, it would reaffirm its salience as a key venue of the global public space. I welcome all participants and look forward to the discussions.

  
(Dr. S. Jaishankar)

# CHATURANGA

CONFLICT, CONTEST, COOPERATE, CREATE

## Message



From the Chairman,  
Observer Research Foundation

**THE FIRST QUARTER** of the 21<sup>st</sup> century will go down as an interregnum (a period caught in the crosshairs of a transition), a time of upheaval and discord, when established structures and expected norms come under intense scrutiny. In the midst of this churn, we find ourselves in a divided world—a world cleft in twain, each hemisphere scared and haunted by the shadow of the other.

There are some today who despair the return of another Dark Age. The parallels are numerous. For one, a Black Death came a-knocking at the turn of the decade. The prosperous fenced themselves in while the rest suffered inhumane losses. War proliferated across the face of the globe, with conflicts no longer constrained

by rules or conventions. New instruments of war—cutting off access to food, energy, finance, data, and information—were deployed at scale.

Yet these are not the Dark Ages, and the digital age is no descent into darkness. To the contrary, it is a case of being blinded by too much light, being bombarded with stimuli from all directions, being rendered dumb and blind in the hypnotic glare of sleepless screens. This hyper-stimulation and hyper-saturation of media has confounded our ability to tell truth from falsehood. As a result, disinformation spreads further, faster, deeper, and far wider than any truth. Each tweet chips away at the very foundation of mutual trust. No wonder that, as a majority of the world's population approaches elections this year, a fear looms: can democracies endure attacks from ideological opponents, on the one hand, and algorithms designed to deceive, on the other?

Then there is the biggest dilemma of the times: how do democracies surmount the temptation to emulate the other, to allow fear to transform them into becoming the very enemy they set out to defeat, to lose in essence what it means to be a democracy? More importantly, if this were to happen, who would win and who would lose?

And so it was that the central idea of Raisina 2024 evolved: Chaturanga, that board game extending across all four domains.

The saying goes that this ancient game of warcraft was devised by none other than Mandodari, the queen consort of the demon king Ravana. She, who was a pious, god-fearing woman, aimed to keep her war-mongering spouse away from real conflict by immersing him in a virtual one. What a prescient narrative, more applicable today than ever before! It is peculiarly apt at describing a time when the virtual has acquired greater power than the real, when algorithms exert control over vast swathes of humans and their lives, when we find ourselves numbed and swayed by the graphic images and curated content that inundate our smartphones.

But Chaturanga has yet another meaning besides warcraft. It is a genre of musical composition, a performance in four parts spun out in real time where the notes, the words, the meanings, and the rhythms come together to make a harmonious whole. Far from a game of conflict and discord, Chaturanga is about exploring the harmony of concord.

## Raisina Dialogue 2024

While the global panorama may appear pessimistic, 2023 emerged as a pivotal year for forging consensus, within the Global South as well as across the North and South. The global community was able to reconsider its approach and engage with longstanding allies.

As we convene the 9<sup>th</sup> edition of the Raisina Dialogue, we aspire to build upon India's G20 legacy of fostering consensus and devising global solutions. I extend my best wishes to all engaging in thought-provoking conversations that engender a shift from conflicts and contests to cooperation and creation. May these dialogues help pave the way for a better world for all.

- **Sunjoy Joshi**

# CHATURANGA

CONFLICT, CONTEST, COOPERATE, CREATE

## Curator's Note



From the President,  
Observer Research Foundation

**2024 IS A HISTORIC YEAR.** With over two billion humans going to the polling station and at least 64 countries holding national elections, more than half of humanity will exercise its franchise. As such, 2024 will go down as the single biggest election year. Elections represent hope, optimism, and the quest for a better future. But they also engender anxiety and uncertainty about what is to come. We are at an inflection point for the world. As the old order lies broken, actions taken at this critical juncture will script a new architecture. Decisions made at this pivotal crossroads will shape the trajectory of generations to come.

The theme of this edition of the Raisina Dialogue is perhaps more apt than

ever before. Chaturanga, the ancient Indian game of battlefield strategy and the ancestor of modern chess, involved four elements: infantry, artillery, elephantry, and chariotry. In older times, when civilisations were built on hard power and coercion, these were the four tools that dominated and decided the politics of the day. With time, the world has evolved and grown more complex. The means have changed, but the ends remain the same.

Our theme, “Chaturanga: Conflict, Contest, Cooperate, Create”, succinctly describes this reality. It engages with the four trends visible in today’s world that, intermixing and intermingling, weave a complex tapestry. How do we navigate these four trends as individuals, as communities, as countries, as a collective? What is the Chaturanga of today?

### **Conflict**

For the past two years, we have been living in a world at war; 2022 and 2023 saw conflict than at any time in the post-1945 period. Hamas’ unspeakable acts of terror and Israel’s muscular response, along with conflicts in Syria, Lebanon, and Yemen, have set the Middle East ablaze yet again. The largest war in Europe in eight decades, armed conflicts in Africa, cartel violence in the Americas, and most recently Iran’s bombing of Pakistan are under threat across the world.

### **Contest**

Pax Americana has coughed, sputtered, and died. Multipolarity defines the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Geopolitics is today characterised by powers large and small contesting each other, vying for power on the regional and on the global stage. China is attempting to exploit the postwar global architecture through its expansive and intrusive politics, affecting the economic fate of numerous countries. The contest between EU and Russia has impacted the bottom-lines of millions across the world, at grocery stores and at gas pumps. As world powers compete, world citizens suffer. Persistent global challenges require patient global collaboration. This is in short supply today.

### **Cooperate**

The Pandora’s box of multipolarity has unleashed troubling forces. But it also holds hope. India’s G20 Presidency demonstrated conclusively that even in a polarised,



divided, and divisive time, consensus can be built. The cooperation achieved in New Delhi on global climate action is heartening. India has foregrounded Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam, emphasising the inherent unity of the world and the common nature of our strivings. Brazil 2024 will represent the third successive year that the G20 is being hosted in the Global South. Out of the ashes of the old order can rise the phoenix of a new vision, one that is more inclusive and more equitable than anything that came before.

### **Create**

After the agricultural and the industrial revolutions, we are today witnessing a new revolution of equal disruptive potential. The technology revolution is changing the fabric of the modern world. Forces of creative destruction are rejuvenated and re-energised. After years of lethargy and slumber, innovation is back on the agenda. While the promise of generative AI is vast, its realisation will require creativity and deliberation. India is at the forefront of ensuring dividends of this revolution flow to the many and not the few. We are democratising AI. Already, a quarter of all open-source AI code is written in India. It will be Indian minds that harness the good and leverage it for a better and brighter world.

The undergirding of the postwar political order has given way. At the same time, the 21st century world order is still inchoate. It is a fallacy to wait for an opportune moment to architect the new order. The future is being written and rewritten every day. The actions of today will create the normal of tomorrow. The Raisina Dialogue simply aims to ensure that the script being written does not mirror ones that came before.

While discourse lingers in and on the past, the Raisina Dialogue provides a rare opportunity to look to the future. This is the goal of the 2024 Dialogue: to script a truly forward-looking agenda by cutting through doublespeak, spin doctoring, and politicking. To navigate pathways for a world where conflict is a rampant reality and contests are omnipresent, but where cooperation exists and creation abounds. To engage diverse voices in open and frank discussion with the ultimate end of building an inclusive infrastructure for the 21st century.

2024 is truly make-or-break. At this decisive fork, will we have the courage to take the road less travelled? "No" is no answer.

**- Dr Samir Saran**



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## Agenda



Raisina Dialogue 2024 is held under the auspices of **Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India** and **Observer Research Foundation**.

#### DAY ONE: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 2024

0930-1200

**Conference Opener** at *Mumtaz*

##### **India-Armenia Dialogue**

India and Armenia are building a partnership at a time when the global political and economic order is undergoing a reinvention. India-Armenia ties stand at the precipice of a reinvention of global geoeconomics. The Yerevan-New Delhi bilateral is expanding into a definitive strategic relationship, with significant cooperation from the defence sector to critical technologies, minerals to pharmaceuticals. Even so the Caucasus and the Indian subcontinent have much to catch up on. This dialogue aims to bring the best minds from both sides to the Raisina platform and develop both ambitious blueprints and practical steps.

**Welcome Address:** **Sunjoy Joshi**, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India

**Keynote:** **Narek Mkrtchyan**, Minister of Labor and Social Affairs, Armenia

**Panel 1: India-Armenia Geostrategic Cooperation: From Security to Defence**

**Panel 2: Platforming a New Geoeconomics: Technology, Energy, Connectivity**

DAY ONE: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 2024	
1230-1400	<p><b>Conference Opener</b> at <i>Mumtaz</i></p> <p><b>UNSC First: Reforming Multilateralism</b></p> <p>As the world faces new wars, resurgent conflicts and human crises the United Nations Security Council's ability to function effectively and fairly is being questioned ever more widely. Its permanent membership does not reflect the reality of representation and influence in the 21<sup>st</sup> century; and its resolutions' efficacy is dwindling. The wars in Gaza and Ukraine are a strong indictment of the Security Council's role; and thus, calls for its equitable and just reform must be answered.</p> <p>Can the permanent members' veto to serve narrow national interests in the UNSC be defended in the face of deepening and interlocking crises, and how can permanent membership be reformed? How can the UNSC meaningfully accommodate more diverse perspectives and voices? Can a reform of UNSC be meaningful without reforming the outdated permanent member composition which reflects the geopolitical reality of 1945? What are the ways in which the UNSC can recover its lost credibility and authority? Is the Summit of the Future a critical opportunity to save the UN and what tangible measures must be announced in a time bound manner?</p> <p><b>Alexander Marschik</b>, Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Austria  <b>Inga Rhonda King</b>, Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Saint Vincent and Grenadines  <b>Tareq M. A. M. Albanai</b>, Permanent Representative to the United Nations, State of Kuwait  <b>Eenam Gambhir</b>, Joint Secretary (UNP), Ministry of External Affairs, India  <b>Moderator: Dhruva Jaishankar</b>, Executive Director, Observer Research Foundation America, United States</p>

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## Programme

### DAY ONE: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 2024

1800-1900	<b>Inaugural Session at <i>Durbar</i></b>
1900-1945	<b>Transition</b>
1945-2145 <i>Inaugural Dinners</i>  (By Invite Only)	<p><b><i>Shahjehan</i> Looking Back, Looking Ahead: The Long Decade</b></p> <p><b>Welcome Remarks:</b> <b>Vinay Mohan Kwatra</b>, Foreign Secretary, India <b>Featured Address:</b> <b>James Beacham</b>, Particle Physicist at the Large Hadron Collider, CERN, Switzerland</p> <p><b>Panel Discussion: Looking Back, Looking Ahead: The Long Decade</b> Humanity in 2024 faces three intensifying crises. First, the foundation of the postwar order has collapsed; a loss of credibility for multilateral institutions renders global action difficult, if not impossible. Peace is its most visible victim. Second, after decades of good economics being good geopolitics, economic efficiency and geopolitical demands are no longer aligned. Globalisation is no longer fashionable. Third, technologies and digital platforms have reshaped societal and national arrangements, with domestic and international compacts unable to keep pace. This panel will look back to look forward, looking for lessons in the past that can inform our solutions for the future.</p> <p>How can we revive, restore and reform multilateralism and create the energy needed for effective global action? On what occasions in the past—from the financial crisis to the pandemic—has global action worked, and what can we learn from those? Can globalisation be saved? What are the lessons from the past three decades of growth that should inform the new age of economic nationalism? How can the choices we make in 2024, in voting booths, boardrooms, and negotiating chambers, pave the way for global collaboration and conciliation?</p> <p><b>Shirley Ayorkor Botchwey</b>, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Ghana <b>Janaina Isabel Tewaney Mencomo</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Panama <b>Maneesh Gobin</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Regional Integration and International Trade, Mauritius <b>Peter Mandelson</b>, Chairman, Global Counsel and Former European Trade Commissioner, United Kingdom <b>Benedikt Franke</b>, Vice-Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Munich Security Conference, Germany <b>Master of Ceremonies:</b> <b>Samir Saran</b>, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>

**DAY ONE: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 2024**

1945-2145  
Inaugural  
Dinners

(By Invite Only)

*Mumtaz* **New Fuels, New Aspirations and a New Security: How Energy Access Shapes the World**

The economics, politics and even internal cohesion of countries across the world — particularly in the Global South — depends on expanding their populations' access to reliable energy. The green transition has complicated this effort, but has also opened new avenues for economic progress and job creation that would accompany an updated global energy order.

How has energy security become central to geoeconomic debates? How can opportunities with renewable energy solutions, electric vehicles, batteries and critical transition minerals advance development goals? What role does transition finance play? What global coalitions can be formed to enable countries to converge energy transition aspirations?

**Amitabh Kant**, G20 Sherpa, India

**Herbert Krapa**, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Energy, Ghana

**Manal Shehabi**, Founding Director, SHEER Research & Advisory Ltd; Associate Faculty Member, University of Oxford, United Kingdom

**Mounia Boucetta**, Senior Fellow, Policy Center for the New South, Morocco

**Timur Gül**, Chief Energy Technology Officer, International Energy Agency, France

**Moderator: Kanika Chawla**, Chief of Staff, Sustainable Energy for All, United State

*Jehangir* **Navigating Health Futures: Equity and Inclusion in a Dynamic World**

Developments in digital medicine, vaccines tech, and targeted therapies demand a granular understanding of the context in which health solutions are offered. The pandemic has demonstrated lacunae in coverage, and inefficiencies or inaccuracies in the delivery of health services. Collaboration is required between the government, public health institutions, tech disruptors and bioscience innovators.

How can we ensure healthcare advancements are inclusive, catering to the diverse needs of all segments of society? How can health systems ensure they are grounded in local cultures and the responsible use of technology, in their quest for inclusivity? What potential do cross-sectoral collaborations hold in amplifying the impact of health equity and inclusion initiatives?

**Nitya Khemka**, Director, PATH, United Kingdom

**Sue Hoosain**, Network General Manager, Unjani Clinics NPC, South Africa

**Sujay Santra**, Founder & CEO, ikure Techsoft Pvt. Ltd., India

**Vaibhavi Choksi**, General Manager, India & South Asia Region, Gilead Sciences, India

**Yongyuth Yuthavong**, Senior Specialist, Biotechnology, BIOTEC National S&T Development Agency, Thailand Science Park, Thailand

**Moderator: Sonam Yangchen**, Chief Executive Officer, Institute of Health Partners, Bhutan

**DAY ONE: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 2024**

1945-2145 <i>Inaugural Dinners</i>  <i>(By Invite Only)</i>	<p><i>Roshanara</i> <b>South Rising: Institutionalising a South First Approach at G20</b></p> <p>Four successive G20 presidencies in the developing world represent a unique opportunity to highlight the needs, aspirations and ambitions of the Global South. That will require, however, building inclusive systems that represent the voice of all developing countries at the high table of global governance – and ensuring that the ideas created in each of these presidencies sustain and even gain momentum.</p> <p>How can Brazil and South Africa raise issues that are important to the Global South and build on the efforts and success of the Indonesian and Indian G20 presidencies? How does the addition of the African Union change the G20 charter in terms of inclusivity and accessibility? Can attributes such as “green”, “digital first” and “women-led” add to the G20’s positioning and accommodation of new constituencies, mediums and approaches? How can the Global South work with MDBs, intergovernmental organisations and private funds to forge practicable partnerships and to create additional sources of finance?</p> <p><b>Scene Setter: Candith Mashego-Dlamini</b>, Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa</p> <p><b>Panel Discussion:</b>  <b>Muktesh Kumar Pardeshi</b>, Secretary (CPV and OIA), Ministry of External Affairs, India  <b>Saïd Abass Ahamed</b>, Ambassador and Special Envoy of the President of the African Union  <b>Anna-Katharina Hornidge</b>, Director, German Institute of Development and Sustainability, Germany  <b>Dino Patti Djalal</b>, Founder and Chairman, Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia, Indonesia  <b>Fabio Soares</b>, Director, Institute for Applied Economic Research, Brazil  <b>Moderator: Sarah Anyang Agbor</b>, Director of African Union Affairs, African Renaissance Trust, Cameroon</p>
2145-2220	Break

## DAY ONE: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 2024

2220-2310

Conversations  
Over Kahwa

Mumtaz **The State, the Non-state and the Quasi-State: Responding to 3D Terror**

The threat landscape has evolved drastically, opening new frontiers when it comes to terrorism. Proliferation of terrorism through state-sponsored actors such as those promoted by Pakistan, lone-wolves radicalised on social media, and entities like Hamas perfecting the art of hybrid warfare have demonstrated potential to orchestrate highly destructive operations with minimal resources. Malevolent actors are already exploiting disruptive technologies such as 3D printing and autonomous weapons while also weaponizing unregulated spaces such as AI and crypto. Nations grapple with security and humanitarian concerns while seeking to maintain stability in conflict's rapidly changing landscape.

How can nations cooperate to dismantle rogue entities operating under state protection or using friendly states to promote terror? FATF and similar financial measures have had limited success. Are there other economic and political tools available to dissuade states from nurturing and deploying non-state militant actors? Is it time to consider a fresh, all-encompassing multilateral arrangement to eliminate terror sanctuaries and groups operating in different geographies? Is this even feasible? With international cooperation both fragmented and elusive, what are the best practices and strategies for sustainable deterrence against state-sponsored and state-nurtured terrorism?

**Stephen Harper**, Former Prime Minister, Canada

**Erin Saltman**, Director of Programming, Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism, United Kingdom

**James Carafano**, Vice President, Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy, The Heritage Foundation, United States

**Marcin Bużański**, Senior Advisor, Warsaw Security Forum, Poland

**Shlomit Wagman**, Harvard University; Rapyd; Former Chair, Money Laundering and Terror Financing Authority, Israel

**Moderator: Marie Schröter**, Country Director, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Philippines, Germany



**DAY ONE: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 2024**

2220-2310

*Conversations  
Over Kahwa***Roshanara Woke Politics? Mobilisations vs Money**

The word 'woke', once a neutral descriptor that conveyed a wider awareness of racial and social issues, is now a signifier for a deep and politicised cleavage between left and right. Culture wars have taken over the discourse of both boardrooms and academic institutions; a stark divide between 'woke' and 'anti-woke' positions have sharpened through social media mobilisation. Bankers, politicians and celebrities have been forced to take sides. Universities are both incubators of and battlefields for extreme positions on either side, whether through student and faculty protests or decisions by boards and funders.

Is conflict brewing between those in positions of leadership in institutions and others in non-leadership positions? Can institutions of higher learning balance academic freedom with unbridled social justice activism? How can institutions and capital allocators navigate the culture wars? Or has the 'S' in ESG become synonymous with wokeness?

**Ana Miguel dos Santos**, Former Deputy of the Portuguese Assembly of the Republic, Portugal

**Robin Niblett**, Distinguished Fellow, Chatham House, United Kingdom

**Gladden Pappin**, President, Hungarian Institute of International Affairs, Hungary

**Ravi Agrawal**, Editor-in-Chief, Foreign Policy, United States

**Wiebke Winter**, Member of the National Board, Christian Democratic Union, Germany

**Moderator: Shamika Ravi**, Member, Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, India

DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024	
0730-0845	<p><i>Shahjehan</i> <b>Deterrence and Decoupling: Decoding the West's China Stance</b></p> <p><i>Conversations over Breakfast</i></p> <p>From the vantage point of the Indo-Pacific, the West's narratives on dealing with China's rise appear increasingly confused. Western business continues to depend upon Chinese productivity and industrial heft, and "decoupling" has become "derisking". The Chinese government appears confident of rising above any tech-based embargoes and has not shown any sign of decreasing pressure on Taiwan.</p> <p>What strategies do the countries of Europe and the United States intend to use to retain a technological edge and economic lead over China? What is the depth of commitment that the countries of the Indo-Pacific could expect if a crisis blows up – say around Taiwan – in 2024, given that politics in some countries has turned inward, and there are already two conflagrations in progress? As the Chinese economy stalls, is Western business more ready to decouple from China in 2024 than it was earlier?</p> <p><b>Carl Bildt</b>, Former Prime Minister, Sweden  <b>Rajeswari Rajagopalan</b>, Director, Centre for Security, Strategy, and Technology, Observer Research Foundation, India  <b>Abigaël Vasselier</b>, Head of Foreign Relations, Mercator Institute for China Studies, Germany  <b>Matt Turpin</b>, Senior Advisor, Palantir Technologies, United States  <b>Theodore Bunzel</b>, Head of Geopolitical Advisory, Lazard, United States  <b>Moderator: Róbert Vass</b>, Founder and President, GLOBSEC, Slovakia</p>

## DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024

0730-0845

**Mumtaz New Value Chains: Electronics, Ecosystems and Prosperity***Conversations  
over Breakfast*

he most valuable products in today's world have that value added to them in multiple, disparate locations. Ensuring they are produced efficiently needs effective supply chains, predictable trade policy, and cutting-edge infrastructure. Most importantly, the producers of this value are attracted to regions with supportive ecosystems of workers, investors, innovators and infrastructure. The green, digitalised economy of the future will feature competition over who can best create these ecosystems.

Can the Global South challenge traditional centres of value accretion when it comes to emerging sectors from electronics to new energy? What role does geopolitics play in this? Can we create partnerships of trust that enable trade and finance to flow? What constraints come in the way of shifting supply chains and creating new ones? Will availability and processing of rare earths and similar minerals prove to be a bottleneck? What policies can address these constraints while being cooperative and not competitive? What reforms are needed to attract new value chains, and how can politicians sell them to their people? What are the broader benefits for communities and nations of ecosystem development?

**Jorge Quiroga**, Former President, Bolivia

**Liew Chin Tong**, Deputy Minister of Investment, Trade and Industry, Malaysia

**Janka Oertel**, Director of the Asia Programme, European Council on Foreign Relations, Germany

**Jaivir Singh**, Vice Chairman, PwC India Foundation, India

**Rachel Rizzo**, Senior Fellow, Europe Center, Atlantic Council, United States

**Moderator: Sharon Stirling**, Chief Operating Officer, Observer Research Foundation America, United States

## DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024

0730-0845

**Jehangir Digital Utopia: Seeking Light at the End of the Tunnel***Conversations  
over Breakfast*

Policymakers globally recognise that technological innovation and adoption is essential for prosperity and inclusion. They seek investment in frontier technologies and clear the way for swift incorporation across the economy and even governance. Yet the creation of a digitalised economy brings with it concern of new forms of social harm, from fraud to cybercrime. Unless regulator capacity keeps up with the growth of the digital economy, the boost from inclusive tech may not materialise.

What is the evolving regulatory consensus on how to trade off public good and public harm? Is this consensus uniform over geographies, or should it consider differing local preferences and constitutional norms? What are the nimble partnerships that can act as a bridge on shaping norms of conduct? How does digital cooperation insulate itself from polarisation in the real world? Are there lessons we can learn from each other on regulatory principles that boost growth and protect individual entrepreneurship and rights? Who gets the policy mix right, and how can accountability for digital harms be assigned? How can the citizen, as opposed to the state or the corporation, return to centre-stage in digital policy making? Does digital governance return power to the individual or retain it with companies and bureaucrats?

**Louise Marie Hurel**, Research Fellow, Cyber Programme, Royal United Services Institute, United Kingdom

**Manuel Muñoz Villa**, Provost, IE University, Spain

**Memduh Karakullukçu**, Founding Board Member and Founding President, Global Relations Forum, Türkiye

**Pavlina Pavlova**, Public Policy Advisor, CyberPeace Institute, Austria

**Petra Goude**, Global Practice Leader, Core Enterprise and Cloud, Kyndryl, United States

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

**DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024**

0730-0845

*Conversations  
over Breakfast***Roshanara The BIMSTEC Parley: Inclusive Growth and Sustainable Development**

The Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) is an exceptional cross-regional coalition that is abundant with possibilities—from a young population and aspirational workforce to vast natural resources. Its potential can be tapped by connecting the countries of the region better to each other and the world, as well as through directing finance to the green transition and the blue economy. This panel will examine how the BIMSTEC countries can intensify their internal and external partnerships.

The BIMSTEC countries' trade profiles are generally complementary; how can they leverage the partnership to enhance their competitiveness and boost trade with the rest of the world? Can they tap new sources of financing for urgent developmental needs—including energy access, adaptation to climate change, and infrastructure connectivity? Can BIMSTEC develop internal supply chains that will connect their less developed areas to global markets, and enable their transition to higher-value manufacturing and services? How can they build out sustainable digital connectivity, while also creating new avenues for employment and entrepreneurship in the age of AI and automation? Is there scope for a convergent approach to tech for development in BIMSTEC? How can BIMSTEC become a green growth hub and work with global initiatives and funds to power its energy transitions?

**Scene Setter:** Indra Mani Pandey, Secretary General, BIMSTEC

**Shehan Semasinghe**, State Minister of Finance, Sri Lanka

**Swarnim Wagle**, Member of Parliament, Nepal

**Moongyung Lee**, Policy Analyst, OECD, Republic of Korea

**Sheikh Fazle Fahim**, Chairman, D-8 Chamber of Commerce and Industries, Bangladesh

**Tshering Dorji**, Director, SELISE Digital Platforms, Bhutan

**Moderator: Riya Sinha**, Associate Fellow, Centre for Social and Economic Progress, India

0845-0900

**Transition**

**DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024**

0900-0950

**Northern Lights and Southern Sun: Sustainable De-risking and the New North-South Partnership**

The realities of global supply chains, climate change, and the technological revolution carry profound implications for partnerships between Europe and the Global South. Dependence on China for rare-earth processing, digital components, and green industrial value chains is a growing political concern in both geographies. Against this backdrop, some countries have leveraged their geopolitical positions to foster wider and deeper ties across the energy, trade, and technology domains.

What are the stakes for Europe — including the Nordic and Baltic countries — in the economic realignments underway? Do they have a different assessment to ones in Washington, DC, New Delhi, and Tokyo? Has the green transition motivated a rethinking of geo-economic strategy? Can the Nordic/Baltic region and Europe more generally collaborate with India and Central Asia on critical minerals, supply chains, and emerging technologies? How can relevant investment into the Global South be scaled up? Will a business-first approach to political changes in East Asia ambush policy makers as they were by their energy dependence two years ago?

**Gabrielius Landsbergis**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lithuania

**Lars Løkke Rasmussen**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Denmark

**Martin Eyjólfsson**, Permanent Secretary of State, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Iceland

**Børge Brende**, President, World Economic Forum

**Ummu Salma Bava**, Chairperson and Jean Monnet Chair, Professor for European Studies, Centre for European Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India

**Moderator: Radhicka Kapoor**, Professor, Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations, India

**DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024**

0950-1040

**A Tapestry of Truths: Can the Two Hemispheres Agree?**

The South has been castigated for a supposed failure to uphold universal values amid a European war. On the other hand, the South sees hypocrisy and neglect from the West during the pandemic, and in Afghanistan and the Middle East. In a real-time and unmediated world, both sides have enough ammunition to reduce the other to an unprincipled and untrustworthy partner. This polarised reality makes it difficult to respond to challenges that confront us all. The United Nations has been suborned by great powers and is seeking to find new ways to make itself relevant again. Smaller groups and regional clusters have stitched together a kaleidoscope of solutions that are sometimes sub-optimal and sometimes inefficient.

Can trust in the international system be rebuilt, even in the absence of effective multilateral institutions? Are emerging powers that are more acceptable to a wider array of international actors obliged to stitch together coalitions that work, or is a patchwork of plurilateral agreements a fait accompli? How can the label “Global South” be made aspirational rather than reductive? Can the West and South collaborate? Will anyone take responsibility for such an undertaking? Or is such a contested ecosystem good for domestic politics and economic self-reliance for all sides?

**Hanke Bruins Slot**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Netherlands

**January Yusuf Makamba**, Minister of Foreign Affairs and East African Cooperation, Tanzania

**Jorge Quiroga**, Former President, Bolivia

**Anwar bin Mohammed Gargash**, Diplomatic Advisor to the President, United Arab Emirates

**S. Jaishankar**, Minister of External Affairs, India

**Moderator: Palki Sharma**, Managing Editor, Network18, India

1040-1100

Break

**DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024**

1100-1150

**Solving the Energy Trilemma: Access, Affordability, Availability**

Managing the energy transition is a crucial political imperative. It matters to countries across the world that wish to maintain internal cohesion, create new paths to growth, and enhance economic security. Geopolitical contestation has made this task of management more difficult, but technological change and financial engineering might make it easier.

What are the energy choices for the next six billion consumers that are sustainable, accessible, affordable, and available? What are the old and new fuels that are relevant to these geographies, and how do we focus on lowering emissions as we cater to aspirations? Where will the finance for the energy transition come from? How can we ensure that finance is affordable and of the scale demanded to expand access? How can governments, private capital, and large corporations collaborate to increase global energy security? Institutions and corporations have maintained order, directed investment, and managed shocks in the energy landscape of the last century. Will new avatars of these be needed?

**Amitabh Kant**, G20 Sherpa, India

**Nalinee Taveesin**, Advisor to the Prime Minister, Thailand

**Fahad Aldhubaib**, Senior VP of Strategy & Market Analysis, ARAMCO, Saudi Arabia

**Nicholas Stern**, IG Patel Professor of Economics and Government, London School of Economics, United Kingdom

**Gwendoline Abunaw**, Managing Director, Ecobank, Cameroon

**Moderator: Yasmine Moezinia**, Program Director, Climate Finance, Sequoia Climate Foundation, United States

1150-1220

**In Conversation**

**Ashwini Vaishnaw**, Minister for Communications, Electronics & Information Technology and Railways, India

**Virat Bhatia**, Managing Director, Apple, India



**DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024**

1220-1420

**Shahjehan From the Indo-Pacific to the Med-Atlantic: Geometries of Growth***Lunch**Conversations**(By Invite Only)*

The world has been reminded of the importance of sustainable and secure links between the Indo-Pacific and the Atlantic-Mediterranean. The two zones might not have identical security concerns or economic constraints; but political actors that span the regions have taken major moves towards integration in the recent past. They share concerns about energy security, infrastructure investment and strategic autonomy at a time of increasing great power contestation. This panel will deliberate on how partnerships between the Indo-Pacific and the Atlantic-Mediterranean can grow, and the problems they must address.

How can we create a partnership to secure vital trade between these zones? What promising avenues—such as IMEC—have recently emerged, and what progress has been made? From pipelines to ports, how can we scale up investment in infrastructure that connects these two maritime domains? Is there interest in the private sector for this, and what is the role of the public sector in de-risking new infra proposals? Can people-to-people contact between the regions be expanded? From education to tourism to short-term work permits, is there political appetite for, and economic benefits from, scaling up these interactions?

**Keynote Address: Giorgos Gerapetritis**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Greece

**Keynote Address: Dammu Ravi**, Secretary (ER), Ministry of External Affairs, India

**Panel Discussion:**

**Arancha González**, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, European Union and Cooperation, Spain; Dean, Paris School of International Affairs, Sciences Po, France

**Ebtesam Al-Ketbi**, President, Emirates Policy Centre, United Arab Emirates

**Federico Banos-Lindner**, Group Senior Vice President, Government Relations & Public Affairs, DP World, United Arab Emirates

**Rosa Balfour**, Director, Carnegie Europe, Belgium

**Stefano Sannino**, Secretary-General, European External Action Service, European Union

**Moderator: Symeon Tsomokos**, Founder and President, Delphi Economic Forum, Greece

**DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024**

1220-1420	<b>Mumtaz Whose AI is it Anyway?</b>
<i>Lunch Conversations</i> <i>(By Invite Only)</i>	<p>If the Global South is not at the AI high table, it will be on the menu. Data-trained algorithms may define future prosperity; but the emerging world can legitimately worry that it will merely be the source of the data on which these are trained, and not the location for their development and application.</p> <p>Will India and other developing countries be left behind in the development of a new wave of technology platforms? How can these emerging systems be made more inclusive in how they are created? How can the benefits and profits that they engender be more widely shared? Are there regulatory structures and hubs of innovation in the emerging world that can challenge the traditional tech centres in the Global North?</p> <p><b>Abhishek Singh</b>, Additional Secretary, MeitY; President &amp; CEO NeGD, India  <b>Andy O'Connell</b>, Vice President, Product Policy and Strategy, META, United States  <b>Effy Vayena</b>, Professor, ETH Zurich; Associate Vice President, Digital Transformation &amp; Governance, Switzerland  <b>Pamela Mishkin</b>, Member of Technical Staff, OpenAI, United States  <b>Pratyush Kumar</b>, Co-Founder, Sarvam AI, India  <b>Moderator: Laura Mahrenbach</b>, Adjunct Professor, Technical University of Munich, Germany</p>
1220-1420	<b>Roshanara At the Heart of Business: The India Opportunity</b>
<i>Lunch Conversations</i> <i>(By Invite Only)</i>	<p><b>Conversation with Ashwini Vaishnaw</b>, Minister for Communications, Electronics &amp; Information Technology and Railways, India</p>

**DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024**

1220-1420

***Jehangir* Europe in the Indo-Pacific**

*Lunch  
Conversations  
(By Invite Only)*

The European Union and several of its Member States have developed strategies in recent years to step up engagement with the Indo-Pacific. These strategies recognise the importance of the region to Europe's growth, trade, and economic security, amid concerns on the US-China rivalry. However, newer concerns about security in Europe's own neighbourhood have raised questions about its commitment to the Indo-Pacific.

How does Europe's leadership view the need to de-risk its supply chains in the region, and how will it incentivise businesses to contribute to economic security and reduce dependence on China? Given the importance of the Ukraine war to Europe, will there be any capacity left for the continent to meaningfully engage with the Indo-Pacific? How do the EU and its members address existing networks in the region, such as the Quad?

**Dominique Hasler**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Liechtenstein

**Kajsa Ollongren**, Minister of Defence, Netherlands

**Tariq Ahmad**, Minister of State for the Commonwealth and the United Nations, United Kingdom

**Tobias Lindner**, Minister of State, Federal Foreign Office, Germany

**Władysław Teofil Bartoszewski**, Secretary of State (First Deputy Minister), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland

**Moderator: Shashi Tharoor**, Member of Parliament, India

## DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024

1220-1420

*Sheesh Mahal: Trends @ Raisina*

*Lunch  
Conversations  
(By Invite Only)*

Food for thought at the luncheon hour, this symposium will offer blue-sky analysis of the trends and trajectories that are beginning to implicate geopolitics and geoeconomics. Technologists, thought leaders, policy wonks and practitioners will provide their unique perspective on where the next decade could take us.

**Andrew Shearer**, Director-General, Office of National Intelligence, Australia

- How are geopolitical forces reshaping global supply chains and economies, and what will be the longer-term impacts?

**Mallory Knodel**, Chief Technology Officer, Centre for Democracy and Technology, United States

- Can international collaboration on cyber-crime respond to the challenges of new tech while also preserving citizens' rights online?

**Noah Barkin**, Senior Advisor, China Practice - Rhodium Group, Germany

- Is China still as attractive to foreign investors? If not, who is moving out of the mainland and to where?

**Reinhard Bütikofer**, Member of the European Parliament, Germany

- Is the new threat from Russia causing Europe to intensify or de-emphasise its "strategic competition" with China?

**Nico Lange**, Senior Fellow, Munich Security Conference, Germany

- How could the transatlantic relationship be affected by the upcoming US elections?

**Moderator: Lara Farrar**, Fellow, USC Annenberg Center for Health Journalism, United States

**DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024**

1420-1510	<p><b>As the Ice Melts: The New Arctic Chessboard</b></p> <p>The Arctic region — with a unique geographic location, natural resources from fisheries to rare earths, and expanding shipping traffic — is increasingly significant to global geopolitics and geoeconomics. This region's emergence is now particularly relevant given the dangerous and complicated security environment that Europe faces to its east. The interlinked questions of security in the Arctic, the Baltic, and Europe have become of importance to the world.</p> <p>Do regional actors have the capability to be security providers in this region and its neighbourhood, and if not, how are they building them up? How are climate change, geopolitical rivalry, and new infrastructure projects reshaping the Arctic region? What are the stakes for the rest of the world in this region's transformation and resources? What are the implications of linking the Arctic to the Indo-Pacific region, and how does this affect global trade and security dynamics? How have new developments in European security affected the strategic positions of the countries of the region? Will the Arctic and the Baltic, areas of unusual co-operation, now become an arena for great power rivalry?</p> <p><b>Elina Valtonen</b>, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Finland  <b>Tobias Billström</b>, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sweden  <b>Andreas Motzfeldt Kravik</b>, State Secretary, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway  <b>Alexander Gabuev</b>, Director, Carnegie Russia Eurasia Center, Germany  <b>Eeva Eek-Pajuste</b>, Adviser, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Estonia  <b>Moderator: Karin von Hippel</b>, Director-General, Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies, United Kingdom</p>
1510-1520	<p><b>Ministerial Remarks</b></p> <p><b>Meenakashi Lekhi</b>, Minister of State for External Affairs, India</p>
1520-1540	Break

**DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024**

1540-1610	<p><b>Promethean Puzzle: Will Science Secure – or Upend – the World Order?</b></p> <p>The study of particle physics and advances in synthetic biology could all implicate geopolitics and geoeconomics? This high-stakes panel discussion brings together eminent scientists and experts to delve into the critical intersections of science, diplomacy, and security. It will consider how the study of particle physics, understanding what is at the end of the universe, or synthetic biology, all could implicate geopolitics and geoeconomics. The session aims to delineate scientific imperatives, and what can be learned from an interdisciplinary approach to critical decision-making.</p> <p>How are institutions of basic scientific research, such as CERN, visible examples of the benefits of international collaboration? How could biological research have implications for global security, and how can scientific innovation be balanced with responsible practices? What role should international frameworks play in mitigating such risks? How do scientific developments influence geopolitics? What role do they play in countries' diplomatic outreach and soft power?</p> <p><b>Archana Sharma</b>, Principal Scientist - Senior Advisor International Relations, CERN, Switzerland  <b>Filippa Lentzos</b>, Associate Professor of Science &amp; International Security, King's College London, United Kingdom  <b>James Beacham</b>, Particle Physicist at the Large Hadron Collider, CERN, Switzerland  <b>Moderator: Corinna Hoyer</b>, Managing Director and Chief Operating Officer, World Minds, Switzerland</p>
1610-1630	<p><b>The Delhi Consensus - Towards a Global Climate Framework for Benefit of All</b></p> <p><b>Keynote Address: Bhupender Yadav</b>, Union Cabinet Minister for Environment, Forest &amp; Climate Change; and Labour &amp; Employment, India</p>

## DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024

1630-1720

**People, Planet, and Prosperity: Invest, Finance and Grow**

Without a substantial increase in financial support for the emerging world, the goals of the Paris Agreement will not be met. A just transition needs financing at scale; it needs climate capital in emerging economies to be cheaper; and it needs money to flow across national boundaries. But international finance is falling short of its role, as it fails to send private climate finance where it is most needed. Unless the world's banks sign up to Paris in spirit, it will fail.

Why does political risk still serve as an excuse for not acting to reduce climate risk? How can the cost of climate capital be reduced? What solutions work to scale up the availability of green capital? Do these reach the individuals and companies on the frontlines of climate action? Can private capital be made available to support adaptation to climate change as well as mitigation of carbon emissions?

**V. Anantha Nageswaran**, Chief Economic Advisor, Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs, India

**Jochen Flasbarth**, State Secretary, Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, Germany

**Anna Bjerde**, Managing Director, The World Bank, Sweden

**Pramod Chaudhari**, Executive Chairman, Praj Industries Ltd., India

**Sumant Sinha**, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, ReNew, India

**Moderator: Geraldine Ang**, Clean Energy Finance and Investment Mobilisation Programme, Team Lead, Financial System for Biodiversity and Transition Minerals, and Senior Policy Analyst, OECD

1720-1740

Break

## DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024

1740-1830

**Fractured Politics: Is Development a Casualty of War?**

Great power rivalries and ambitions—played out as war, sanctions, or diplomatic pressure — have significantly reduced the policy space available to developing countries. Food and fuel inflation have caused humanitarian crises in many countries, and sent others, already scarred by the pandemic, deep into debt. Government balance sheets are under pressure, and even sovereign debt relief is taking longer than it should.

How can we re-centre the global agenda on development? What are the levers available to the developing world to force a conversation relevant to its needs? What steps are countries facing supply-chain disruptions taking to re-establish resilience? Who are their global partners in this effort? How can financing for development be redefined and re-examined so that some of the spending pressure is taken off governments? Are existing institutions, like the Bretton Woods set, doing their job?

**Elmedin Konaković**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Igli Hasani**, Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs, Albania

**Tharaka Balasuriya**, State Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sri Lanka

**Abla Abdel Latif**, Executive Director and Director of Research, The Egyptian Centre for Economic Studies, Egypt

**Emanuela Claudia Del Re**, EU Special Representative for the Sahel, European External Action Service, European Union

**Moderator: Chandrika Bahadur**, Chief Executive Officer, The Antara Foundation, India



## DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024

1830-1920	<p><b>Emerging Technologies: A Panacea for the SDGs?</b></p> <p>Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) on time is only possible through swift adoption of breakthrough technologies. Remote sensing and AI can collect and analyse data to forecast weather, predict natural disasters, anticipate crop yields, detect land change, and assess the impact of climate change. Similarly, drones are being used to deliver medical supplies, map habitats and ecological systems, and manage precision farming. Digital connectivity through secure 5G access and the Internet of Things will be essential for the rollout of multiple tech-based interventions.</p> <p>How can emerging tech support evidence-based policymaking, boost the efficiency of resource allocation, and improve service delivery? What concerns about privacy, data protection and security and the exacerbation of inequalities do these technologies raise? How are governments designing tech-based support systems and their digital infra backbones?</p> <p><b>Sandiaga Uno</b>, Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy, Indonesia  <b>Abhishek Singh</b>, Additional Secretary, MeitY, President &amp; CEO NeGD, India  <b>Aditi Avasthi</b>, Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Embibe, India  <b>Alex Rogers</b>, President, Qualcomm Technology Licensing &amp; Global Affairs, Qualcomm Incorporated, United States  <b>Hoda Al Khzaimi</b>, Research Assistant Professor, Computer Engineering; Director, Center of Cyber Security, NYU Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates  <b>Moderator: Archana Vyas</b>, PAC Director, Growth, Opportunity, and Empowerment, Global Policy and Advocacy, Bill &amp; Melinda Gates Foundation, India</p>
1920-1940	Transition

**DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024**

1940-2140  
Dinner  
Conversations

(By Invite  
Only)

*Shahjehan* **Code, Court & Constitution: Challenging Tech's Monopoly on Influence**

There is a growing narrative that tech companies are facing a backlash from states around the world. Yet the duty of the state is to define the landscape in which tech operates. Tech regulation is, on the one hand, limiting innovative spaces; on the other, under-regulation is allowing innovators to code laws without any democratic accountability. This is particularly problematic in the age of AI, the development of which implicates multiple domains from bioethics to market dynamics. Naturally, concerns have emerged that technological innovation is pushing ever further into domains traditionally overseen by the state – from platforms that have greater power over speech than even courts, to digital connectivity that is now subject to commercial dimensions. If a consensus is not evolved on a regulatory approach, then other authorities – from courts to bureaucracies – will step in.

How can the state reclaim spaces crucial to the delivery of public goods? If technology and its owners and operators span national borders effortlessly, is global regulation essential to ensure states retain domains that have traditionally been theirs? Can we create global coalitions that balance both sovereignty and innovative energy? Is there a danger that uninformed or overenthusiastic regulation will stifle innovation? On the other hand, if vaccines can have a three-stage approval process, why not digital products?

**Bibek Debroy**, Chairman, Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, India

**Brendan Carr**, Commissioner, Federal Communications Commission, United States

**Bassant Hassib**, Non-Resident Scholar, Middle East Institute, United States

**Sunil Abraham**, Director, Public Policy India, Data Economy & Emerging Tech, META, India

**Stephanie Diepeveen**, Senior Research Fellow, ODI, Netherlands

**Moderator: Caitríona Heini**, Executive Director, The Azure Forum for Contemporary Security Strategy, Ireland

1940-2140  
(By Invite  
Only)

*Mumtaz* **Policy & Palate**

(Closed-door, Off-the-Record Dinner)

**DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024****1940-2140***Dinner**Conversations*(By Invite  
Only)**Roshanara The Russia Files**

Against the backdrop of the impending second anniversary of its armed forces crossing the border, this panel will discuss how the conflict has implicated Russia's people, politics and economy. As Russia prepares for elections, the panel will seek to understand how the mood and morale of the Russian military, and wider population, have ebbed and flowed.

How has the two-year conflict implicated the popularity of President Putin? What should we expect from this year's elections? Are images of empty shelves myth or fact? Which are Russia's closest partners, which does it lean on, and which does it trust? Has this conflict really brought it closer to the South, or is warm rhetoric just a convenience? Is this the end of any Russian ambition to integrate with Europe? Is Peter the Great's project over, and should we think of Russia as an Asian country?

**Vyacheslav Nikonov**, First Deputy Chairman, Committee on International Affairs of the State Duma, State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, Russia

**Manish Tewari**, Member of Parliament (Lok Sabha); Former Union Minister Information & Broadcasting, Government of India, India

**Feodor Voitlovsky**, Director, Primakov Institute of World Economy and International Relations of Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia

**Ivan Timofeev**, Director General, Russian International Affairs Council, Russia

**Victoria Panova**, Head of BRICS Expert Council — Russia; Vice Rector, HSE University; W20 Russian Sherpa, Russia

**Moderator: Velina Tchakarova**, Founder, FACE and Visiting Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, Austria

**DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024**

1940-2140 Dinner Conversations  (By Invite Only)	<p><i>Jehangir</i> <b>Angry Planet: Investing in the Age of Resilience and Adaptation</b></p> <p><i>Launch of Report: Stronger Together: A Compendium of Stories of Courage and Resilience During Disasters</i></p> <p>Climate change creates multiple axes of vulnerability. Communities that live on the land face uncertain livelihoods; populations across the emerging world are dealing with food insecurity; those that live by the sea and in mountains face landslides and droughts. Even as we set aside financial resources to mitigate future emissions, we must invest now to adapt and to render societies' agricultural systems and their physical environment more resilient. The role of technology, of new platforms, and of innovative solutions -- alongside the mobilisation of capital and multistakeholder cooperation -- are crucial. This session will discuss disaster response, agricultural resilience, and how vulnerable countries can learn from each other by sharing experiences. It will explore ways to make supply chains crucial to food, fuel, and trade more sustainable. And it will delve into key questions on mobilising finance for disaster resilient infrastructure and for adaptation to climate change -- appetite for which seems to be lower in the investor community.</p> <p>How can we develop the human capabilities and competence that will support greater resilience and technological transformation? What might be key enablers of a transformation of rural and vulnerable communities, their livelihoods and productivity? What role does food security and community resilience play in social cohesion and broader geoeconomic stability?</p> <p><b>Scene Setter: Panel Discussion: Vanita Sharma</b>, Advisor on Strategic Initiatives, Reliance Foundation, India</p> <p><b>Scott Moe</b>, Premier, Government of Saskatchewan, Canada  <b>Jagannatha Kumar</b>, Chief Executive Officer, Reliance Foundation, India  <b>Kwame Owino</b>, Chief Executive Officer, Institute of Economic Affairs, Kenya  <b>Rahoul Sawani</b>, President, Asia-Pacific, Corteva Agriscience, Singapore  <b>Sara Roversi</b>, Founder and President, Future Food Institute, Italy  <b>Moderator: Louise van Schaik</b>, Head of Unit, Clingendael Institute, Netherlands</p>
2140-2210	Break

**DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024**

2210-2300

*Conversations  
over Kahwa***Mumtaz The Democracy Divide: Universal Norms & Local Practices**

There are various global headwinds facing the democratic system. These include the rise of authoritarianism, disruptive technologies, populism, fake news – and the notion among voters that democracy is failing ordinary citizens. Consequently, democracy must be reclaimed bottom-up to make it locally relevant and grounded, while still retaining its fundamental attributes of rule of law, separation of powers, and popular sovereignty. While democracy is a universal norm, its contextual application is a prerequisite for its success.

How can democracy be made real and attractive in diverse and digital societies? How can differences in existing democratic practices be reconciled and respected across geographies? How can cultural moorings continue to underpin democratic structures and the delivery of political rights across the world? In a hyper-globalised world, can we prevent the weaponisation of differences in the administration of democracy by state and non-state actors?

**Tony Abbott**, Former Prime Minister, Australia

**Mehdi Jomaa**, Former Prime Minister, Tunisia

**Sanjeev Sanyal**, Member, Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council, India

**Ayoade Alakija**, Chair, Board of Directors, FIND; Co-Chair, G7 Impact Investment Initiative in Global Health

**Rend Al-Rahim**, Co-Founder and President, Iraq Foundation, United States

**Moderator: Palki Sharma**, Managing Editor, Network18, India

**DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024**

2210-2300

*Roshanara* **The America Files**
*Conversations  
over Kahwa*

The 2024 presidential election in the United States might be pivotal for the country and the world. The superpower is in a curious and unprecedented situation. Half of the country does not recognise the legitimacy of the President of the United States. On paper, its economic performance and prospects are strong; but rising inflation has complicated the story, with commentators on each side of the divide choosing to highlight the aspect that suits their politics best. Its international partners are deeply uncertain about the US' future course, and what a growing spirit of isolationism would mean for the network of partnerships, friendships and alliances that America has built.

What are President Biden's re-election prospects? Can the Democratic Party hold the Senate? What is working for the party's political messaging, and what could undermine it? Is Donald Trump's return as the Republican candidate inevitable? What role will his legal troubles play in his party's campaign? Can the Republicans control their rowdy right flank, or are we in for four years of chaos? Are there any remaining bipartisan principles that the US' key partners in the Middle East, the Indo-Pacific and Europe can count on?

**Lara Setrakian**, President, Applied Policy Research Institute, Armenia

**Max Abrahms**, Professor, Northeastern University, United States

**Rexon Y. Ryu**, President, The Asia Group, United States

**Theresa Fallon**, Founder and Director, Centre for Russia, Europe, Asia Studies, Belgium

**Tilman Kuban**, Member of Parliament, German Bundestag, Germany

**Moderator: Smita Prakash**, Chief Editor and Deputy Chief Executive Officer, Asian News International, India

**DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024**

0730-0845

*Conversations  
over Breakfast***Shahjehan Asymmetric Governance: How can Multilateralism work with Multipolarity?****Pre-Read: World Economic Forum White Paper - Shaping Cooperation in a Fragmenting World**

The post-war order was not designed for a multipolar world. Its multilateral architecture worked reasonably well in a bipolar Cold War; it survived the unipolar decades but has now begun to dissolve in the face of the centrifugal forces of multiple new centres of power. The diffusion of power is a natural, even inevitable, consequence of growth and demographic dynamics. Yet the dangers of 19th-century “sphere-of-influence” thinking are also well-known, and multilateralist solidarity does defend against such disorder. A multipolar world may be a reality; it may even be long-desired. But new forms of multilateralism may also be needed to meet this moment.

What has hurt the UN, the WTO, and the WHO—and are these injuries mortal? Will these institutions live to 2050 in any recognisable form? Most world institutions were designed along multipolar principles, even if those were never put into practice. Can what was imagined be made real – or are new institutions inevitable? How can we ensure that a multipolar world does not mean unipolar neighbourhoods? Can coalitions of large and influential states do better than existing multilateral institutions? Could they conceivably build greater legitimacy? Which countries have a stake in both multilateralism and multipolarity?

**Dominique Hasler**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Liechtenstein

**Reinhard Bütikofer**, Member of the European Parliament, Germany

**Antonio de Aguiar Patriota**, Ambassador of Brazil to the United Kingdom, United Kingdom

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

**Paula Dobriansky**, Vice-Chair, Atlantic Council Scowcroft Center, United States

**Moderator: Lynn Kuok**, Visiting Professor, School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, United States

### DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024

0730-0845

*Mumtaz* **The Europe Files**

*Conversations  
over Breakfast*

Divided within, besieged without: the European Union, long seen as a bulwark of stability, is now a source of concern for its friends and partners. As it enters an election year, the rise of domestic populism risk undermining its efforts to stare down threats from the powers to its east. Internally, it continues to struggle with growth, integration of new migrant communities, and an efficient energy transition. This panel will examine European politics, security, and cohesion – and the state of the EU's shared values.

What are the prospects for this year's election to the European Parliament? Should we expect a nationalist and populist surge, and what would that mean for the future of EU policy and its security posture? The French president said recently that Russian victory would mean the end of European security. Is this still the consensus across the bloc? How is the EU preparing for a possible downgrading of US support for Ukraine, and what would that mean for the transatlantic alliance? What are the shared concerns – from migration to energy costs – that exist, and what stops the EU from finding common solutions?

**Giulio Terzi di Sant'Agata**, President, Senate Committee on European Union Policy; Chair, India-Italy Parliamentary Friendship Group, Italy

**Alica Kizeková**, Senior Research Fellow, Slovak Foreign Policy Association; Lecturer, Curtin University, Australia

**Małgorzata Bonikowska**, President, Centre for International Relations, Poland

**Stefan Mair**, Director, German Institute for International and Security, Germany

**Walter Feichtinger**, President, Center for Strategic Analysis, Austria

**Moderator: Shivani Gupta**, Deputy Executive Producer, CNN-News18, India



**DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024**

0730-0845

**Roshanara Drones, Clones, & Phones: Dragons Fire & Eagles Glare***Conversations  
over Breakfast*(By Invite  
Only)

Technology hardware—and not just software—are now seen to be embedded with geopolitical risks. Security agencies across the world are cognisant of the fact that certain governments make manufacturers of hardware embed backdoor entry points into the internal set-ups of other sovereign nations. While various regulations mandate software globally, there seems to be a lacuna with technology hardware. This panel will discuss the risks technology hardware poses to a country's national security.

What are the ways in which the surveillance state is being baked into the hardware we use every day? Is it the case that common hardware platforms embed a geopolitical bias depending on production source? What are the implications for security vulnerabilities and warfighting via a state's influence on electronic manufacturing?

**Host: Vikram Misri**, Deputy National Security Advisor, India

**Keynote Address: Air Marshal Vivek Ram Chaudhari**, Chief of Air Staff, India

**DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024**

0730-0845

*Conversations  
over Breakfast*
**Jehangir Desecuritising Development: Resilience in the Indo-Pacific**
*Launch of Report: **Regional Integration in the Indo-Pacific: Connectivity, Cooperation and New Supply-Chain Linkages***

**Briefing on Report: Tetsuya Watanabe**, President, Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, Indonesia

The Indo-Pacific region is not merely or even primarily about security contestation. It is the location where battles for climate action and sustainable development will be won. Countries in the region – including small island developing states – face challenges of adaptation to climate change and excessive vulnerability to economic shocks. Food and fuel inflation have strained livelihoods and reduced governments' ability to finance development. Investing in community resilience, from health to local infrastructure, needs a new, de-securitised paradigm.

What financial instruments and models could mobilise resources that mitigate health risks, including those exacerbated by climate change? How can coalitions be built between like-minded countries that leverage shared geopolitical trust into longer-term investments in sustainable development and resilient supply chains? Are there positive examples of knowledge-sharing initiatives and capacity-building programmes in the region that can empower stakeholders?

**Scene Setter: Panel Discussion: Do Hung Viet**, Deputy Foreign Minister, Vietnam

**Panel Discussion:**

**Ānjali Kaur**, Deputy Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Asia, US Agency for International Development, United States

**Dulciana Somare-Brash**, Development Specialist, DevCom Pacific (PNG) Ltd, Papua New Guinea

**Emmanuel Baudran**, Global Head of Infrastructure, Agence Française de Développement, France

**Kate O'Shaughnessy**, Research Director, Perth USAsia Centre, Australia

**Osamu Yamamoto**, Chief Executive Officer, Unison Capital Management, Japan

**Moderator: Anita Prakash**, Director for Policy Relations, Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, Indonesia

## DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024

0730-0845

**Sheesh Mahal: Inclusive Vistas: BRICS, G20 and the Global South***Conversations over Breakfast*

The BRICS grouping, newly expanded to 10 members, is now even more representative of the world's most dynamic emerging economies. Four successive developing-world presidencies of the G20 intend to steer that grouping towards more closely examining their concerns – from food security to sovereign debt. The Global South, long denied a voice in global governance, has thus been provided with an unprecedented opportunity to reshape the discourse and make tangible changes to international institutions and norms.

How can action be taken on the most pressing Global South concerns – especially about food and fuel security? What are the emerging technological partnerships within the Global South that can determine future development paths, and how can they be energised by the BRICS and G20? What are the ways in which the BRICS grouping and the G20 can create synergies with each other to the benefit of the Global South? How can we create an institutional architecture that informs both BRICS and G20 of Global South concerns?

**Scene Setter: Anil Sooklal**, BRICS Sherpa & Ambassador at Large for Asia and BRICS, Department International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa

**Scene Setter: Vyacheslav Nikonov**, First Deputy Chairman, Committee on International Affairs of the State Duma, Russia

**Panel Discussion:**

**Hoda Al Khzaimi**, Research Assistant Professor, Computer Engineering; Director, Center of Cyber Security, NYU Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates

**Daman Pak Jami**, Senior Researcher, Institute for Political and International Studies, Iran

**Oliver Della Costa Stuenkel**, Associate Professor, Fundação Getulio Vargas, Brazil

**Sarah Mosoetsa**, Chief Executive Officer, Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa

**Victoria Panova**, Head of BRICS Expert Council — Russia; Vice Rector, HSE University; W20 Russian Sherpa, Russia

**Moderator: Dhruva Jaishankar**, Executive Director, Observer Research Foundation America, United States

**DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024**

0900-0950

**Back to the Future: A New Era of Conflict in Europe?**

Since the Russian invasion of Ukraine plunged Europe into conflict, new defence, security, and diplomatic endeavours have begun across the continent. Twentieth-century security arrangements like NATO are being reinvigorated, and the transatlantic alliance appears more important than ever. The Global South, meanwhile, is hesitant to become a party to another European conflict and is instead seeking ways to mitigate its spill-over effects. Most importantly, the EU and its member states are re-evaluating themselves as military, security and geopolitical players.

Two years into the war, what has changed? Who is winning, who is losing, and who is surviving? How have players — from the US to China, Europe, Russia, and NATO — shifted their strategy and positioning? How can an enlarged EU enhance its security in a world increasingly defined by US-China geopolitical competition? What role can countries like those in the Nordic-Baltic region play in this endeavour? Is Ukraine doomed to be a forever war? Do hopes for a conclusion rest on the US elections, and does the EU have a backup plan if transatlantic solidarity frays? How can developing countries make decisions that similarly protect their national interest, autonomy, and security? As the Global South emerges, will they propose norms and principles that all can adhere to?

**Krišjānis Kariņš**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Latvia

**Luminița Odobescu**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Romania

**Margus Tsahkna**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Estonia

**Iryna Borovets**, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ukraine

**D. Bala Venkatesh Verma**, Former Ambassador of India to Russia, India

**Moderator: Amrita Narlikar**, Honorary Fellow, Darwin College, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

0950-1040

**The Wonk Tank: Where Expertise Meets Authority**

**Bruce Jones**, Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution, United States

**Eghosa E Osaghae**, Director-General, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Nigeria

**Leslie Vinjamuri**, Director, US and Americas Programme Chatham House and Professor of International Relations, SOAS University of London, United Kingdom

**Michael Fullilove**, Executive Director, Lowy Institute, Australia

**S. Jaishankar**, Minister of External Affairs, India

**Moderator: Samir Saran**, President, Observer Research Foundation, India

1040-1100

Break

## DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024

1100-1200	<p><b>The New Wars: Policies, Practices, and Preparation</b></p> <p><b>Scene Setter: Vivek Lall</b>, Chief Executive, General Atomics Global Corporation, United States</p> <p>In the evolving landscape of warfare, traditional mechanisms are yielding to unconventional methods and tactics. The implications of these changes in conflict dynamics include the increasingly blurred lines between state and non-state actors, asymmetrical warfare, and the growing role of emerging technologies. These highlight the emergence of a new era of warfare.</p> <p>What are the emerging manifestations of informal warfare, and how do they pose challenges to conventional defence strategies? How should nations adjust their approaches to address non-traditional threats? Will informal warfare become the preferred strategy for nations due to its risk-mitigating qualities?</p> <p><b>Kajsa Ollongren</b>, Minister of Defence, Netherlands  <b>General Anil Chauhan</b>, Chief of Defence Staff, India  <b>Andrew Shearer</b>, Director-General, Office of National Intelligence, Australia  <b>Sujan Chinoy</b>, Director General, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, India  <b>Jenna Ben-Yehuda</b>, Executive Vice President of the Atlantic Council, United States  <b>Moderator: Lisa Singh</b>, Chief Executive Officer, Australia India Institute, Australia</p>
1200-1230	<p><b>In Conversation:</b></p> <p><b>Piyush Goyal</b>, Minister of Commerce and Industry, Consumer Affairs, Food and Public Distribution, Textiles; and Leader of the House, Rajya Sabha, India  <b>Ashok Malik</b>, Partner and Chair of the India Practice, The Asia Group, India</p>

**DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024**

1230-1430

*Lunch  
Conversations*
*(By Invite  
Only)*
*Shahjehan* **Democratic Dollars: Can the Planet Reclaim the Bretton Woods?**

The postwar global financial order, centred on the Bretton Woods institutions, is in urgent need of reform. It is being challenged by new institutions, some of which are based out of Beijing. There are multiple new demands on its capacity, from energy transition to adaptation finance to debt restructuring. It is still struggling to fine-tune its partnership with the private sector. Geopolitical contestation and geopolitical fragmentation have complicated the task of international financial reform: major economies harmonise their economic approach with industrialisation and geopolitical aims, it is important to ensure that progress on development and climate goals is accelerated. Some of these policies now reflect economic fragmentation rather than multilateral cooperation.

Sufficiency, affordability and accessibility of finance is key for advancing green and digital transitions. Thus, calls for financial architecture reform, especially for achieving climate goals, have become mainstream. But these reform discussions have deep geopolitical implications, especially for traditional multilateral institutions.

Can MDBs be reformed quickly enough to tackle the issues of importance to the developing world? How is this process impacted by geopolitical competition? Given that financing the energy transition is one of the primary issues facing the Global South, what are the specific ways in which a reformed multilateral order could aid in this complex endeavour? What is the role that country-specific multi-actor platforms and partnerships can play in accelerating economic transitions? How can MDBs more effectively partner with other sources of private and public finance, and what are the specific skills they would bring to this partnership? Who can and should take the lead in this reform process, and ensure outcomes are equitable and effective?

**N.K. Singh**, Chairperson of Fifteenth Finance Commission; Co-Convenor, Expert Group on MDB Reforms, India

**Tadashi Maeda**, Chairman of the Board, Japan Bank for International Cooperation, Japan

**Jayant Sinha**, Member of Parliament, India

**Osamu Yamamoto**, Chief Executive Officer, Unison Capital Management, Japan

**Divyata Ashiya**, Trustee, RUSI, United Kingdom

**Moderator: Camilla Fenning**, Programme Lead, E3G, United Kingdom

**DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024**

1230-1430	<b>Mumtaz</b> <b>Fragile Dividend: Addressing the 'Old' versus the 'New' in West Asia</b>
Lunch Conversations  (By Invite Only)	<p>Violence broke out in West Asia in 2023, highlighting the continuing complexities of the region at a time of multiple global crises. But breakthroughs such as the Abraham Accords and the Iran-Saudi Arabia rapprochement showed the region's desire to progress towards regional security, and by association, economic growth. Qatar's successful hosting of the 2022 FIFA World Cup, Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030, and the UAE's hosting of COP28 are nonetheless reflective of a structural transformation: the future is being prioritised over the past.</p> <p>What are the implications for the region if the Israel-Palestine conflict continues unresolved? What are the emerging groupings and partnerships that are influencing the region's geopolitical and geoeconomic progress? Can we envision a stable and peaceful West Asia by addressing historical fissures? What do new economic highways with India such as IMEC and I2U2 bring to the table?</p> <p><b>Hans-Christian Hagman</b>, Deputy National Security Adviser for Strategy, Prime Minister's Office, Sweden  <b>John Chipman</b>, Executive Chairman, The International Institute of Strategic Studies, United Kingdom  <b>Maha Akeel</b>, Lecturer, Dar Al Hekma University, Saudi Arabia  <b>Mina Al-Oraibi</b>, Editor in Chief, The National, United Arab Emirates  <b>Vali Nasr</b>, Professor, International Affairs and Middle East Studies, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, United States  <b>Moderator: Elena Lazarou</b>, Senior Fellow, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy; Associate Fellow, Chatham House, United Kingdom</p>
1230-1430  (By Invite Only)	<p><b>Roshanara</b> <b>Commerce, Connectivity &amp; Value Chains: A Long View from Delhi</b></p> <p><b>Conversation with Piyush Goyal</b>, Minister of Commerce and Industry, Consumer Affairs, Food and Public Distribution, Textiles, and Leader of the House, Rajya Sabha, India</p>

**DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024**

1230-1430

*Jehangir* **Quad Tech Alliance: Innovate, Integrate, Inspire**
*Lunch  
Conversations*
*(By Invite  
Only)*

As the Quad enters its third decade, it has transformed from an idea to a living partnership between democracies. There is, however, more work to be done. An institutional framework must be developed to harness the strengths of member countries to serve the larger Indo-Pacific. Given the importance of tech partnerships within the Quad, this panel will discuss the scope and scale of the Quad's technological future.

How can Quad partners scale cooperation in technology and cybersecurity? How can the Quad collaborate on digital highways for the common good? Can the Quad enhance trusted financial interconnectivity between themselves? Is there space for Quad partners to set frameworks for growth in the Indo-Pacific? How do countries utilise their specific strengths and capabilities to create an institutional proposition for tech solutions?

**Arvind Gupta**, Founder Member, Digital India Foundation, India

**Marcus Bartley Johns**, Senior Director, Asia, Government and Regulatory Affairs, Microsoft, Singapore

**Mihoko Matsubara**, Chief Cybersecurity Strategist, Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Corp., Japan

**Raghuram S.**, Joint Secretary (Policy Planning and Research), Ministry of External Affairs, India

**Erin Watson**, Director at Mandala Partners and Adjunct Research Fellow at Griffith Asia Institute, Australia

**Moderator: Trisha Ray**, Associate Director and Resident Fellow, Atlantic Council, United States



**DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024**

1230-1430

*Sheesh Mahal* **The Africa Files***Lunch  
Conversations**(By Invite  
Only)*

In a few years, the cumulative GDP of the African continent will reach \$5 trillion. The countries of Africa have some of the youngest populations in the world and are urbanising and industrialising rapidly. The region is also moving swiftly towards economic integration. This panel will examine the continental growth story and the pivotal roles its countries play in emerging narratives about geopolitics and security.

How can economic integration change the nature of economic growth and development in Africa? What infrastructure investments are needed to leverage trade agreements? How are African nations dealing with demands on their capacity that come with playing a leading role in global policy conversations? How do countries in Africa increase their agency when it comes to determining the security of their supply chains – for example of food or fuel? How can they achieve independence from decisions made in the Global North, such as sanctions, that may constrict these supply chains? What does the rest of the world make of opportunities in Africa's growth story?

**Candith Mashego-Dlamini**, Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa

**Saïd Abass Ahamed**, Ambassador and Special Envoy of the President of the African Union

**Puneet Roy Kundal**, Additional Secretary (E&SA), Ministry of External Affairs, India

**Rachel Toku-Appiah**, Director, Program Advocacy Communications - Africa, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, South Africa

**Sara Hasanaa Mokaddem**, Manager, Strategic Monitoring & Analysis Unit, Policy Center for the New South, Morocco

**Moderator: Sarah Mosoetsa**, Chief Executive Officer, Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa

**DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024**

1430-1530

**Red Haze: The 'Derisking' Question**
**Scene Setter: Sanjeev Krishan**, Chairperson, PwC, India

Concerns that global value chains are insecure and unsustainable have become almost a consensus across the world. Two decades of globalisation have raised incomes and well-being – but also led to uneven development, with manufacturing effectively becoming concentrated in a few geographies, especially mainland China. Efforts to diversify supply chains have not met expectations. Meanwhile, the Chinese government and enterprises remain confident that it can out-compete any other potential location for supply chains. And Beijing shows no hesitation in weaponising its economic advantage.

Is “friendshoring” real, or has the world simply entered an age of economic nationalism where countries compete through subsidies and erect tariff walls? Is de-risking merely a new form of protectionism, which can hit friends and allies just as much as systemic rivals? Is the business case for reducing dependence on China simply not good enough for the world’s corporations? What are the potential benefits of more democratised and resilient value chains? Which geographies are best placed to host these? Can we create real partnerships to ensure that future economic arrangements built around the new economy are less extractive and imbalanced than the old?

**Jan Lipavský**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic

**Juraj Blanár**, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Slovakia

**Marise Payne**, Professor of Practice, International Relations and Public Policy, Western Sydney University; Former Minister for Defence of Australia, Australia

**Elisabetta Belloni**, Director General, Security Intelligence Department, Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Italy

**Jorge Guajardo**, Partner, Dentons Global Advisors; Former Ambassador of Mexico to China, Mexico

**Moderator: Indrani Bagchi**, Chief Executive Officer, Ananta Aspen Centre, India

**DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024**

1530-1630	<p><b>Development Deficit: Towards a Post 2030 Agenda</b></p> <p>In the post-pandemic era, the global community needs a new framework for development and cooperation that is more agile, inclusive, and effective in addressing the complex challenges of our times. It must also ensure sustainable and equitable outcomes. Enhanced cooperation between the private sector, policymakers and civil society is vital here, to develop an agenda that takes into consideration the interests of diverse stakeholders and especially the Global South.</p> <p>What kinds of platforms, processes and cooperation mechanisms are needed to create additional sources of finance for development? How can the private sector be a partner in this process? What should be the goals and timelines of a post-2030 development agenda? How can South-South cooperation shape this agenda, and ensure a more inclusive and agile framework for development? What role will the circular economy and sustainable production and consumption mechanisms play?</p> <p><b>Virtual Address: Amina J. Mohammed</b>, Deputy Secretary-General, United Nations; Chair, United Nations Sustainable Development Group</p> <p><b>Panel Discussion:</b></p> <p><b>D.N. Dhungyel</b>, Minister for Foreign Affairs and External Trade, Bhutan  <b>Narayan Prakash Saud</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nepal  <b>Tatjana Jović</b>, Advisor to the President, Serbia  <b>Angelo George</b>, Chief Executive Officer, Bisleri, India  <b>Isabelle Tschan</b>, Resident Representative a.i, UNDP India  <b>Moderator: Jacqueline Lam</b>, Regional Director for Asia, Sustainable Energy for All, Singapore</p>
1630-1640	<p><b>Ministerial Remarks</b></p> <p><b>Rajkumar Ranjan Singh</b>, Minister of State for External Affairs, India</p>
1640-1650	Break

**DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024**

1650-1740

**Her Road from India: From Boardrooms to Global Institutions**

Moving beyond tokenism to actual and effective representation of women in positions of power and decision-making requires political will. India has shown this through legal provisions to enhance female representation. This panel will discuss how female representation can be increased across domains and geographies – including the private sector and international governance.

Can we rely on the incumbents in positions of power—namely, men—to cede space? If not, how can we carve that space? How can we ensure that multilateral institutions reflect the enhanced role that women now occupy in national and local governance? How do we increase the number of women in foreign policy? How can we move closer to a world in which women are employed at equal positions and in equivalent numbers as men – and paid as much? Have we made sufficient advances in ensuring that women are represented in the academic and professional tracks – from AI to energy – that will determine tomorrow's economic outcomes? Can maternity be turned from a disadvantage, to be compensated for, to an advantage in the workplace?

**Smriti Irani**, Union Cabinet Minister, Women and Child Development; and Textiles, India

**Angela Rayner**, Shadow Deputy Prime Minister; Labour MP for Ashton-under-Lyne; Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, United Kingdom

**Ayoade Alakija**, Chair, Board of Directors, FIND; Co-Chair, G7 Impact Investment Initiative in Global Health

**Maggie Sprenger**, General Partner, Audere Capital, United States

**Masuda Bhatti**, Information Commissioner, Bangladesh

**Moderator: Shombi Sharp**, UN Resident Coordinator, India

1740-1800

Break

## DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024

1800-1850

**Talking Heads: Solutions from the South**

Sharp differences between the Global North and South have arisen on questions that range from relations with Russia to the availability of vaccines to the treatment of conflicts outside Europe. These have caused a clamour for a more just system. But what are the propositions from the South on this system's structure? This panel will deliberate whether there are realistic and workable solutions the Global South could offer to four big questions:

*Global Security:* The South has avoided taking sides on Ukraine, and largely viewed the West's support of Israel's action in Gaza as hypocritical. So, what solutions does it propose to preserve sovereignty, protect vulnerable populations, and deal with terrorist sanctuaries?

*Climate Action:* Even without supportive public finance from the West, are there South-centric development and adaptation paradigms that deal with a climate problem the developing world did not cause?

*Governance and Finance:* Postwar institutions from the UN to the IMF have denied billions in the South access to finance, to debt restructuring, and to public health. So, if a new world order were created from the ground up, what would it look like?

*Reconciliation and Reform:* How can divisions between North and South be reconciled, and who should take the lead?

**Comfort Ero**, President and CEO, International Crisis Group, United Kingdom

**Karim El Aynaoui**, Executive President, Policy Center for the New South, Morocco

**Nada Al-Hajjri**, President, Yemen Information Center, Yemen

**Paolo Magri**, Executive Vice President, ISPI, Italy

**Sunjoy Joshi**, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India

**Moderator: Chandra R. Srikanth**, Deputy Executive Editor, Moneycontrol, India

**DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024**

1850-1950	<p><b>From the Aegean Sea to the South China Sea: Responding to Maritime Sieges</b></p> <p><b>Scene Setter: Randy Howard</b>, Vice President, Global Pursuits, Lockheed Martin, United States</p> <p>Maritime strategies remain pivotal for countries, often proving decisive in war. Even as the spectre of continental warfare reemerges, the significance of maritime strategies remains indispensable. Recent political developments in Taiwan, the criticality of supply routes and key materials and heightened political tensions will change how countries interact in this region. Sea routes to the Mediterranean are in peril already with states and non-states acting on these to pursue their objectives. It is critical that sustainable and effective frameworks be put into place now by democratic, like-minded countries in the wider Indo-Pacific.</p> <p>Can lessons from historical precedents inform contemporary strategies? How can nations effectively respond to and mitigate maritime threats posed by China's expansiveness and political muscularity? What are the new partnerships necessary to safeguard the dense trading links between the Indo-Pacific and the Med-Atlantic? Are our defence capabilities in need of a significant upgrade to cope with the new disorder on the high seas?</p> <p><b>Adm. R Hari Kumar</b>, Chief of Naval Staff, India  <b>Adm. John C. Aquilino</b>, Commander, US Indo-Pacific Command, United States  <b>Adm. Nicolas Vaujour</b>, Chief of the Naval Staff, France  <b>Adm. Sir Ben Key</b>, First Sea Lord and Chief of Naval Staff, United Kingdom  <b>Air Marshal Robert Chipman</b>, Chief of the Air Force, Australia  <b>Moderator: Samir Saran</b>, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1950-2000	Closing Remarks: <b>Vinay Mohan Kwatra</b> , Foreign Secretary, India
2000 Onwards	Dinner
2000-2130	<i>Shahjehan</i> <b>Raisina Young Fellows Alumni Dinner</b>
Dinner Conversation	
(By Invite Only)	
2200	<b>Raisina Afterparty</b>
(By Invite Only)	

# RAISINA QUAD THINK TANK FORUM

Sushma Swaraj Bhawan

## SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 2024

0930	Arrival of Participants at Sushma Swaraj Bhawan
0930-1000	Breakfast
1000-1030	<b>Welcome Addresses</b>  <b>Vani Rao</b> , Additional Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, India <b>Philip Green OAM</b> , High Commissioner of Australia to India <b>Hiroshi Suzuki</b> , Ambassador of Japan to India
1030-1110	<b>Session 1: Quad @ 30: The Next 10 Years</b>  It will soon be two decades since Australia, India, Japan and the United States took their first steps towards the formation of what is today known as the Quad. In the interim, their co-operation has overcome various ups and downs and has, in recent years, significantly expanded in scope. This session will examine what the next decade might bring, and what the aspirations of each individual nation are for the grouping in its third decade.  How has the Quad evolved over time, and what can we learn from the obstacles it has overcome? Has it succeeded in integrating concerns about development and resilience into a framework that may be viewed as a political one, but did after all emerge from their cooperation as first responders to the 2004 Tsunami? What should be its areas of focus in the coming decade and is its security emphasis inevitable? Can the partnership be better institutionalised, and if so, how?  <b>Shruti Pandalai</b> , Fellow, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, India <b>Alexandra Caples</b> , Director, Cyber, Technology and Security Program, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia <b>Satu Limaye</b> , Vice President & Director, East West Center, United States <b>Tomoyuki Yoshida</b> , Director General, Japan Institute of International Affairs, Japan <b>Moderator: Harsh V. Pant</b> , Vice President, Studies & Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India
1100-1125	<b>Tea/Coffee Break</b>

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 2024	
1125-1205	<p><b>Ministerial Addresses</b></p> <p><b>Yōko Kamikawa</b>, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Japan (Virtual)  <b>Penny Wong</b>, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Australia (Virtual)  <b>S. Jaishankar</b>, Minister for External Affairs, India</p>
1205-1255	<p><b>Session 2: Quad for the Indo-Pacific</b></p> <p>The primary focus of the Quad, a free and open Indo-Pacific, should be in the interest of all countries in the region. However, there continue to be concerns that the Quad is an exclusive partnership. This session will consider the state of recent efforts to expand the grouping's outreach to other like-minded countries.</p> <p>Is the Quad "exclusive", requiring it to expand its outreach? What is the current state of Quad engagements with the wider region? What are the potential partners and stakeholders in the Indo-Pacific that the Quad should engage with, from ASEAN, the EU, BIMSTEC, and AUKUS? What are their capacities and willingness to engage with the Quad? How can the Quad better demonstrate, through its actions and priorities, that it serves the shared aspirations of countries in the Indo-Pacific?</p> <p><b>Anil Sooklal</b>, BRICS Sherpa &amp; Ambassador at Large for Asia and BRICS, Department International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa  <b>Shanakiyan Rasamanickam</b>, Member of Parliament, Sri Lanka  <b>Hayley Channer</b>, Director of Economic Security, United States Studies Centre, University of Sydney, Australia  <b>Heungchong Kim</b>, Distinguished Professor, College of International Relations, Korea University, Republic of Korea  <b>Lynn Kuok</b>, Visiting Professor, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, United States  <b>Moderator: Yoshiyuki Sagara</b>, Senior Research Fellow, Asia Pacific Initiative, Institute of Geoeconomics, Japan</p>
1255-1310	<b>Tea/Coffee Break</b>



## SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 2024

1310-1350

**Session 3: The Quad Tech Network: The Emerging Tech and Connectivity Opportunity**

This session will explore the growing potential for collaboration in emerging technologies among the Quad countries. It will assess the progress made by the existing tech initiatives and what additional steps the group can and should take in this domain.

What are the most effective models for collaborative research and development on technology within the Quad? How and why has collaboration on emerging tech emerged as a key pillar for the Quad partnership? Can the Quad create new digital infrastructure that could serve the development needs of the region, while also respecting key security considerations? What role does trust play in the future of tech supply chains and technology transfer? How does a partnership like the Quad affect the flows of investment and innovation, and is it time for a Quad Start-Up fund for the region?

**Michael Bareja**, Deputy Director, Cyber, Technology and Security Program, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia

**Rajeswari Rajagopalan**, Director, Centre for Security, Strategy, and Technology, Observer Research Foundation, India

**Vikram Singh**, Senior Advisory, United States Institute of Peace, United States

**Yuka Koshino**, Associate Fellow, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Japan

**Moderator: Rudra Chaudhuri**, Director, Carnegie India, India

1350-1400

**Closing Remarks:**

**Nagaraj Naidu**, Joint Secretary (AMS), Ministry of External Affairs, India

**Raghuram S.**, Joint Secretary (Policy Planning & Research), Ministry of External Affairs, India

1400

**Lunch**



# CHATURANGA

CONFLICT, CONTEST, COOPERATE, CREATE

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## Raisina IdeasPod

In partnership with Asian News International



## DAY ONE, FEBRUARY 21, 2024

1100-1145	<p><b>The Asian Matrix: Taiwan's Road Ahead</b></p> <p><b>Alan Yang</b>, Executive Director, Taiwan-Asia Exchange Foundation, and Distinguished Professor, National Chengchi University</p> <p><b>Sana Hashmi</b>, Fellow, Taiwan-Asia Exchange Foundation, India</p> <p><b>Satoru Nagao</b>, Non-Resident Fellow, Hudson Institute, Japan</p> <p><b>Moderator: Smita Prakash</b>, Chief Editor and Deputy Chief Executive Officer, Asian News International, India</p>
1200-1245	<p><b>Has the State surrendered to the Street?</b></p> <p><b>James Carafano</b>, Vice President, Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy, The Heritage Foundation, United States</p> <p><b>Gladden Pappin</b>, President, Hungarian Institute of International Affairs, Hungary</p> <p><b>Moderator: Smita Prakash</b>, Chief Editor and Deputy Chief Executive Officer, Asian News International, India</p>
1255-1315	<p><b>The Forgotten Battlefield – The Fight for Development</b></p> <p><b>M. Hari Menon</b>, India Country Director, Bill &amp; Melinda Gates Foundation, India</p> <p><b>Ayoade Alakija</b>, Chair, Board of Directors, FIND; Co-Chair, G7 Impact Investment Initiative in Global Health</p> <p><b>Aude Darnal</b>, Research Associate, Stimson Center, United States</p> <p><b>Moderator: Sunaina Kumar</b>, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1915-1930	<p><b>From Athens to Delhi: The Road to Growth, Stability and Sustainability</b></p> <p><b>In Conversation</b></p> <p><b>Kyriakos Mitsotakis</b>, Prime Minister of Greece</p> <p><b>Moderator: Samir Saran</b>, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
2015-2100	<p><b>Decluttering the Discourse: Women of Iran</b></p> <p><b>Zohreh Nosrat Kharazmi</b>, Professor, Tehran University, Iran</p> <p><b>Fariba Alasvand</b>, Professor, Women and Family Research Institute, Iran</p> <p><b>Masoomah Seif Afjehee</b>, Head of the Department of Human Rights and Women's Studies Centre for Political and International Studies, Iran</p> <p><b>Moderator: Smita Prakash</b>, Chief Editor and Deputy Chief Executive Office, Asian News International, India</p>

## DAY TWO, FEBRUARY 22, 2024

1035-1050

**In Conversation****Gabrielius Landsbergis**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lithuania**Moderator: Harsh V. Pant**, Vice President, Studies & Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India

1100-1115

**Decoding the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Workforce****Martin Kocher**, Federal Minister of Labour and Economy, Austria**Narek Mkrtchyan**, Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, Armenia**Moderator: Erin Watson**, Director at Mandala Partners and Adjunct Research Fellow at Griffith Asia Institute, Australia

1125-1140

**Transforming the Blue from Brown to Green****Olivier Poivre d'Arvor**, French Ambassador for the Poles and Maritime Issues, France**Finn Mortensen**, Executive Director, State of Green, Denmark**Johannah Christensen**, Chief Executive Officer, Global Maritime Forum, Denmark**Moderator: Mannat Jaspal**, Associate Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

1150-1205

**In Conversation****Tobias Billström**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sweden**Moderator: Ajay Bisaria**, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

1210-1225

**In Conversation****January Yusuf Makamba**, Minister of Foreign Affairs and East African Cooperation, Tanzania**Moderator: Malancha Chakrabarty**, Senior Fellow and Deputy Director (Research), Observer Research Foundation, India

1245-1300	<p><b>In Conversation</b></p> <p><b>Anwar bin Mohammed Gargash</b>, Diplomatic Advisor to the President, United Arab Emirates  <b>Moderator: Samir Saran</b>, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1300-1315	<p><b>In Conversation</b></p> <p><b>Janaina Tewaney Mencomo</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Panama  <b>Moderator: Sunjoy Joshi</b>, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1330-1345	<p><b>In Conversation</b></p> <p><b>Maneesh Gobin</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Regional Integration and International Trade, Mauritius  <b>Moderator: Nilanjan Ghosh</b>, Director, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1355-1410	<p><b>In Conversation</b></p> <p><b>Khalil Shirgholami</b>, IPIS Vice President, Iran  <b>Moderator: Kabir Taneja</b>, Fellow, Strategic Studies, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1435-1455	<p><b>Fireside Chat: War from 1945 to Ukraine</b></p> <p><b>David Petraeus</b>, Former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, United States  <b>Moderator: Rajiv Sinha</b>, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1505-1525	<p><b>In Conversation</b></p> <p><b>Elmedin Konaković</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bosnia and Herzegovina  <b>Moderator: Dhruva Jaishankar</b>, Executive Director, Observer Research Foundation America, United States</p>

1600-1615	<p><b>In Conversation</b></p> <p><b>Elina Valtonen</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Finland  <b>Moderator: Mihir Sharma</b>, Director, Centre for Economy and Growth Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1700-1715	<p><b>In Conversation</b></p> <p><b>Dominique Hasler</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Liechtenstein  <b>Moderator: Mihir Sharma</b>, Director, Centre for Economy and Growth Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1725-1740	<p><b>In Conversation</b></p> <p><b>Margus Tsahkna</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Estonia  <b>Moderator: Ajay Bisaria</b>, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1750-1830	<p><b>24 Months: Deconstructing the Battlefield</b></p> <p><b>Alexander Gabuev</b>, Director, Carnegie Russia Eurasia Center, Germany  <b>Nico Lange</b>, Senior Fellow, Munich Security Conference, Germany  <b>Theresa Fallon</b>, Founder and Director of the Centre for Russia, Europe, Asia Studies, Belgium  <b>Moderator: Smita Prakash</b>, Chief Editor and Deputy Chief Executive Officer, Asian News International, India</p>
1840-1855	<p><b>In Conversation</b></p> <p><b>Lars Løkke Rasmussen</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Denmark  <b>Moderator: Mihir Sharma</b>, Director, Centre for Economy and Growth Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>

1905-1915	<p><b>Dousing the Flames: A New Framework Against Terror</b></p> <p><b>Max Abrahms</b>, Professor, Northeastern University, United States  <b>Oshrit Birvadker</b>, Senior Fellow, Jerusalem Institute for Strategy and Security, Israel  <b>Sushant Sareen</b>, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India  <b>Moderator: Smita Prakash</b>, Chief Editor and Deputy Chief Executive Officer, Asian News International, India</p>
2005-2050	<p><b>Stars and Stripes: Where a Nation Chooses</b></p> <p><b>Vikram J Singh</b>, Senior Advisor, Asia Program, United States Institute of Peace, United States  <b>Daniel Kurtz Phelan</b>, Editor, Foreign Affairs, United States  <b>Moderator: Smita Prakash</b>, Chief Editor and Deputy Chief Executive Officer, Asian News International, India</p>
2100-2125	<p><b>Is the Arctic the next Global Highway?</b></p> <p><b>Alexander Sergunin</b>, Professor of International Relations at St. Petersburg State University and Higher School of Economics, Russia  <b>Valery Konyshev</b>, Professor, St. Petersburg State University, Russia  <b>Moderator: Rajeshwari Pillai Rajagopalan</b>, Director of the Centre for Security, Strategy, and Technology, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
<b>DAY THREE, FEBRUARY 23, 2024</b>	
0815-0830	<p><b>In Conversation</b></p> <p><b>Krišjānis Kariņš</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Latvia  <b>Moderator: Harsh V. Pant</b>, Vice President, Studies &amp; Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
0905-0920	<p><b>In Conversation</b></p> <p><b>Air Marshal Vivek Ram Chaudhari</b>, Chief of the Air Staff, India  <b>Moderator: Harsh V. Pant</b>, Vice President, Studies &amp; Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>

0930-0945	<b>Multilateralism, Pluralism, and Global Governance</b>  <b>Manuel Lafont Rapnouil</b> , Head of Policy Planning, Ministry of Europe and Foreign Affairs, France <b>Kairat Sarybay</b> , Secretary General of CICA (Conference on Confidence Building Measures in Asia), Kazakhstan <b>Moderator: Alica Kizeková</b> , Senior Research Fellow, Slovak Foreign Policy Association, Slovakia
0955-1010	<b>Safeguarding Development in Europe</b>  <b>Tigran Yepremyan</b> , Dean of the Faculty of International Relations, Yerevan State University, Armenia <b>Nino Shekriladze</b> , Head of the United Nations Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia, Georgia <b>Moderator: Kabir Taneja</b> , Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India
1020-1045	<b>The Future of the Western Balkans</b>  <b>Marija Risteska</b> , Founder and Executive Director, Center for Research and Policy Making, North Macedonia <b>Ornela Çuçi</b> , Vice President, IKAR Holdings, Albania <b>Moderator: İlke Toygür</b> , Director, Center for Innovation in Global Politics and Economics, Spain
1055-1110	<b>In Conversation</b>  <b>Vyacheslav Nikonov</b> , First Deputy Chairman, Committee on International Affairs of the State Duma, Russia <b>Moderator: Harsh V. Pant</b> , Vice President, Studies & Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India
1220-1235	<b>In Conversation</b>  <b>Igli Hasani</b> , Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs, Albania <b>Moderator: Dhruva Jaishankar</b> , Executive Director, Observer Research Foundation America, United States



1310-1345	<p><b>The Pakistan Poser</b></p> <p><b>Geoffrey Van Orden</b>, Former Chairman, European Parliament Delegation for Relations with India, United Kingdom</p> <p><b>Leslie Vinjamuri</b>, Director, US and Americas Programme, Chatham House; Professor of International Relations, SOAS University of London, United Kingdom</p> <p><b>Moderator: Ajay Bisaria</b>, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1420-1435	<p><b>In Conversation</b></p> <p><b>Shirley Ayorkor Botchwey</b>, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Ghana</p> <p><b>Moderator - Malancha Chakrabarty</b>, Senior Fellow and Deputy Director (Research), Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1445-1500	<p><b>In Conversation</b></p> <p><b>Narayan Prakash Saud</b>, Foreign Minister, Nepal</p> <p><b>Moderator: Harsh V. Pant</b>, Vice President, Studies &amp; Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1510-1530	<p><b>Rights, Security and Innovation in the Digital Century</b></p> <p><b>Henri Verdier</b>, Ambassador for Digital Affairs, France</p> <p><b>Moderator: Trisha Ray</b>, Associate Director, and Resident Fellow, Atlantic Council, United States</p>
1540-1555	<p><b>In Conversation</b></p> <p><b>Jan Lipavský</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic</p> <p><b>Moderator: Dhruva Jaishankar</b>, Executive Director, Observer Research Foundation America, United States</p>
1605-1620	<p><b>In Conversation</b></p> <p><b>Juraj Blanar</b>, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Slovakia</p> <p><b>Moderator: Jaibal Naduvath</b>, Vice President and Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>

1630-1645	<p><b>The Power of Storytelling</b></p> <p><b>Sara Wahedi</b>, Chief Executive Officer and Founder, Ehtesab, Afghanistan  <b>Aakanksha Tangri</b>, Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Re:Set, Canada</p>
1700-1745	<p><b>Canada Files</b></p> <p><b>Scott Moe</b>, Premier of Saskatchewan, President of Executive Council, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, Canada  <b>Stephen Harper</b>, Former Prime Minister, Canada  <b>Moderator: Smita Prakash</b>, Chief Editor and Deputy Chief Executive Officer, Asian News International, India</p>
1800-1850	<p><b>The Year of the Dragon</b></p> <p><b>Jorge Quiroga</b>, Former President, Bolivia  <b>Noah Barkin</b>, Senior Advisor, China Practice, Rhodium Group, United States  <b>Philippe Le Corre</b>, Senior Fellow, Asia Society Policy Institute, France  <b>Velina Tchakarova</b>, Founder, FACE and Visiting Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, Austria  <b>Moderator: Smita Prakash</b>, Chief Editor and Deputy Chief Executive Officer, Asian News International, India</p>
1900-1945	<p><b>Decluttering the Discourse: Iranian Women</b></p> <p><b>Mojgan Golchin</b>, Head of Department, International Educational Cooperation Centre for Political and International Studies, Iran  <b>Neda Raefipour</b>, Diplomat, IPIS, Iran  <b>Moderator: Smita Prakash</b>, Chief Editor and Deputy Chief Executive Officer, Asian News International, India</p>
2020-2045	<p><b>Strategic Autonomy for Asia in a Decoupling World</b></p> <p><b>Hiroyuki Akita</b>, Foreign &amp; International Security Commentator, Nikkei, Japan  <b>Heungchong Kim</b>, President, The Korea Association of APEC Studies, Republic of Korea  <b>Lynn Kuok</b>, Visiting Professor, School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, United States  <b>Moderator: Rajeshwari Pillai Rajagopalan</b>, Director of the Centre for Security, Strategy and Technology, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>



# CHATURANGA

CONFLICT, CONTEST, COOPERATE, CREATE

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## Associated Events



## Raisina Dialogue 2024

FEBRUARY 19-29, 2024

**Raisina Young Fellows Programme - QUAD Edition**

FEBRUARY 21, 2024

0900-1300 *Jehangir* **Raisina-IE Global Student Challenge**11:00-1300 *Roshanara* **Asia Bridge: Economic Partnerships for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**  
- Closed door Indo-German Business Breakfast

FEBRUARY 22, 2024

1000-1130 *Roshanara* **Raisina-IE Global Student Challenge**1100-1200 *Jehangir* **Book Panel: India-US Perspectives on Nuclear Security**1800-1930 *Mumtaz* **Tripling Renewables: India as the new Safe Haven for investors in clean energy**

FEBRUARY 23, 2024

1100-1200 *Sheesh Mahal* **Making Profit a Public Good**

FEBRUARY 24, 2024

0900-1300 *ORF Office* **India-Russia Track 2 Dialogue**1500-1800 *ORF Office* **India-Nigeria Community Bridge (Day 1)**

FEBRUARY 25, 2024

0930-1300 *ORF Office* **India-Nigeria Community Bridge (Day 2)**



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# Speakers



# CHATURANGA

CONFLICT, CONTEST, COOPERATE, CREATE

## INAUGURATION SPEAKERS

Wednesday, 21 February, 2024

1800-1900, Durbar



**NARENDRA  
MODI**

Prime Minister of India



**KYRIAKOS  
MITSOTAKIS**

Prime Minister of Greece





**Aakanksha Tangri**

Founder and Chief  
Executive Officer, Re:Set,  
Canada



**Adm. Nicolas Vaujour**

Chief of the Naval Staff,  
France



**Abhishek Singh**

Additional Secretary, MeitY,  
President & Chief Executive  
Officer NeGD, India



**Adm. R Hari Kumar**

Chief of Naval Staff, India



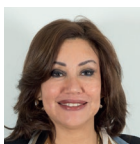
**Abigaël Vasselier**

Head of Foreign Relations,  
Mercator Institute for China  
Studies, Germany



**Adm. Sir Ben Key**

First Sea Lord and Chief  
of Naval Staff, United  
Kingdom



**Abia Abdel Latif**

Executive Director and  
Director of Research,  
The Egyptian Centre for  
Economic Studies, Egypt



**Air Marshal Robert  
Chipman**

Chief of the Air Force,  
Australia



**Aditi Avasthi**

Founder and Chief  
Executive Officer, Embibe,  
India



**Air Marshal Vivek Ram  
Chaudhari**

Chief of Air Staff, India



**Adm. John C. Aquilino**

Commander, US Indo-  
Pacific Command, United  
States



**Ajay Bisaria**

Distinguished Fellow,  
Observer Research  
Foundation, India

## Raisina Dialogue 2024

**Alan Yang**

Executive Director, Taiwan-Asia Exchange Foundation, and Distinguished Professor, National Chengchi University

**Alexandra Caples**

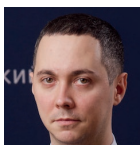
Director, Cyber, Technology and Security Program, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia

**Alex Rogers**

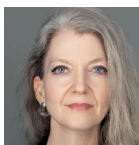
President, Qualcomm Technology Licensing & Global Affairs, Qualcomm Incorporated, United States

**Alica Kizeková**

Senior Research Fellow, Slovak Foreign Policy Association, Slovakia

**Alexander Gabuev**

Director, Carnegie Russia Eurasia Center, Germany

**Allison Hooker**

Senior Vice President, American Global Strategies, United States

**Alexander Marschik**

Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Austria

**Amina J. Mohammed**

Deputy Secretary-General, United Nations; Chair, United Nations Sustainable Development Group

**Alexander Sergunin**

Professor of International Relations at St. Petersburg State University and Higher School of Economics, Russia

**Amitabh Kant**

G20 Sherpa, India





**Amrita Narlikar**

Honorary Fellow, Darwin College, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom



**Angela Rayner**

Shadow Deputy Prime Minister; Labour MP for Ashton-under-Lyne; Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, United Kingdom



**Ana Miguel dos Santos**

Former Deputy of the Portuguese Assembly of the Republic, Portugal



**Angelo George**

Chief Executive Officer, Bisleri, India



**Andreas Motzfeldt Kravik**

State Secretary, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway



**Anil Sooklal**

BRICS Sherpa & Ambassador at Large for Asia and BRICS, Department International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa



**Andrew Shearer**

Director-General, Office of National Intelligence, Australia



**Anita Prakash**

Director for Policy Relations, Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, Indonesia



**Andy O'Connell**

Vice President, Product Policy and Strategy, Meta, United States



**Ānjali Kaur**

Deputy Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Asia, U.S. Agency for International Development, United States

## Raisina Dialogue 2024

**Anna Bjerde**

Managing Director, The  
World Bank

**Archana Sharma**

Principal Scientist, Senior  
Advisor International  
Relations, CERN,  
Switzerland

**Anna-Katharina  
Hornidge**

Director, German Institute  
of Development and  
Sustainability, Germany

**Archana Vyas**

PAC Director, Growth,  
Opportunity, and  
Empowerment, Global  
Policy and Advocacy, Bill &  
Melinda Gates Foundation,  
India

**Antonio de Aguiar  
Patriota**

Ambassador of Brazil to the  
United Kingdom, United  
Kingdom

**Arvind Gupta**

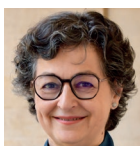
Founder Member, Digital  
India Foundation, India

**Anwar bin Mohammed  
Gargash**

Diplomatic Advisor to the  
President, United Arab  
Emirates

**Ashok Malik**

Partner and Chair of the  
India Practice, The Asia  
Group, India

**Arancha González**

Former Minister of  
Foreign Affairs, European  
Union and Cooperation,  
Spain; Dean Paris School  
of International Affairs,  
Sciences Po, France

**Ashwini Vaishnaw**

Minister for  
Communications,  
Electronics & Information  
Technology and Railways,  
India



**Aude Darnal**

Research Associate,  
Stimson Center, United  
States



**Bhupender Yadav**

Union Cabinet Minister  
for Environment, Forest  
& Climate Change; and  
Labour & Employment



**Ayode Alakija**

Chair, Board of Directors,  
FIND; Co-Chair, G7 Impact  
Investment Initiative in  
Global Health



**Bibek Debroy**

Chairman, Economic  
Advisory Council to the  
Prime Minister, India



**Baratang Miya**

Founder, Girlhype Women  
Who Code & Women Tech  
Policy Hub, South Africa



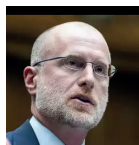
**Børge Brende**

President, World Economic  
Forum



**Bassant Hassib**

Non-Resident Scholar,  
Middle East Institute,  
United States



**Brendan Carr**

Commissioner, Federal  
Communications  
Commission, United States



**Benedikt Franke**

Vice-Chairman and Chief  
Executive Officer, Munich  
Security Conference,  
Germany



**Bruce Jones**

Senior Fellow, The  
Brookings Institution,  
United States

## Raisina Dialogue 2024

**Caitríona Heini**

Executive Director,  
The Azure Forum for  
Contemporary Security  
Strategy, Ireland

**Chandrika Bahadur**

Chief Executive Officer, The  
Antara Foundation, India

**Camilla Fenning**

Programme Lead, E3G,  
United Kingdom

**Comfort Ero**

President and CEO,  
International Crisis Group,  
United Kingdom

**Candith Mashego-Dlamini**

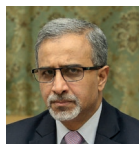
Deputy Minister of  
International Relations and  
Cooperation, South Africa

**Corinna Hoyer**

Managing Director and  
Chief Operating Officer,  
World Minds, Switzerland

**Carl Bildt**

Former Prime Minister,  
Sweden

**D. Bala Venkatesh Verma**

Former Ambassador of  
India to Russia, India

**Carlos Roa**

Visiting Fellow, Danube  
Institute, United States

**D.N. Dhungyel**

Minister for Foreign Affairs  
and External Trade, Bhutan

**Chandra R. Srikanth**

Deputy Executive Editor,  
Moneycontrol, India

**Daman Pak Jami**

Senior Researcher,  
Institute for Political and  
International Studies, Iran



**Dammu Ravi**

Secretary (ER), Ministry of External Affairs, India



**Do Hung Viet**

Deputy Foreign Minister, Vietnam



**Daniel Kurtz Phelan**

Editor, Foreign Affairs, United States



**Dominique Hasler**

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Liechtenstein



**David Petraeus**

Former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, United States



**Dulciana Somare-Brash**

Development Specialist, DevCom Pacific (PNG) Ltd, Papua New Guinea



**Dhruva Jaishankar**

Executive Director, Observer Research Foundation America, United States



**Ebtesam Al-Ketbi**

President, Emirates Policy Centre, United Arab Emirates



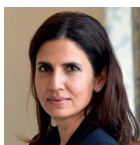
**Dino Patti Djalal**

Founder and Chairman, Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia, Indonesia



**Eenam Gambhir**

Joint Secretary (UNP), Ministry of External Affairs, India



**Divyata Ashiya**

Trustee, RUSI, United Kingdom



**Eeva Eek-Pajuste**

Adviser, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Estonia

## Raisina Dialogue 2024

**Effy Vayena**

Professor, ETH Zurich;  
Associate Vice President,  
Digital Transformation &  
Governance, Switzerland

**Elmedin Konaković**

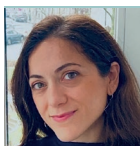
Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Eghosa Osaghae**

Director-General, Nigerian  
Institute of International  
Affairs, Nigeria

**Emanuela Claudia Del Re**

EU Special Representative  
for the Sahel, European  
External Action Service,  
Italy

**Elena Lazarou**

Senior Fellow, Hellenic  
Foundation for European  
and Foreign Policy;  
Associate Fellow, Chatham  
House, United Kingdom

**Emmanuel Baudran**

Global Head of  
Infrastructure,  
Agence Française de  
Développement, France

**Elina Valtonen**

Minister for Foreign Affairs,  
Finland

**Kate O'Shaughnessy**

Research Director, Perth  
USAsia Centre, Australia

**Elisabetta Belloni**

Director General, Security  
Intelligence Department,  
Presidency of the Council  
of Ministers, Italy

**Erin Saltman**

Director of Programming,  
Global Internet Forum to  
Counter Terrorism, United  
Kingdom



**Erin Watson**

Director at Mandala Partners and Adjunct Research Fellow at Griffith Asia Institute, Australia



**Feodor Voitlovsky**

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



**Fabio Soares**

Director, Institute for Applied Economic Research, Brazil



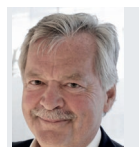
**Filippa Lentzos**

Associate Professor of Science & International Security, King's College London, United Kingdom



**Fahad Aldhubaib**

Senior VP of Strategy & Market Analysis, ARAMCO, Saudi Arabia



**Finn Mortensen**

Executive Director, State of Green, Denmark



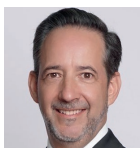
**Fariba Alasvand**

Professor, Women and Family Research Institute, Iran



**Gabriellus Landsbergis**

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lithuania



**Federico Banos-Lindner**

Group Senior Vice President, Government Relations & Public Affairs, DP World, United Arab Emirates



**General Anil Chauhan**

Chief of Defence Staff, India





### **Geoffrey Van Orden**

Former Chairman,  
European Parliament  
Delegation for Relations  
with India, United Kingdom



### **Gwendoline Abunaw**

Managing Director,  
Ecobank, Cameroon



### **Geraldine Ang**

Clean Energy Finance and  
Investment Mobilisation  
Programme, Team Lead,  
Financial System for  
Biodiversity and Transition  
Minerals, and Senior Policy  
Analyst, OECD



### **Hanke Bruins Slot**

Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Netherlands



### **Giorgos Gerapetritis**

Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Greece



### **Hans-Christian Hagman**

Deputy National Security  
Advisor, Swedish National  
Security Council, Sweden



### **Giulio Terzi di Sant'Agata**

President, Senate  
Committee on European  
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### **Harsh V. Pant**

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### **Gladden Pappin**

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### **Hayley Channer**

Director of Economic  
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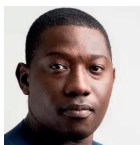
**Henri Verdier**

Ambassador for Digital Affairs, France



**İlke Toygür**

Director, Center for Innovation in Global Politics and Economics, Spain



**Herbert Krapa**

Deputy Minister, Ministry of Energy, Ghana



**Indrani Bagchi**

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**Jan Lipavský**

Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
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**Jagannatha Kumar**

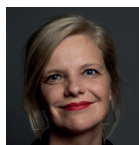
Chief Executive Officer,  
Reliance Foundation, India

**Janaina Isabel Tewaney Mencomo**

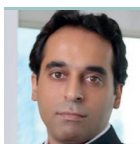
Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Panama

**Jaibal Naduvath**

Vice President and Senior  
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**Janka Oertel**

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**Jochen Flasbarth**

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**Kabir Taneja**

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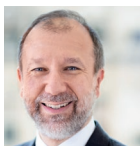
**John Chipman**

Executive Chairman, The  
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Secretary General of CICA  
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Former President, Bolivia



**Kajsa Ollongren**

Minister of Defence,  
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**Juraj Blanar**

Minister of Foreign and  
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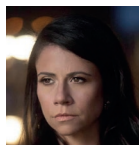
**Kanika Chawla**

Chief of Staff, Sustainable  
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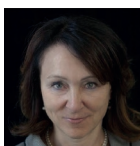
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**Lynn Kuok**

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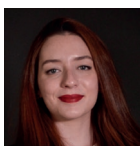
**Lisa Singh**

Chief Executive Officer, Australia India Institute, Australia



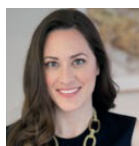
**M. Hari Menon**

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**Louise Marie Hurel**

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**Maggie Sprenger**

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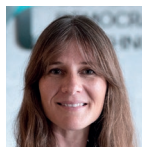
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Broadcasting, Government  
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**Margus Tsahkna**

Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
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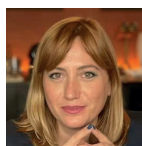
**Marie Schröter**

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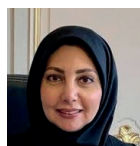
**Martin Kocher**

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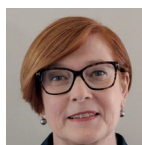
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**Masoomah Seif Afjehee**

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**Marcin Bużański**

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**Meenakshi Lekhi**

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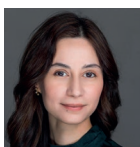
**Mihir Sharma**

Director, Centre for  
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**N.K. Singh**

Chairperson of Fifteenth  
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**Neda Raefipour**

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**Nagaraj Naidu**

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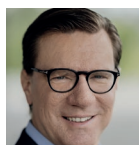
**Nicholas Stern**

IG Patel Professor  
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**Nalinee Taveesin**

Advisor to the Prime  
Minister, Thailand



**Nico Lange**

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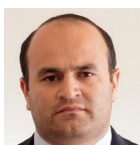
**Narayan Prakash Saud**

Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Nepal



**Nilanjan Ghosh**

Director, Observer  
Research Foundation, India



**Narek Mkrtchyan**

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**Palki Sharma**

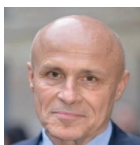
Managing Editor, Network18, India

**Oliver Della Costa Stuenkel**

Associate Professor, Fundação Getulio Vargas, Brazil

**Pamela Mishkin**

Member of Technical Staff, OpenAI, United States

**Olivier Poivre d'Arvor**

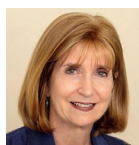
French Ambassador for the Poles and Maritime Issues, France

**Paolo Magri**

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**Ornela Çuçi**

Vice President, IKAR Holdings, Albania

**Paula Dobriansky**

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**Osamu Yamamoto**

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**Pavlina Pavlova**

Public Policy Advisor, CyberPeace Institute, Austria



**Penny Wong**

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**Piyush Goyal**

Minister of Commerce  
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Affairs, Food and Public  
Distribution, Textiles, India  
and Leader of the House,  
Rajya Sabha, India



**Peter Benjamin  
Mandelson**

Member of the House of  
Lords, United Kingdom



**Pramod Chaudhari**

Executive Chairman, Praj  
Industries Ltd., India



**Petra Goude**

Global Practice Leader,  
Core Enterprise and Cloud,  
Kyndryl, United States



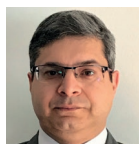
**Pratyush Kumar**

Co-founder, Sarvam AI,  
India



**Philip Green OAM**

High Commissioner of  
Australia to India, Australia



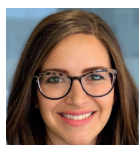
**Puneet Roy Kundal**

Additional Secretary  
(E&SA), Ministry of External  
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**Philippe Le Corre**

Senior Fellow, Asia Society  
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**Rachel Rizzo**

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**Rahoul Sawani**

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Corteva Agriscience,  
Singapore

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**Rajeshwari Pillai  
Rajagopalan**

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**Reinhard Bütikofer**

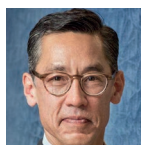
Member of the European  
Parliament, Germany

**Rajiv Sinha**

Distinguished Fellow,  
Observer Research  
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**Rend Al-Rahim**

Co-founder and President,  
Iraq Foundation, United  
States



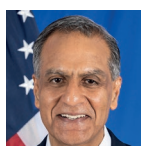
**Rexon Y. Ryu**

President, The Asia Group,  
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**Rudra Chaudhuri**

Director of Carnegie India,  
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**Richard Verma**

Deputy Secretary of State  
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**Sabina Stadler**

Ambassador, Head of  
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Ministry of Foreign and  
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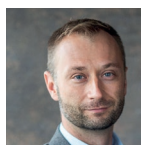
**Riya Sinha**

Research Associate, Centre  
for Social and Economic  
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**Saïd Abass Ahamed**

Ambassador and Special  
Envoy of the President of  
the African Union



**Róbert Vass**

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**Sandiaga Uno**

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**Rosa Balfour**

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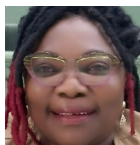
**Sanjeev Krishan**

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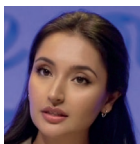
Chief Executive Officer, Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa

**Sara Roversi**

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Vice President & Director, East West Center, United States

**Sara Wahedi**

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State Minister of Finance, Sri Lanka

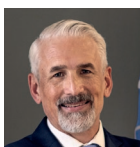


**Shlomit Wagman**

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**Stephen Harper**

Former Prime Minister,  
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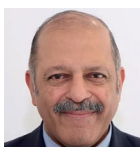
**Sonam Yangchen**

Chief Executive Officer,  
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**Sue Hoosain**

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**Tigran Yepremyan**

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**Tetsuya Watanabe**

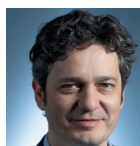
President, Economic  
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**Tilman Kuban**

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**Tharaka Balasuriya**

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**Walter Feichtinger**

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## Alumni



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### **Kesava Chandra Varigonda**

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### **Khyati Thakker**

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### **Krishn Kaushik**

Political and General News Correspondent, Reuters, India

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President, The Micha Boyrn Institute for Asian and Global Studies, Poland

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### **Lilit Aghayan**

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### **Mahima.**

Assistant Vice President, Blackstone, India

### **Malgorzata Jankowska**

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**Marianna Albuquerque**

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**Max Neufeind**

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**Mikhail Korostikov**

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**Mikhail Terskikh**

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**Mridula Pandey**

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### Parisa Shakur

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### Peter Aukamp

CFO, COO, OceanSafe AG, Germany

### Philipp Roessl

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Jakarta, Austria

### Prasanna Karthik

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### Priscilla Gatonye

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### Rajeev Amarasuriya

Governing Board, Central Bank of Sri Lanka,  
Sri Lanka

### Rajeev Mantri

Managing Director, Navam Capital, India

### Raquel Scamilla Andreo Aledo

Programme Management Officer,  
International Atomic Energy Agency, Brazil

### Rasta Daei

Envoy, Government of Canada, Canada

### Ravi Pokharna

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### Rohan Mishra

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Government Affairs, Coca Cola, India

### Ronak Gopaldas

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Experts Association of Nigeria, Nigeria

### Sanna Orava

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German Embassy New Delhi, Germany

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Co-Founder and Director, Global Public Policy  
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**Uzoamaka Ugochukwu**

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**Victoria Panova**

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**Vivek Kumar**

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**Vlada Galan**

Partner, Oracle Advisory Group, United States

**Waruna Dhanapala**

Additional Secretary (Regional Administration Reforms), Ministry of Public Administration, Home Affairs Provincial Councils & Local Government, Sri Lanka

**Wendy R. Anderson**

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**Yogesh Gauchan Thakali**

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**Zeina Obeid**

Partner, Obeid Partners, France



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# 7

Raisina Young Fellows  
QUAD Edition



## Raisina Dialogue 2024



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Department of  
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**Aleksandra  
Chmielewska**

Partnerships Specialist,  
UNICEF / ITU Giga  
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**Adája Stoetman**

Research Fellow, Security  
Unit, Clingendael



**Alexander Titus**

Founder and Executive  
Director, Project 47



**Akram Zaoui**

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& Public Policy Lab, Policy  
Center for the New South



**Alisee Pornet**

Resilience and Climate  
- Global Lead, Fragility,  
Resilience and Conflict,  
Agence Française de  
Développement



**Albert Zhang**

Analyst, Cyber Technology  
and Security, Australian  
Strategic Policy Institute



**Bianca Bonetti**

Founder, GirlsWentOut and  
SistersFounders



**Bijaya Jairu**

Central Committee  
Member, Rastriya  
Swatantra Party, Nepal

**Ernesto Gonzalez Galicia**

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for Asia-Pacific, Mexico

**Caitlin McPherson**

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Government Department  
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Director, French Institute of  
International Relations

**Carla Niediek**

First Secretary, Political,  
German Embassy in New  
Delhi

**Henri Vanhanen**

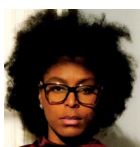
Research Fellow, Finnish  
Foreign Policy, Finnish  
Institute of International  
Affairs

**Charlotte Davies**

Journalist, EL MUNDO  
(Unidad Editorial  
Información General SLU)

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Project Manager, Centre for  
European Perspective

**Danielle Alakija**

Founder, Earth Soli

**Joana Bertašiūtė**

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Republic of Lithuania

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**Lauren Dagan Amoss**

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**Mor Eini**

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World.Minds



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Government Relations &  
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**Nare Haroyan**

Advisor, Investment  
Project, Ministry of  
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**Niclas Frederic Poitiers**

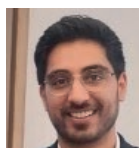
Research Fellow, Bruegel

**Rebecca Berry**

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**Nicolás Muñoz**

Diplomat, Environment, Climate Change and Oceans, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Chile

**Riyan Sherif**

Global Engagement and Public Affairs Manager, DP World

**Nikhil MV**

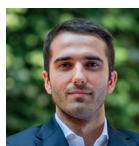
Deputy Secretary, East Asia Division, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India

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**Oluwasimidele Shonibare**

India Desk Officer, US Department of State

**Roberto Italia**

Research Assistant, Geoeconomics, Institute for International Political Studies

**Omid Babelian**

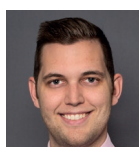
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**Rachit Rawat**

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**Samuel Bashfield**

Defence Researcher, University of Melbourne's Australia India Institute

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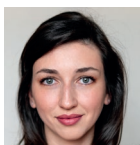
**Santiago Theoduloz**

Associate Lawyer, Guyer & Regules



**Ting Wei Hsu**

Associate Research Fellow,  
Institute for National  
Defense and Security  
Research



**Selma Obarčanin**

Co-founder and Chief  
Marketing Officer, SO..  
Creative Growth Agency



**William Legge**

Policy Officer, Defence,  
Australian Department of  
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**Sophie Rogan**

Third Secretary - Policy,  
Legal & Strategy  
Coordinator, Passport  
Service, Department of  
Foreign Affairs of Ireland



**Yasemin Karadag Avci**

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**Swabhavika Singh**

Public Health Medicine  
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Department of Health



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Coordinator, Young Leaders  
Advisory Board, Aramco



**Takuro Iwahashi**

Deputy Editor, Foreign  
News Section, Kyodo News



**Yuka Fujii**

Assistant Manager,  
Refurbishing Computers  
Development, People Port  
Corp.



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## Raisina-IE Global Student Challenge



**Theme of the challenge** – *Future of global governance with a focus on the international climate change regime.*

### Jury Members:



**Dhruva Jaishankar**

Executive Director, Observer Research Foundation America, United States



**Marise Payne**

Professor of Practice, International Relations and Public Policy, Western Sydney University, Australia; Former Minister for Defence of Australia



**Jorge Quiroga**

Former President, Bolivia

### Academic Advisors:



**Ángel Alonso Arroba**

Vice Dean for Management and Development, IE School of Global and Public Affairs



**Robert Mizo**

Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science, University of Delhi



**Claudia Yoshinaga**

Associate Professor of Finance at the School of Business Administration at Fundação Getulio Vargas and Research Director at Finance Research Center

**Students:****Abdul Omar Maziko**

Master's Student, Tsinghua University in Beijing

**Conrad Buffier**

PhD Candidate, Crawford School of Public Policy at Australian National University

**Adugna Roro Wakjira**

PhD Candidate, Addis Ababa University College of Developmental Studies

**Devanshi Patnaik**

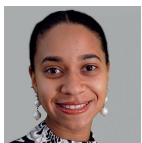
MSFS Student, Georgetown University

**Amira Fekry**

Master's Student, American University in Cairo

**Emmanuel Capochichi**

Master's Student, IE University School of Politics

**Aurelie Chapon**

Master's Student, Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy at the University of Toronto

**Ibtsam Qureshi**

PhD Candidate, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, South Korea

**Bruno D. Ygosse Battisti**

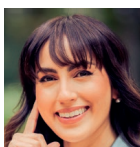
Master's Student, São Paulo School of Business Administration of Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV-EAESP)

**Irene Pérez Beltrán**

Master's Student, Sciences Po Paris



## Raisina Dialogue 2024

**Karina Sánchez-Bazán**

PhD Candidate, School of Government and Public Transformation, Tecnológico de Monterrey

**Qazi Fariha Iqbal**

MSS Student, University of Dhaka

**Mancha Johannes Sekgololo**

Doctoral Candidate, University of Johannesburg

**Shantanu Roy-Chaudhury**

Master's Student, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

**Martín Illanes**

Future Master's Student, UC Chile

**Tobias Scholz**

Doctoral Candidate, King's College London and the National University of Singapore

**Peng Liu**

MSc Student, NYU Abu Dhabi

**Virendra Kumar**

Researcher, Satyawati College at the University of Delhi





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# 9

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## India-Nigeria Community Bridge

## Nigeria



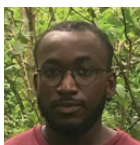
**Abigail Irozuru**

Athlete



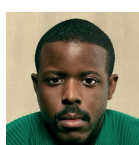
**Musa Bukar**

Assistant PM, Emergency  
Coordination Centre



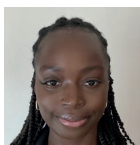
**Adejimi George-Coke**

Master's Student, University  
of Reading



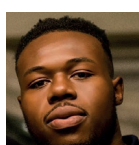
**Myles Igwebuikie**

Artist, designer, and  
founder of Nteje Studios



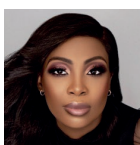
**Ayomide Olorunfemi**

Clinical Trial Monitor,  
Imperial College London



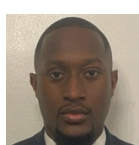
**Olapido Ariyo**

Mechanical Engineer at  
Arup



**Bolanle Olukanni**

Actor, Television and Radio  
Host, Nigeria



**OluFunso Soleye**

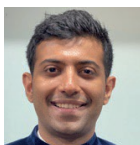
Business Analyst,  
Mercytech Consulting



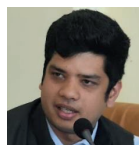
**Elochukwu Agbasiere**

Entrepreneur

## India

**Ameya Pratap Singh**

Managing Director,  
Yogayatan Group;  
Managing Editor, Statecraft  
Daily

**Promit Mookherjee**

Associate Fellow, Observer  
Research Foundation

**Amoha Basrur**

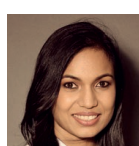
Research Assistant,  
Observer Research  
Foundation

**Rida Gatphoh**

Founder, Dak\_ti Crafts

**Aniket Doegar**

Founder and CEO,  
Haqdarshak

**Rohini Rau**

Founder and Director,  
Essential Wellness

**Ankita Sharma**

Senior Assistant Vice  
President, Invest India

**Sonal Shah**

Executive Director,  
Centre of Sustainable and  
Equitable Cities; Founder,  
The Urban Catalysts

**Bindu Subramaniam**

Director, Subramaniam  
Academy of Performing  
Arts



# CHATURANGA

CONFLICT, CONTEST, COOPERATE, CREATE

# 10

Team Raisina



## HOSTS



**VINAY MOHAN  
KWATRA**

Foreign Secretary,  
Ministry of External  
Affairs



**SUNJOY JOSHI**

Chairman,  
Observer Research  
Foundation



**RAGHURAM S.**

Joint Secretary, Policy  
Planning and Research  
Ministry of External  
Affairs

## CURATOR



**SAMIR SARAN**

President,  
Observer Research  
Foundation



**Tanoubi Ngangom**

Chief of Staff & Head of Programming



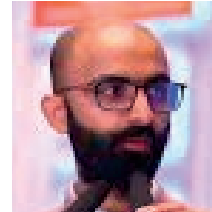
**Laetitia Bruce Warjri**

Head of Communications



**Pulkit Mohan**

Head of Forums



**Shubh Soni**

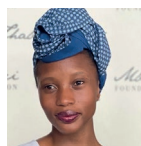
Head of Partnerships

## TEAM



**Aamir Rabbani**

Multimedia Lead



**Goitseone Sebalo**

Executive Assistant to  
the CEO, Thabo Mbeki  
Foundation



**Abhishek Sharma**

Manager, Visual Media



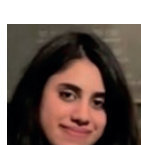
**Harsh Suri**

Intern



**Asad Abdul Samad**

Administration Manager



**Inayat Rai**

Intern



**Basu Chandola**

Associate Fellow



**Karun Sagar**

Multi-Media Creator



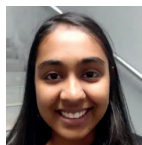
**Devjyoti Saha**

Intern



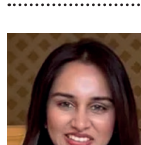
**Komal Badodekar**

Multi-Media Lead (Hindi)



**Fiza Jain**

Research Assistant, Media  
and Publications



**Megha Choubey**

Associate Fellow, Forums

## Raisina Dialogue 2024

**Megha Dutta**

Associate Fellow, Web &  
New Media

**Rishith Sinha**

Research Assistant,  
President's Office

**Natalie Boyse**

Program Manager, Global  
Programs

**Roshani Jain**

Research Assistant, South  
Asia

**Noyontara Gupta**

Junior Fellow, Programmes,  
Appraisal and  
Management

**Sanjay Verma**

Web Manager

**Phindile Ndlovu**

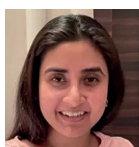
Project Officer, Thabo  
Mbeki Foundation

**Sanjith Srikanth**

Manager, Projects

**Preeti Lourdes John**

Deputy Editor

**Sankalita Dey**

Manager, Web &  
Production

**Rahil Miya Shaikh**

Lead, Graphics and Design

**Sarah Sawhney**

Research Assistant, Media  
and Publications





**Shubhanjay Varma**

Digital & Analytics Manager



**Vijay Seth**

Manager



**Sonali Sharma**

Deputy Manager  
Administration



**Vinia Mukherjee**

Publisher



**Stelin Paul**

Associate Fellow, Media  
and Publications



**Vivek Kumar**

Research Assistant,  
Centre for New Economic  
Diplomacy



**Sukhmani Sharma**

Programme Coordinator



**Yash Tyagi**

Intern



# CHATURANGA

CONFLICT, CONTEST, COOPERATE, CREATE

# 11

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Conference  
Information



## Code of Conduct

### Raisina Dialogue Charter

**THIS RAISINA DIALOGUE** is an inclusive and diverse forum with participants from across a range of backgrounds. We place a high premium on ensuring that the conference is an open and safe venue for every attendee, regardless of gender identity, sexual orientation, nationality, ethnicity, religion, or disability. We request that all those associated with the Raisina Dialogue, including participants, organisers, and hotel staff, to follow our Charter of Participation and understand the repercussions of any violations. Team Raisina will also announce house rules and updates throughout the conference, which we request all the stakeholders to follow as well.

#### **VIOLATIONS OF THE CHARTER PARTICIPATIONS**

We expect all those involved to abide by our expected conduct guidelines and respect our anti-harassment policy during the conference. This includes conference-related social events and online social media engagement. If asked by conference organisers to cease prohibited behaviour, you are expected to comply immediately. If inappropriate behaviour persists, the conference organisers may take any action they deem appropriate, including immediate expulsion from the conference and/ or reporting to appropriate authorities.

#### **RESOURCES**

##### **Reporting Inappropriate Conduct**

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

**Law Enforcement**

If an emergency arises, please first contact the Delhi Police immediately by dialing 100 (Emergency Toll- Free Number) and proceed to notify a conference organiser of the issue.

**Doctor on Staff**

We have a doctor on call throughout the conference. In the event you need medical attention, please contact Vijay Seth-Manager at ORF ([vijaykumar@orfonline.com](mailto:vijaykumar@orfonline.com) or +91 9910028657).

**EXPECTED CONDUCT**

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

**Attendance and Dress Code**

We restrict access to the Raisina Dialogue to participants with valid confirmation cards. All participants must attend the conference in formal attire (business formal / national/ military).

**Conference Participation**

Please be respectful, understanding, and mindful of fellow participants. Conversations should be framed in an open and inclusive manner. Profanity or slurs are strictly prohibited. If you choose to attend a panel discussion, we request you to stay seated for the entire duration of the event, unless asked otherwise.

**Drugs and Alcohol**

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

**Safety**

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

**ANTI-HARASSMENT POLICY**

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

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

## Media Advisory 2024

### 1. ELIGIBILITY

All accredited members of the media, non-accredited senior journalists, columnists, and commentators.

### 2. VENUE AND AGENDA

The Raisina Dialogue will be held in New Delhi, India from 21-23 February 2024, at the **Taj Palace Hotel, Diplomatic Enclave, New Delhi.**

The full agenda will be available on <https://www.orfonline.org/raisina-dialogue/>. Please bear in mind that session timings are subject to change.

### 3. CONFERENCE ACCESS

Media will have access to all public sessions. Public sessions can also be viewed live on ORF's YouTube, X, and Facebook accounts. You can also visit our website for various updates on the conference.

### 4. INTERVIEWS

Camera risers and audio output will be available in the rooms where public sessions will be held. These will be on a first-come, first-served basis. All public interviews will be held at the media enclosure in the Rajabagh lawns. Please be mindful that this is a common media space, therefore, all media personnel are advised keep their interactions brief while using these spaces.

## 5. SOCIAL MEDIA

Listing the social media handles that will be used for the Raisina Dialogue 2024:

### ORF X

1. ORF main handle: @orfonline
2. Raisina Dialogue: @RaisinaDialogue

### ORF Instagram:

1. ORF: <https://www.instagram.com/orfonline/>
2. Raisina Dialogue: <https://www.instagram.com/raisinaofficial/>

### ORF Facebook Pages

1. Observer Research Foundation: <https://www.facebook.com/ORFOnline>
2. Raisina Dialogue: <https://www.facebook.com/RaisinaDialogue>

### ORF LinkedIn:

<https://www.linkedin.com/company/observer-research-foundation/>

**ORF Telegram:** <https://t.me/orftg>

You can follow all updates from the conference by using the hashtag **#Raisina2024**. We encourage you to use this hashtag as it will enable us to identify your message on our social media platforms.

## **6. MEDIA CODE OF CONDUCT**

All members of the media are bound by the Raisina Dialogue Charter of Participation. If any members of the media are found in violation of conference rules, access may be revoked. We expect the media to be transparent and accurate in its reporting of conference events. Media is expected to report only on active sessions and discussions. For all media coverage during and following the conference, including off-stage interactions with speakers and participants, “The Raisina Dialogue” and its hosts, “The Observer Research Foundation” and “The Ministry of External Affairs, India” must be acknowledged in full.

## **7. CONTACT**

For any queries or assistance please write to **Laetitia Bruce Warjri** ([laetitia.warjri@orfonline.org](mailto:laetitia.warjri@orfonline.org)) and **Sankalita Dey** ([sankalita.dey@orfonline.org](mailto:sankalita.dey@orfonline.org))



# Location

## New Delhi

### Taj Palace Hotel

#### LEGENDS

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

Map not to scale



Venue  
Conference Map  
Locate your sessions/facilities





# CHATURANGA

CONFLICT, CONTEST, COOPERATE, CREATE

# 12

## Partners



## Raisina 2024 Partners



UK Government

APRI  
APPLIED POLICY  
RESEARCH INSTITUTE  
ASHEEMAKONRAD  
ADENAUER  
STIFTUNGBILL & MELINDA  
GATES foundation

Australian Government

EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES  
NEW DELHI  
الإمارات العربية المتحدة  
مكتب القنصلية  
نيو دلهي

UNISON CAPITAL

Bisleri



NIPPON STEEL



DP WORLD

SUNTORY



JBIC



GENERAL ATOMICS

Qualcomm



pwc

SUFIP  
DEVELOPMENT NETWORK

Microsoft

LOCKHEED  
MARTIN

Meta



Global Health Strategies

ESIWA  
ENHANCING SECURITY  
COOPERATION  
IN AND WITH ASIACORTEVA  
agriscience

GILEAD



THE ASIA GROUP



E3G

SUSTAINABLE  
ENERGY  
FOR ALLWORLD  
MINDSMacArthur  
FoundationORF  
AMERICAUN  
DPReliance  
Foundation

Sustainable Mobility Partner





**Ministry of External Affairs**  
Government of India



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