Programme

Raisina Dialogue 2019 is held under the Auspices of

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

DAY-1 Tuesday, January 8, 2019

1800-1900	Inaugural Session at the Durbar	
1915-2100	Dinner Conversations	*Shahjehan:* **Foreign Secretary's Dinner** (By invitation only) **Sergey Ryabkov**, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Russia **Reginah Mhaule**, Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa **Helga Schmid**, Secretary-General, European External Action Service
		Mumtaz: **When WTO met Westphalia: Preserving the Liberal Economic Order** *In recent years, three secular tendencies have begun to challenge the economic progress recorded in the last seven decades. Non-market economies have become models of success, with their state-owned and state-run enterprises engaging in zero-sum economics; meanwhile, perverse trading arrangements seek to create national or regional advantages. Second, the rise of nationalist politics has created a basis for nativist economics; countries across the globe are increasingly looking to economic policy as a means of populist political propagation. Finally, the illicit movement of information and intellectual property is challenging what was a fundamental part of free markets: knowledge creation. Can the economic order that served as the basis for decades of growth and prosperity survive? Must it adapt to meet these challenges—and, if so, should it fight them or accommodate them? Is there no populist, or even popular, case to be made for the liberal economic order?* **Andreas Schaal**, Director, Global Relations, OECD **Deepak Jacob**, President & General Counsel, Legal & Regulatory Affairs, Star India **Karel Lannoo**, Chief Executive Officer, CEPS **Sanjeev Sanyal**, Principal Economic Advisor, Ministry of Finance, India **Sheryl Foo**, Director, Vertech Capital, Singapore. Moderated by **Rathin Roy**, Director NIPFP, India.

DAY-1 Tuesday, January 8, 2019

1915-2100	Dinner Conversations	*Jehangir:* **#AccessibleHealth: Towards an Inclusive Human Capital Framework** *The fast-growing populations in the emerging world are now demanding world-class health services. This is in the backdrop of significant lifestyle changes, old health challenges, and new vulnerabilities arising from affluence. Addressing their aspirations will thus require new models of delivery, new partnerships and novel financing mechanisms. How can communities become co-creators and co-providers of health services, instead of passive recipients of care? What models have emerged from policy experimentation in emerging economies that are worth investing in and spreading? And how can the politics of developing countries be re-ordered around the provision of basic health?* **Indu Bhushan**, CEO, Ayushman Bharat Initiative, India **Daisy Amdany**, Executive Director, Community Advocacy and Awareness Trust, Crawn Trust, Kenya. **Jorge Ferrao**, Vice Chancellor, Pedagogic University, Mozambique **Sandhya Venkateswaran**, Deputy Director, BMGF, India. **Vinod Paul**, Member, NITI Aayog, India Moderated by **Anjali Nayyar**, Executive Vice President, Global Health Strategies, India
		Roshanara: **Trust in Tech: A New Framework for Digital Security and Prosperity** *Is the digital realm an Impossible Triangle, where serving national security, privacy, and economic growth equally ,is becomingincreasingly difficult? Cyber crimes, banking frauds, radicalisation online, repressive free speech regulations, and biased technology design have led to a growing pushback against technology generally, and technology companies specifically. How must corporations respond to the growing trust deficit that consumers have with the big technology platforms and technology service providers? How do we ensure that digital freedoms and rights are served and protected by governments and regimes? Is it inevitable that citizen collectives will aggregate together to demand better performance from corporations, regulators, and licensers? Do we need a new framework to ensure digital peace and well-being?* **Chitra Subramaniam**, Editorial Adviser, Republic TV, India **Jon Brickey**, Senior Vice President and Cybersecurity Evangelist, Mastercard, USA. **Paula Kift**, Civil Liberties Engineer, Palantir Technologies, USA **Rema Rajeshwari**, District Police Chief, Telengana, India. **Scott Carpenter**, Managing Director, Jigsaw, USA. **Stéphane Nappo**, Global Chief Information Security Officer, International Retail Banking, Société Générale International Banking, France. Moderated by **Kaja Ciglic**, Director, Government Cybersecurity Policy and Strategy, Microsoft, USA.
2130-2230	Conversations over Kahwa	*Mumtaz:* **Author's Corner** **Stephen Harper**, Former Prime Minister, Canada **C Christine Fair**, Professor, Georgetown University, USA. **Harsh Pant**, Director, Studies and Head, Strategic Studies Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India. **Stephen Tankel**, Associate Professor, American University, USA. Moderated by **David Malone**, Rector, United Nations University.

DAY-1 Tuesday, January 8, 2019

2130-2230	Conversations over Kahwa	*Roshanara:* **Two Arteries, One Heartland: As the Arctic, Eurasia and the Indo-Pacific Converge** *The economic and strategic drivers of the 21st century are forcing the political convergence of three hitherto distinct geographical entities: the Arctic, Eurasia and the Indo-Pacific. As in the parable of the blind men and the elephant, states will feel their way around these geographies, each seeking its own understanding of their unique importance to national interests. This panel will unpack the panoply of actors and strategies enmeshed in these geographies. Is a collision of interests inevitable? Which institutions are best placed to manage and defuse emerging tensions? Must the norms governing international cooperation in these areas be abandoned, or can they be salvaged?* **Alica Kizeková**, Senior Researcher, Institute of International Relations, Czech Republic. **François Godement**, Senior Advisor, Institut Montaigne, France. **Katja Gloger**, Editor-at-Large, Stern Magazine, Germany. **Merriden Varrall**, Non-Resident Fellow, Lowy Institute, Australia. Moderated by **Jeffrey Smith**, Research Fellow, Asian Studies Center, Heritage Foundation, USA.
		ITC Maurya: **The U.S. and Us: Reset or Retreat** *Reports of USA's decline have often been greatly exaggerated. After all, it has remained central to international politics, even as the size and scale of the global economy has grown. Questions are often asked about USA's engagement with the world, but this panel will seek answers to an even more pressing query: how should the world engage with this power? Can actors in global governance that have newfound purpose and capacity assist it through the difficult transition to a flatter world? How does the world view a US that has long enjoyed a constancy of strategic goals and ambition?* **Alexander Gabuev**, Senior Fellow and Chair, Russia in the Asia-Pacific Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Russia. **Anton Tsvetov**, Advisor to the Chairman, Center for Strategic Research, Russia. **Julie Sheetz**, Chief of Staff for Asian & Pacific Security Affairs, Department of Defense, USA. **Benedetta Berti**, Head of Policy Planning, NATO. **Yuanzhe Ren**, Associate Professor, China Foreign Affairs University. Moderated by **Georg Mascolo**, Journalist; Dean, Bucerius Summer School on Global Governance, Germany.

DAY-2 Wednesday, January 9, 2019

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

DAY-2 Wednesday, January 9, 2019

1200-1300	In Conversation	*Durbar:* **Engendered Globalisation: What will it take?** **Smriti Irani**, Minister for Textiles, Government of India. **Asle Toje**, Foreign Policy Scholar & Commentator, Member of the Nobel Committee, Norway. **Farahnaz Ispahani**, Former Member of Parliament, Pakistan. **Richard Verma**, Vice Chairman and Partner, The Asia Group, USA. Moderated by **Kate Hampton**, Chief Executive Officer, Children's Investment Fund Foundation, UK.
1300-1430	Lunch Conversations	*Shahjehan:* **Green Capital: Sustained Finance for Sustainable Growth** *A lack of access to finance remains the key barrier for emerging economies trying to discover sustainable development pathways. What new instruments can they leverage to utilize previously unexploited finance? What can we learn from the successes and failures of such experiments as blended finance and green bonds? How can the development community partner more successfully with international finance to overcome the barriers that prevent greater cross-border investment in green infrastructure?* Release of *Financing Green Transitions* **Geraldine Ang**, Policy Analyst, Green Investment, OECD. **Jonathan Charles**, Managing Director, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, UK. **Kanika Chawla**, Senior Programme Lead, Council on Energy, Environment and Water, India. **Sumant Sinha**, Chairman and Managing Director of ReNew Power, India. Moderated by **Moutushi Sengupta**, Country Director, MacArthur Foundation, India.
		Mumtaz: **The Future of Work: Earning to Live vs. Living to Earn** *The International Labour Organisation estimates that, in two years, nearly half of all workers in Asia-Pacific will be engaged in "vulnerable" employment. Economic trends, a vast gap between the skills needed to succeed in the global economy and the skills actually available to the most at-risk sections of the workforce, and changing technology have made "decent" jobs ever harder to create. How can governments deal with the skilling and re-skilling needed to emerge from economic vulnerability? Is there a role for redistributive politics to correct a distribution of value that is increasingly seen as perverse—and, if so, how must social welfare and security nets change? And has the notion of "decent jobs" become obsolete?* **Ashish Dhawan**, Founder and Chairman, Central Square Foundation, India. **Burcu Baran**, Director, Policy Communities, Global Relations Forum, Turkey. **Pradeep Parameswaran**, President, India and South Asia, Uber. **Srivatsan Rajan**, Chairman, Bain & Company, USA. Moderated by **Khalila Mbowe**, Founder and Managing Director, Unleashed Africa, Tanzania.

DAY-2 Wednesday, January 9, 2019

1300-1430	Lunch Conversations	*Jehangir:* **Old World, New Frontiers: The Future of Europe** *A specter of renewed nationalism looms large over Europe, haunting its political future. Once seen as a beacon of liberal prosperity and strategic stability, the continent is today buffeted by multiple headwinds, not least of which are the intertwined concerns of migration, populism, nativism and extremism. Can the European idea, which emerged from the chaos of two great wars, survive this new confrontation with the demons of its its past? Is the notion of an "illiberal Europe" a contradiction in terms, or are the institutions developed over decades of integration robust enough to deal with a populist upsurge? Is reform within Europe necessary—and will that require greater integration, or greater distance?* **Josep Borrell**, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Spain. **Paolo Gentiloni**, Former Prime Minister, Italy. **Marietje Schaake**, Member of European Parliament, The Netherlands. Moderated by **Shashi Tharoor**, Member of Parliament, India. *Roshnara:* **The Arrival of Global Politics: Navigating a Multi-perspective World Order** *The post-1945 world order, created and sustained by a small group of nations, has dissolved into an apparently chaotic contest for power influence involving individuals, institutions and states. As global governance moves away from states to more diffused and decentralised networks in which governments are but one player, can traditional channels of diplomacy and troubleshooting remain effective? Are new strategic cultures emerging that reflect this new phase of globalisation? How are these tectonic shifts in power and influence seen by different regional and national worldviews, and can these differing perspectives be reconciled?* **Anton Tsvetov**, Advisor to the Chairman, Center for Strategic Research, Russia. **Cameron Munter**, Chief Executive Officer and President, East West Institute, USA. **Evgeny Buzhinskiy**, Chairman of the Executive Board, PIR Center, Russia. **Indrani Bagchi**, Diplomatic Editor, The Times of India. **Yang Yanyi**, Former Ambassador and Head of the Mission to the European Union, China. Moderated by **Fyodor Lukyanov**, Research Director, Valdai Discussion Club, Russia.
1430-1450	**MINISTERIAL ADDRESS** At the Durbar **H.E. Marise Payne**, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Australia	
1450-1550	Panel Discussion	*Durbar:* **Indo-Pacific: Ancient Waters and Emerging Geometries** *The waters of the Indo-Pacific are the high roads of globalisation—but may also be the domain of the greatest contestations of this century. Is the Indo-Pacific merely a reactive concept willed into being by regional tensions? Or can it become a conduit for economic and political diplomacy that advances prosperity in Eurasia and beyond? The pre-requisite for such cooperation is a peaceful and secure maritime realm, whose prospects this panel will discuss.* **Admiral Sunil Lanba**, Chief of Naval Staff, India. **Admiral Philip S. Davidson**, Commander, U.S. Indo-Pacific Command. **Admiral Christophe Prazuck**, Chief of Naval Staff, France. **Admiral Katsutoshi Kawano**, Chief of Joint Staff, Japan Self-Defense Forces. **General Angus J. Campbell**, Chief of the Defence Force, Australia. **Yalda Hakim**, Host, BBC World News, UK.

DAY-2 Wednesday, January 9, 2019

1550-1610	Break	
1610-1710	Panel Discussion	*Durbar:* **Bits and Bytes: Creating an Agile Governance Framework for the Future** *The digital revolution is transforming jobs, growth and even the very conception of profit. It is within this fluid context that policy makers must balance access, security and business-friendliness. How can growth be made sustainable and inclusive in an economic framework characterised by the transfer of wealth and value over giant trans-national tech platforms? What will governments expect from corporations in terms of security and nurturing prosperity—and what can corporations reasonably ask in return? And how can we create institutions that ensure both governments and corporations respect individual rights and respond swiftly to individual preferences?* **Ankhi Das**, Director, Public Policy, Facebook, India. **Catherine Mulligan**, Visiting Research Fellow, Imperial College Centre for Cryptocurrency, UK. **Carl Bildt**, Former Prime Minister, Sweden. **Rajiv Kumar**, Vice Chairman, Niti Aayog. **Scott Carpenter**, Managing Director, Jigsaw. Moderated by **Isabel de Sola Criado**, Senior Advisor, Secretariate for the High-level Panel on Digital Cooperation, UNSG.
1710-1730	**MINISTERIAL ADDRESS** At the Durbar **H.E. Josep Borrell**, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Spain	
1730-1810	Panel Discussion	*Durbar:* **The Waning West: Can it Discover a New Direction?** *The global economy's centre of gravity is relentlessly shifting eastward. Emerging powers seek to become guarantors of local and regional security, and are experimenting with new norms for international engagement and imagining alternative global governance architectures. Must the West reconcile itself to a steadily declining role in international affairs? Can the values associated with the liberal democracies of the West still lay claim to universality? Are the societies shaped by those values capable of discovering a renewed dynamism and a fresh direction? Can partnerships with the East aid this process? Or is it time for the West to rethink its founding propositions?* **Stephen Harper**, Former Prime Minister, Canada. **Tony Blair**, Former Prime Minister, UK. Moderated by **Ashok Malik**, Press Secretary to the President of India.
1810-1840	Break	
1840-1900	**MINISTERIAL ADDRESS** At the Durbar **H.E. Mohammad Javad Zarif**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Iran	

DAY-2 Wednesday, January 9, 2019

1900-2000	Panel Discussion	*Durbar:* **The Road from the Khyber to the Bosporus: Partnerships, Perils and Opportunities** *The ancient powers that are Turkey and Iran have new ambitions. Their rise permanently alters the balance of power in Asia. As critical conduits for flows of energy, and as repositories of faith for millions of people, their diplomacy will profoundly influence the region. How much autonomy do these states truly possess in a multipolar age? Can they be contained, or only confronted? And does the apparent stability of their politics offer the tantalising possibility of developing a unique Asian blueprint for development?* **Sergey Ryabkov**, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Russia. **Manish Tewari**, Former Minister India. **Memduh Karakullukçu**, Vice Chairman and President, Global Relations Forum, Turkey. **Richard Fontaine**, President, Center for a New American Security, USA. Moderated by **Suhasini Haidar**, Diplomatic Editor, *The Hindu,* India.
2000-2130	Dinner Conversations	*Shahjahan:* **Bridging the Gulf: Towards New Politics and Economics of a Dynamic Geography** *Today, the Gulf is dominated by two strong trends. On the one hand, it is emerging from its old political order and economy and is embracing the information age vigorously. It is visualising a future where it can be a part of global value chains in the information age. On the other hand, we see the festering of old divides. Is this region an economic powerhouse held back by its political realities? What are the old and new fault lines that need urgent attention of the region and beyond? What new institutions and coalitions can help to respond to these differences? What is the prognosis for a new dynamic and economically-integrated region emerging in the near future?* **Dalia Ghanem-Yazbeck**, Resident Scholar, Carnegie Middle East Centre, Lebanon. **Ebtesam Al Ketbi**, President, Emirates Policy Centre. **Jérôme Bonnafont**, Director, Middle East and North Africa, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France. **Seyed Mohammad Kazem Sajjadpour**, President, Institute for Political & International Studies, Iran. **Volker Perthes**, Director, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Germany. Moderated by **C. Raja Mohan**, Director, Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore.

DAY-2 Wednesday, January 9, 2019

2000-2130	Dinner Conversations	*Mumtaz:* **Curating a New Concert: Multiple Visions for the Future of the Indo-Pacific** *The Indo-Pacific as a concept was born amid great power rivalry, but is becoming concrete through the formation of various coalitions between the democracies of the region—countries that see a free, open and inclusive order as being being to their mutual benefit. This panel will consider possible threats to such an order, and their implications for the future. Can a positive economic vision, for states both large and small, emerge from these autonomous concerns? What are the benefits of a multi-polar Indo-Pacific, and can co-operation replace competition in both the security and economic domains? Are alternative, sustainable paths to connectivity, development and infrastructure being made available to the countries of the Indo-Pacific?* **Alicia Garcia Herrero,** Chief Economist for Asia Pacific, Natxis, Spain. **Daniel Kliman**, Senior Fellow, Asia-Pacific Security Program, Center for a New American Security, USA. **Li Li**, Senior Fellow, Institute for International Relations, Tsinghua University, China. **Ram Madhav**, National General Secretary, Bharatiya Janata Party, India. **Rûta Miliûté**, Member of Parliament, Lithuania. Moderated by **Manpreet Anand**, Adjunct Professor, National Defense University, USA.
		Jehangir: **Leadership through Diversity: Rethinking Agendas, Institutions and Aspirations** *Keynote Address by Kate Hampton, Chief Executive Officer, Children's Investment Fund Foundation (CIFF).* *In an increasingly multipolar world, power is more diffuse than ever before. The emergence of new actors, stakeholders and networks means that leadership is not restricted to those wielding the power of the state. How power is projected has also changed, moving beyond the conventional barometers of economic and military might to norms, ideas and narratives. Leadership in the 21st century must influence individuals at the other end of a screen as much as governments at the world's high table. Leaders will also have to respond to the new challenges posed by climate change, automation and digitization. What methods and institutions must leaders adopt and incubate to address these challenges?*
		Roshanara: **State of Play: In Defence of the Liberal Order** (By Invitation only)
2200-2300	Conversations over Kahwa	*Mumtaz:* **Defending Freedom and Countering Influence Operations** *The more open the society, the more vulnerable it is to manipulation of public opinion and interference in its political processes. What safeguards do democracies need to counter such threats while retaining the core values of a free society? Must individuals, companies, and the state be mutual adversaries in this effort, or can a new consensus be forged that protects the integrity of liberal democracy?* **Alexander Klimburg**, Director of the GCSC Initiative, Austria. **Dan Schueftan**, Director, National Security Studies Center, University of Haifa, Israel. **Gulshan Rai**, National Cyber Security Coordinator, India. **Katie Harbath**, Director, Global Politics and Government Outreach, Facebook, USA. **Latha Reddy**, Co-Chair, Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace, India. Moderated by **Eli Sugarman**, Program Officer, Hewlett Foundation, USA.

DAY-2 Wednesday, January 9, 2019

2200-2300	Conversations over Kahwa	*Roshanara:* **SALT and Security: The Unclear Nuclear Dynamics** *The treaties, that have for decades underwritten the nuclear order, are fraying. A generation ago, the nuclear arms race was consigned to the dustbin of history; but a new age has brought new politics and the possibility of fresh competition. Meanwhile, new actors have arisen that challenge the very basis of the nuclear order of haves and have-nots. Are we moving to a world in which both nuclear and technically non-nuclear states have decided to normalise proliferation and enable an arms build-up? Is there any way to avoid damaging competition over missiles and warheads while reassuring regional powers?* **Dingli Shen**, Professor, Fudan University, China. **Feodor Voitolovsky**, Director, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russia. **Sergey Rogov**, President, Russian Academy of Sciences. **S. Paul Kapur**, Professor, Department of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School, USA. **Rajeswari Rajagopalan**, Distinguished Fellow and Head of Nuclear and Space Policy Initiative, Observer Research Foundation, India. Moderated by **Rachel Rizzo**, Bacevich Fellow, Center for a New American Security, USA.
		ITC Maurya: **Deconstructing #MeToo: Mobilization, Impact and Transformation?** *The #MeToo movement is a concatenation of serious, individual grievances, but its collective impulse and implications need more careful study. Will identity politics and mobilisation be different in the aftermath of this movement? Does it have the potential to transform power relations within states, businesses — and households? Can formal institutions respond adequately to the aspirations and demands that fueled this movement across the world?* **Angelika Arutyunova**, International Feminist Consultant, USA. **Mohamed El Dahshan**, Managing Director, OXCON, Egypt. **Sarah Margon**, Washington Director, Human Rights Watch, USA. **Vani Tripathi Tikoo**, Board Member, Central Board of Film Certification, India. Moderated by **Sascha Suhrke**, Program Director, Politics and Society, ZEIT Stiftung, Germany.

DAY-3 Thursday, January 10, 2019

0900-1000	Panel Discussion	*Durbar:* **A New Delhi Consensus—India's Imagination and Global Expectations** *In 2014 India declared its intention to be a "leading power." This ambitious proposition was matched by the greater visibility and determination of New Delhi's foreign policy, especially its regional engagement. Yet, in a world buffeted by multiple disruptions, does an emerging power have room to manoeuvre? Does India's policy and implementation capacity match its new aspirations? How can this emergent New Delhi consensus effect favourable changes in the trajectory of Asian and global politics?* **Gen. (Retd.) V. K. Singh**, Minister of State for External Affairs, India. **Mohamad Maliki Osman**, Senior Minister of State, Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore. **David Malone**, Rector, United Nations University. **Ron Prosor**, Former Ambassador to the UN and the UK, Israel. **Theresa Fallon**, Founder, Centre for Russia Europe Asia Studies, Belgium. Moderated by **Dhruva Jaishankar**, Fellow, Foreign Policy, Brookings India.
1000-1100	Panel Discussion	*Durbar:* **Africa First: Global Growth's New Frontier** *Despite the world's professed commitment to assist African countries emerge from their lost decades of development, more needs to be done in order to improve and sustain livelihoods in the continent. Financial inclusion and enhanced access to liquidity for African entrepreneurs are crucial to achieve this goal. How can development stakeholders worldwide, including elsewhere in the global South, capitalise on the emerging shoots of prosperity in Africa? Can agile economic institutions be created that are capable of converting these green shoots into irreversible, broad-based improvement in living standards? Is the current trade and financial architecture capable of catering to emerging Africa's needs?* **Reginah Mhaule**, Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa. **David Rasquinha**, Managing Director, EXIM Bank, India. **Koketso Tlhabanelo**, Senior Manager, A.T. Kearney, South Africa. **Peter Vowles**, Asia Director, Department for International Development, UK. **Stefano Manservisi**, Director General, International Cooperation and Development, European Commission. Moderated by **T. S. Tirumurti**, Secretary (ER), Ministry of External Affairs, India
1100-1130	Break	
1130-1150	**Ministerial Address** At the Durbar **H.E. Damdin Tsogtbaatar**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mongolia	

DAY-3 Thursday, January 10, 2019

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

DAY-3 Thursday, January 10, 2019

1320-1450	Lunch Conversations	*Mumtaz* **From Labour to Leadership: Investing in Children** *Harnessing human capital is an imperative for societies and governments today. Rapid technological change is rendering low-skill-intensive manufacturing less effective as a pathway to growth and development. In a world in which skilling, entrepreneurship and adaptability are essential strategies for developing countries, investing in children is not just a moral but a central economic one. How can governments mainstream the need to invest in social and economic potential of their young demography? Can the private sector be incentivised to share the responsibility for creating a well-fed, well-educated and healthy child population — thereby ensuring sustained productivity growth in the future? Is there a need to formulate a new prosperity-rights nexus?* *Keynote Address: Sidharth Nath Singh, Government of Uttar Pradesh, India.* **Junaid Kamal Ahmad**, Country Director, World Bank Group, India. **Manoj Jhalani**, Additional Secretary & MD (NHM), Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, India. **Priyank Kanoongo**, Chairperson, National Commission for Protection of Child Rights, India. **Rina Ray**, Secretary, Ministry of Human Resource and Development, India. **Yasmin Ali Haque**, UNICEF Representative, India. Moderated by **Kate Hampton**, Chief Executive Officer, Children's Investment Fund Foundation, UK.
		Jehangir **Development amid Disruption: Uncommon Pathways for the Common Good** *Twentieth-century governance paradigms were not broad-based: both the conception and the delivery of development assistance tended to prioritise and privilege a handful of actors and geographies. New technologies and political churn provides the chance to change this. The panel will address the two big questions that emerge from this opportunity: Can sustainable and future-proof livelihoods be created? Can previously marginalised communities have a greater voice in the design of development assistance, and be included in the benefits of growth?* **Amanda Chong**, Lawyer and Poet, Singapore. **Catherine Duggan**, Vice Dean and Professor, African Leadership University School of Business, USA. **Juita Mohamad**, Economist, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. **Kristina Lunz**, Co-Founder and Country Director Germany, Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy, Germany. **Lina Beydoun**, Director of Development, American University of Beirut, Lebanon. Moderated by **Shikha Bhasin**, Programme Lead, Council on Energy Environment and Water, India.

DAY-3 Thursday, January 10, 2019

1320-1450	Lunch Conversations	*Roshanara:* **A Renewed Imperative: Strategic Cooperation Among Democracies** *Democracy is a process of discovery for both established and aspiring democratic nations. That process offers new democracies the opportunity to learn from the successes and failures of their older counterparts, while the latter can draw renewed vigor from the enterprising ideas and novel practices that newer democracies bring to the table. There is also the broader global setting to consider. Institutions and alliances established after the Second World War are looking increasingly eroded; isolationism and populism pose a challenge to core democratic values. Looking at the big picture, what have been the successes and failures of democracy in the past 100 years? In an increasingly more globalized and interconnected world, what new risk factors threaten democracy today? How do we deal with the challenges of disinformation, populism, migration, and demographic shifts within nations and across the world?* **Hardeep Singh Puri**, Union Minister of State for Housing and Urban Affairs, India. **Gen. (Retd.) David Petraeus**, Chairman, KKR Global Institute, USA. **Rexon Ryu**, Partner, The Asia Group, USA. **Stephen Harper**, Former Prime Minister, Canada. **Theresa Fallon**, Founder, Centre for Russia Europe Asia Studies, Belgium. Moderated by **Peter Van Praagh**, President, Halifax International Security Forum, USA.
1450-1510	**Ministerial Address** At the Durbar **H.E. Pradeep Kumar Gyawali**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nepal	
1510-1610	Panel Discussion	*Durbar:* **Diversity within the Union: The EU's Midlife Checklist** *The European Union, long seen as a collective of technocratic institutions, has struggled to accommodate the growing diversity of political opinion in its midst. Debates about migration and economic austerity have thrown up hard choices for the region's leaders. Can the ethos that drove European states to create a functionally integrated union adapt to a new era of disagreement and disputation? Are the structures of the Union flexible enough to accommodate this growing diversity of views? Can we even imagine a Europe without the European project?* **Péter Sztáray**, Minister of State for Security Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Hungary. **Matti Anttonen**, Permanent State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Finland. **Françoise Nicolas**, Director, Center for Asian Studies, Institut Français des Relations Internationals, France. **Marietje Schaake**, Member of European Parliament, The Netherlands. **Žaneta Ozolina,** Head of Department, Political Science, University of Latvia. Moderated by **Peter Van Praagh**, President, Halifax International Security Forum, USA.
1610-1630	Break	

DAY-3 Thursday, January 10, 2019

1630-1730	Panel Discussion	*Durbar:* **Accountable Autonomy: When Machines Kill** *Although the international community appears to have moved away from a pre-emptive ban on lethal autonomous weapons to discussing the parameters of "effective regulation", there is still no consensus as to what constitutes meaningful human control over LAWS. How would a new legal instrument for fully autonomous weapons supplement existing international humanitarian law? Further, how should the development of autonomous platforms contend with the looming threat of cyber exploitation?* **Gilles Carbonnier**, Vice President, International Committee of the Red Cross. **Kara Frederick**, Research Associate, Technology and National Security Program, Centre for New American Security, USA. **Renata Dwan**, Director, UN Institute for Disarmament Research. **Maj. Gen. Susan Ridge**, Army Legal Services, Ministry of Defence, UK. Moderated by **Hans-Christian Hagman**, Senior Adviser and Head of Strategic Analysis, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden.
1730-1830	Panel Dicussion	*Durbar:* **Innovation Capital: Ideas for Industrialisation 4.0** *Innovation will be central to governments' efforts to grow jobs and incomes in the decades to come. Nations will compete to foster a hospitable climate for innovation and innovators, and to provide a solid foundation for the digital transformation of analog economies, even as big data and artificial intelligence usher in a new era of intangible economics. What does it take to become an innovation hub? Can human capital-scarce countries use technological breakthroughs to leapfrog into their digital futures? Can innovation capital be regulated or protected like other forms of capital, or will new trans-national norms have to be developed?* **Omar Al Olama**, Minister of State for Artificial Intelligence, UAE. **Amitabh Kant**, Chief Executive Officer, NITI Aayog, India. **Francis Gurry**, Director General, World Intellectual Property Organization. **Pippa Hall**, Director of Innovation and Chief Economist, UK. **Vivek Lall**, Vice President, Lockheed Martin, USA. Moderated by **Patrick Kilbride**, Senior Vice President, Global Innovation Policy Center, US Chamber of Commerce.
1830-1900	Break	
1900-1920	**Veledictory Address** At the Durbar **Dato' Seri Anwar bin Ibrahim**, President of the Parti Keadilan Rakyat, Malaysia	

DAY-3 Thursday, January 10, 2019

1920-2000	Showstopper	*Durbar:* **The Road to 2030: Challenges, Partnerships and Predictions** *A world in the midst of re-ordering itself is one in which there are more questions than answers. Yet this panel will seek clarity in the midst of confusion; it will identify and discuss three challenges that will shape the next decade, three partnerships that will evolve in response to these challenges, and finally attempt three predictions about the shape of the world in 2030.* **Vijay Gokhale**, Foreign Secretary, India. **Mark Sedwill**, National Security Adviser, Cabinet Secretary and Head of the Civil Service, UK. **Maurice Gourdault-Montagne**, Secretary General, Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, France. Moderated by **Samir Saran**, President, Observer Research Foundation, India.
2030-2200	Dinner Conversations	*Shahjehan:* **Populism and Prosperity: Confronting the Looming Trade Wars** *Conflict over trade between the United States and the People's Republic of China dominates the world's headlines—but discontent about the conditions and consequences of trade is widespread among both developing and developed countries. Insecurity about livelihoods has driven a populist turn towards industrial policy, protective tariffs and national corporate champions. Will the world's global trading architecture be forced to respond, and if so how? Can shared prosperity be preserved in an era increasingly defined by competition and not co-operation? How can liberal, open market economies deal with the challenges of state capitalism without resorting to zero-sum confrontations?* **Gen. (Retd.) David H. Petraeus**, Chairman, KKR Global Institute, USA. **Heribert Dieter**, Senior Associate, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Germany. **Shamika Ravi**, Director of Research, Brookings India. **Shihoko Goto**, Senior Associate for Northeast Asia, Asia Program, Wilson Center, USA. **Wang Wen**, Executive Dean, Chongyan Institute of Financial Studies, Renmin University, China. Moderated **by Mohan Kumar**, Chairperson, Research and Information System for Developing Countries, India.
		Mumtaz: **Clicks and Kalashnikovs: A New Battle for Hearts and Minds** *What extremists cannot win through bombs and battles, they seek to win through online rhetoric. The internet has become a potent tool for those who seek to radicalise and recruit across borders. Combating new terrorist threats will require national security policies that prioritise cooperation with individuals and corporations. Do we understand how these new terrorist networks are created and can be countered? What tools exist in policy makers' arsenals that can be brought to bear on a conflict that is now as much about discourse as it is about traditional counter-terrorism? How can the liberal state balance policing and individual rights in this new and frantic environment? What would be the role of the individual and the state in combating online and offline extremism?* **Erin Saltman**, Policy Manager, Facebook, UK. **Mariam Safi**, Founding Director, Organization for Policy Research and Development Studies, Afghanistan. **Chris Felton**, Deputy Director, Joint International Counter-Terrorism Unit, UK. **Knut Doermann**, Head of Legal Division, International Committee of the Red Cross **Shiv Sahai**, Joint Secretary, National Security Council, India Moderated by **Colin Crowell**, Vice President, Global Public Policy & Philanthropy, Twitter, USA.

2030-2200	Keynote Addresses and Interaction	*Jehangir:* **Rethinking Leadership: Responding to Traditional and Non-Traditional Challenges in the 21st Century** *In an increasingly multipolar world, power is more diffuse than ever before. The emergence of new actors, stakeholders and networks means that leadership is not restricted to those wielding the power of the state. How power is projected has also changed, moving beyond the conventional barometers of economic and military might to norms, ideas and narratives. Leadership in the 21st century must influence individuals at the other end of a screen as much as governments at the world's high table. Leaders will also have to respond to the new challenges posed by climate change, automation and digitization. What methods and institutions must leaders adopt and incubate to address these challenges?* **Leadership for Peace: Rebuilding Communities and Capabilities: Keynote Address by Hamid Karzai**, Former President, Afghanistan. **Leadership through Diversity: Rethinking Agendas, Institutions and Aspirations: Kate Hampton**, Chief Executive Officer, Children's Investment Fund Foundation, UK. Moderated by **Samir Saran**, President, Observer Research Foundation, India.

RAISINA DIALOGUE

Raisina Associated Events

Asian Forum for Global Governance (AFGG)

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

Organised by ORF, ZEIT Stiftung, Wadhawan Group, NPS

India Think Tank Forum

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

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

EU Twining

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

Organised by European Union Delegation to India

Roundtable on Transformative Innovation

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

Organised by USIBC, GIPC

BRICS Think Tank Council

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

Organised by BRICS

In Conversation with CIFF

January 9, Noor, Taj Palace, New Delhi

ORF Global Advisory Board

General Meeting

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

Breakfast

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

Addressing the Accountability Gap in Cyberscape

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

Organised by Microsoft & Hewlett

Facebook Saloon

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

Organised by Facebook

U.S.-India Nuclear Safety and Security Forum

January 11, 2019, ITC Maurya, New Delhi

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

Raisina: Dialogues from Facebook

January 9, 2019

In Conversation with Erna Solberg

There is no political center left, right?

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

The Seven Habits of Highly Effective Terrorists

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

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

Fresh Waters: Europe in the Indian Ocean

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

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

FTAs: Taking the Pulse of Globalisation

BigData,FreshOppression:NewTechnology,OldConflicts:canwestillavoideaHigh-TechDistopia?

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

January 10, 2019

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

In Conversation with Dato' Seri Anwar Bin Ibrahim

The Dubai Model: City, Immigration, Innovation

One Union, Two Europes?

Women in Power: Getting there and staying there

Technology in a Troubled World: Peacekeeper or weapon?

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

Africa is rising, but is it rising fast enough?

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

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

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