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The Raisina Dialogue is India's premier conference on geopolitics and geoeconomics 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. The Dialogue is structured as a multi-stakeholder, cross-sectoral discussion, involving heads of state, cabinet ministers and local government officials, who are joined by thought leaders from the private sector, media and academia.

The conference is hosted by the Observer Research Foundation in partnership with the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. This effort is supported by a number of institutions, organisations and individuals, who are committed to the mission of the conference.

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HOSTS



VIKRAM MISRI
Foreign Secretary
of India



SUNJOY JOSHI
Chairman,
Observer Research
Foundation, India



RAGHURAM S.
Joint Secretary, Policy
Planning & Research,
Ministry of External
Affairs, India



HARSH V. PANT
Vice President,
Studies and Foreign
Policy, Observer
Research Foundation,
India

CURATOR



SAMIR SARAN
President,
Observer Research
Foundation

MANAGEMENT TEAM



**KAJARI
BISWAS**
Director, Policy
Planning & Research,
Ministry of External
Affairs, India



**PULKIT
MOHAN**
Head of Forums,
Observer Research
Foundation, India



**TANOUBI
NGANGOM**
Deputy Director
of Programmes,
Observer Research
Foundation, India



**SHUBH
SONI**
Head of
Partnerships and
Administration,
Observer Research
Foundation, India



**STELIN
PAUL**
Head of Digital
Communications
and Deputy
Editor-Short Forms,
Observer Research
Foundation, India

CURATORIAL TEAM



LAVANYA MANI
Fellow, Observer
Research
Foundation, India



**SANJITH
SRIKANTH**
Project Manager,
Observer Research
Foundation, India

RAISINA SUPERSTARS



Aamir Rabbani

Multimedia Lead,
Observer Research
Foundation, India



Alex Rimmele

Volunteer, Observer
Research Foundation,
India



Arun Mehra

Vice President Accounts,
Observer Research
Foundation, India



Abhishek Sharma

Research Assistant,
Strategic Studies
Programme, Observer
Research Foundation,
India



Amoha Basur

Junior Fellow, Observer
Research Foundation,
India



Ashutosh Patil

Volunteer, Observer
Research Foundation,
India



Abhishek Sharma

Manager, Visual Media,
Observer Research
Foundation, India



Anadya Mittal

Volunteer, Observer
Research Foundation,
India



Asad Samad

Administration
Manager, Observer
Research Foundation,
India



**Aditya Shivamurthy
Gowdara**

Associate Fellow,
Strategic Studies
Programme, Observer
Research Foundation,
India



Anjali Shrivastav

Volunteer, Observer
Research Foundation,
India



Ayesha Atiq

Intern, Observer
Research Foundation,
India



Ajay Singh

Content Editor-Hindi,
Observer Research
Foundation, India



Anirban Sarma

Director, Digital
Societies Initiative,
Observer Research
Foundation, India



Basu Chandola

Associate Fellow,
Observer Research
Foundation, India



Aksha Jain

Volunteer, Observer
Research Foundation,
India



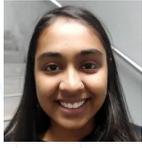
Arjunn Dixit

Assistant Manager,
Forums, Observer
Research Foundation,
India



Debosmita Sarkar

Associate Fellow,
Observer Research
Foundation, India



Fiza Jain

Communications Coordinator, Observer Research Foundation, India



Kabir Taneja

Deputy Director and Fellow, Middle East, Strategic Studies Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India



Mohit Sodha

Video Editor and Producer, Observer Research Foundation, India



Gopalika Arora

Associate Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India



Kaushiki Singh Shrinet

Executive Assistant to the President and the Internship Coordinator, Observer Research Foundation, India



Pankaj Kumar

Deputy Manager-Administration, Observer Research Foundation, India



Harsh Suri

Communications Assistant, Observer Research Foundation, India



Komal Badodekar

Multimedia Lead (Hindi), Observer Research Foundation, India



Prithvi Gupta

Junior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India



Inayat Rai

Research Assistant, Observer Research Foundation, India



Manini

Research Assistant, Observer Research Foundation, India



Rahil Shaikh

Lead, Graphics and Design, Observer Research Foundation, India



Jai Aditya Singh

Intern, Observer Research Foundation, India



Megha Dutta

Web and New Media Associate, Observer Research Foundation, India



Rahul Rawat

Research Assistant, Observer Research Foundation, India



Jaibal Naduvath

Vice President and Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India



Mohammed Intiaz

Multimedia Associate, Observer Research Foundation, India



Ramit Grover

General Manager, Observer Research Foundation, India



Kumar Gaurav

Hindi Intern, Observer Research Foundation, India



Monika Chhabra

Manager HR, Observer Research Foundation, India



Ria Nair

Volunteer, Observer Research Foundation, India



Roshani Jain

Programme Assistant - Forums, Observer Research Foundation, India



Shreya Balasubramani

Intern, Observer Research Foundation, India



Sukrit Kumar

Content Coordinator, Hindi, Observer Research Foundation, India



Sameer Patil

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



Rajoli Siddharth Jayaprakash

Research Assistant, Observer Research Foundation, India



Swati Arjunn

Digital Editor, Observer Research Foundation, India



Samarth Tiwari

Volunteer, Observer Research Foundation, India



Siddharth Sehray

Volunteer, Observer Research Foundation, India



Tushita Bhandari

Programme Assistant, Observer Research Foundation, India



Sanjay Verma

Web Manager, Observer Research Foundation, India



Sonali Sharma

Deputy Manager, Administration, Observer Research Foundation, India



Vivek Kumar

Programme Assistant-Forums, Observer Research Foundation, India



Sarah Sawhney

Programme Coordinator, Observer Research Foundation, India



Srijan Shukla

Associate Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India



Vivek Mishra

Deputy Director, Strategic Studies Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India



Sayantan Haldar

Research Assistant, Observer Research Foundation, India



Suchi Vadera

Intern, Observer Research Foundation, India



Vidhushi Sinha

Sub-editor, Observer Research Foundation, India



Shivam Shekhawat

Junior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India



Sukhmani Sharma

Manager, Forums, Observer Research Foundation, India



Vijay Seth

Manager, Observer Research Foundation, India



Yash Tyagi

Volunteer, Observer Research Foundation, India

RAISINA RAPPORTEURS

Abhishek Sharma

Research Assistant, Strategic Studies Programme

Abhishree Pandey

Research Assistant, Centre for Economy and Growth

Ambar Kumar Ghosh

Associate Fellow, Political Reforms and Governance Initiative

Amoha Basrur

Junior Fellow, Centre for Security Strategy and Technology

Anika Chillar

Research Assistant, Centre for Economy and Growth

Anulekha Nandi

Fellow, Centre for Security, Strategy and Technology

Anusha Kesarkar Gavankar

Senior Fellow, Centre for Economy and Growth

Aparna Roy

Fellow and Lead Climate Change and Energy, Centre for New Economic Diplomacy

Arya Roy Bardhan

Research Assistant, Centre for New Economic Diplomacy

Basu Chandola

Associate Fellow

Chaitanya Giri

Fellow, Centre for Security, Strategy and Technology

Debosmita Sarkar

Associate Fellow, SDGs and Inclusive Growth Programme

Dharmil Doshi

Research Assistant

Gopalika Arora

Associate Fellow, Centre for Economy and Growth

Kabir Taneja

Deputy Director and Fellow, Strategic Studies Programme

Kalpiti A Mankikar

Fellow, Strategic Studies Programme

Kartik Bommakanti

Senior Fellow, Strategic Studies Programme

Krishna Vohra

Research Assistant, Centre for Economy and Growth

Manini

Research Assistant, Centre for Economy and Growth

Nimisha Chadha

Research Assistant, Centre for New Economic Diplomacy

Pratnashree Basu

Associate Fellow, Strategic Studies Programme & Centre for New Economic Diplomacy

Prithvi Gupta

Junior Fellow, Strategic Studies Programme

Rahul Rawat

Research Assistant, Strategic Studies Programme

Rajoli Siddharth Jayaprakash

Research Assistant, Strategic Studies Programme

Sameer Patil

Director, Center for Security, Strategy and Technology

Samir Bhattacharya

Associate Fellow

Shairee Malhotra

Deputy Director, Strategic Studies Programme

Shivam Shekhawat

Junior Fellow, Strategic Studies Programme

Shobha Suri

Senior Fellow, Health Initiative

Shravistha Ajaykumar

Associate Fellow, Centre for Security, Strategy and Technology

Sohini Bose

Associate Fellow, Strategic Studies Programme

Soumya Awasthi

Fellow, Centre for Security, Strategy and Technology

Soumya Bhowmick

Fellow and lead, World Economies and Sustainability, Centre for New Economic Diplomacy

Srijan Shukla

Associate Fellow, Geoeconomics and the Forums Team

Swati Prabhu

Associate Fellow, Centre for New Economic Diplomacy

Tanusha Tyagi

Research Associate, Centre for Digital Societies

Tanya Aggarwal

Research Assistant, Centre for Security, Strategy, and Technology

Vivek Mishra

Deputy Director, Strategic Studies Programme



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MESSAGES

विदेश मंत्री
भारत



Minister of External Affairs
India



MESSAGE

The tenth edition of the Raisina Dialogue is a milestone. It is a moment for us to take stock of the decade gone by and to begin navigating the future.

In a world where relationships are no longer mutually exclusive, and every nation seeks to benefit from the best the international order can offer, there is a constant ebb and flow of geopolitical convergences, alignments, turbulence, and transition. It is these shifts, with their continuity and discontinuities, that the Raisina Dialogue 2025 will deliberate upon.

We are also living through an era of globalization fatigue: older partnerships are being remade and new ones forged. The world is experiencing a wave of intense economic competition, where inter-dependence and derisking struggle to find a balance. There are no lasting landing points, underlining the continuing nature of competition.

Since 2020, instability and conflicts around the globe have continued or escalated, whether in Ukraine, the Middle East, South Asia, or Africa. Divergent approaches towards climate action have created deep fissures. And emerging technologies, particularly AI, have emerged as a driver of contemporary geopolitics, triggering a new tech race, with the potential to shape the destinies of people and nations. The need to strive for peace, progress, prosperity and security has never been greater.

This year's Raisina Dialogue focuses appropriately, on the concept of *Kālachakra*, or eternal time envisaged as a moving wheel, with cycles of life, destruction, re-birth and rejuvenation.

Over the next three days, the Raisina Dialogue will host conversations and debates about the most pressing issues of our times. In doing so, it will reaffirm its importance as a global public square and an inclusive forum where every voice is heard. I welcome all participants and look forward to the meaningful discussions.

(Dr. S. Jaishankar)



MESSAGE FROM THE FOREIGN SECRETARY OF INDIA

We are delighted to welcome you to the tenth edition of the Raisina Dialogue, India's premier conference on geopolitics and geo-economics.

Over the last decade, the Dialogue has emerged as a major global forum, drawing Heads of State and Government, Ministers, senior policymakers, and leaders from the business and research communities. It has also spawned several smaller-scale satellite conferences in other parts of the world, which enable ideation, partnerships and action at a regional level.

Taken together, the conversations convened under the Raisina banner have propelled new thinking, nurtured transcontinental collaboration, and upheld the oft-challenged art of dialogue while working through differences.

This effort is especially crucial today as an older order unravels and a new one is yet to be found. Nations have begun exploring pathways to strategic autonomy and stability amid rising concerns about a world in flux and characterised by renewed great power rivalry, even as some of the protagonists in these rivalries find themselves in disturbingly unfamiliar situations. The gyrations of geopolitical equations and the implications of possible resets of various kinds are preoccupying chancelleries across the world. Conflicts are growing in frequency and intensity, and new ways to "wage peace" must be found. Polarized views about immigration and migrants are dividing States and communities. And with 2030 looming large and only 17 percent of the SDGs' targets on track to be met, questions about what must be done to accelerate development solutions beyond 2030 are looming large. The cumulative effect of these challenges is a dwindling trust in global governance institutions. It is this trust that we must salvage and rebuild together.

The theme of the Raisina Dialogue 2025, Kālacakra, or the cyclical nature of time where change is the only constant, captures the essential tone of the times we are living through today. Without a doubt, focusing on people, promoting peace, and protecting our planet is the course we must take.

I welcome the delegates to this tenth edition of the Raisina Dialogue and wish all of them a very meaningful set of deliberations and a thought-provoking conference.

(Vikram Misri)



Sunjoy Joshi

Chairman, Observer Research Foundation

When conflicts challenge order, when we struggle to make sense of the road—we seek anchor in symbols and metaphors.

Last year, with conflicts raging in Europe and West Asia, we assembled the Raisina Dialogue under the shadow of *Chaturanga*—the ancient Board game about the art and craft of war. This year, as conflicts nudge towards a peace that seems more conflicted than the wars, the theme chosen is *Kālacakra*—the wheel of time.

The metaphor of the wheel challenges the linear notion of the arrow of time perpetually racing forward in the direction of progress and growth. The *Chakra* gives no such assurance. The unending progress of any civilisation, the manifest destiny of a nation, a race or a species is not guaranteed by any *mandala* (cosmic order). We repeat ourselves, refuse to learn from our mistakes, and throughout centuries, order frequently descends into chaos.

The *chakra* signifies a more sophisticated motion beyond the simple circular monotony of a wheel. It is about cycles of decay and renewal. The dance of the planets and the cosmos set in motion by a balance of opposing forces—a centrifugal force that left to itself will cause the dance of the stars to unravel; and an opposing centripetal force that re-centres to keep that unravelling in check. By itself the centripetal force pulling inward becomes a black hole consuming all to create a dead world from which not even light can escape.

At one extreme, a fragmenting mandala tearing apart the cohesion of societies, disrupting the cosmic balance—hyper-individualism, ecological collapse, ending in disintegration. On the other, an imploding mandala, a universe of entropic decay—rigid, homogenised—a world of authoritarianism and monoculture stifling innovation.

The *Kaalchakra* is no simple cycle but a dynamic spiral mirroring the tension at the heart of the vortex. Each rotation builds on past cycles, inducing shifts that mirror the coils of the vortex as it expands towards chaos or contracts into a spiral of death. In Buddhism, the balance between the two is not a goal but a practice—an eternal calibrated negotiation between unity and diversity, contraction and expansion.

Central to the Kalachakra is the idea of impermanence—no state lasts forever. It is not merely a non-linear system but also one that is non-binary. Kalachakra teaches us not to think in dualistic Manichean terms. Not to see the world in black and white. To do that is to ignore nuances, to lose the capacity to cope with complexity.

For in the Kalachakra, neither order nor chaos are endpoints. They are transitory phases of the cycle of time—phases that demand recalibration. And recalibration is a time for difficult and } unconventional decisions.

"*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam* (One Earth, One Family, One Future)" is the ideal in the cosmic order—the Mandala—one that is offered as an all-encompassing guide. In truth lived and living, reality is a dance of *kāla* (time) and mandala (order)—interdependent, impermanent, and infinitely interconnected. It is a cosmic dance of order and chaos, challenging humanity to participate in it constantly and consciously through thought and action.

As we celebrate and convene a decade of the Raisina Dialogue in 2025, to delve into the world of thought and action, there is a need to recognise that every spiral, whether tightening into unity or fraying into chaos—always holds the seed of its opposite.

I extend my best wishes to everyone engaging in thought-provoking conversations that engender a shift from conflict and contestation to creative cooperation. May these dialogues open new frontiers for all.

- Sunjoy Joshi



Samir Saran
President, Observer Research Foundation
Curator, Raisina Dialogue

TEN is a good number, and it is the age of the Raisina Dialogue.

As we mark the tenth year of India's pre-eminent conference on geopolitics and geo-economics, we can celebrate the fact that Raisina has not slowed down. It continues to reach new regions, audiences and constituencies worldwide, incubating the ideas and partnerships that will craft a new world order.

Rabindranath Tagore once hoped our minds would be "led forward ... into ever-widening thought and action." Raisina has opened up those horizons for many of us.

Helping in this journey is not just our flagship annual Dialogue in New Delhi—which brings together nearly 4,000 stakeholders from across the world—but also our Raisina forums in the United States, Australia, Japan, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). This year, we look forward to the launch of Raisina Mediterranean in Marseille.

We have broadened our audience in other ways as well. Our Young Fellows programmes have been running for 15 years, even predating the Raisina Dialogue. Our alumni—we've counted 2,500 so far—are helping change the world through leadership positions in government, business, and civil society. At our Raisina Forum for the Future of Diplomacy, early-career diplomats gather to build the bridges needed in this complex new era.

Raisina's platforms also introduce young scholars to the important policy debates of our time. This year, our Raisina IE Global Student Challenge assembled teams from 60 top-rated schools and universities across the world. And our Raisina Hackathons saw the participation of 2,500 young people from 90 higher education institutions in three Indian cities.

The 10th edition of the Raisina Dialogue is as much an occasion for looking ahead as it is for reflecting on the road we have travelled. Our theme this year, Kālachakra, the 'Wheel of Time', reflects this circularity of the past, present, and future. Time is eternal; change is constant; politics shifts direction. The motive forces propelling Raisina 2025 are the well-being of people, the quest for peace, and the stewardship of our planet.

These are the pressing priorities facing humanity. They are also the culmination of the Dialogue's years of discussion.

In 2016 we set out to connect Asia with itself and the world. In doing so we took on the task of understanding multilateralism in a multipolar world. That vital project engaged us for the next three years.

2020 changed our societies and our nations forever. Our attention turned to the dynamics of a "viral world"—a world of viruses and vaccines, of expansionist and revisionist powers, and of information and news that fed our biases.

Yet some geographies remained a beacon of hope. In particular, India's G20 presidency was a lighthouse in the tempest. And last year, we devised new strategies and frameworks to engage a brave new post-pandemic world.

These are the many threads that the Raisina Dialogue 2025 weaves together for you: 'Kalachakara, People, Peace, and Planet'—the proposition that brings us here today. Our prime minister has invested in these through his decisions and actions; the US president has expressed the same desire; so have European leaders and those of countries of the Global South at various times and places. When we all seek the same end, why are we so far apart? Let us bridge the distance - here, in New Delhi, at the Raisina Dialogue.

Conversations are the first step towards peace, progress and prosperity. However hard the circumstances, we cannot allow dialogue to die. We must shun cancel culture. We must listen to each other, and work constructively towards lasting solutions. But, as a Conference organiser, I have to say the number of speaking requests far outnumber those who want to listen and learn.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi, sitting before us today, has demonstrated the power of listening. Since 2017, he has attended the Raisina Dialogue every year and spoken only once, setting a personal example about the importance of listening, absorbing, and understanding. His tireless efforts to promote dialogue on the world stage are also an inspiration. As he urged us recently, quoting the poet Rumi, "Raise your words, not your voice. It is rain that grows flowers, not thunder."

Our hearts are filled with pride that the Raisina Dialogue has evolved into a truly global public square. Incubated by India and nurtured by the world, this arena has allowed a thousand ideas to bloom, nourished by the constant showers of wisdom that does not take anything as a given, that challenges what is and dares to visualise what could be.

I welcome you all once again to the Dialogue and to our family. Let us debate, disagree and discover, and let this begin now.

- Samir Saran







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PANEL REPORTS

Curtain Raisers

Stress Test: Treaties Face Moment of Truth

Dharmil Doshi

Day 1: March 17, 2025

The curtain raiser panel discussion titled “Stress Test: Treaties Face Moment of Truth” set the stage as an opening session to the Raisina Dialogue 2025, focusing on how global relationships are responding to current international turmoil. Sunjoy Joshi set the scene emphasising the stressful world order, experiencing heightened security risks and growing anxieties. Treaties, agreements, and alliances are being reshaped to fit new global realities. The question remains how these multilateral partnerships can evolve—what to retain, what to discard, and what new imperatives to embrace.

Szu-Chien Hsu described Taiwan’s position in the ‘eye of the storm.’ Despite decades of Chinese threats, Taiwan maintains resilience while prioritising self-defence. Hsu cautioned that China’s ambition to take Taiwan represents only the first step in its broader geopolitical goals, as evidenced by military exercises extending to the Tasman Sea.

Hsu observed that the Artificial Intelligence (AI)-driven economy creates gigantic demand for advanced chips, with Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company (TSMC) producing 90 percent of the world’s advanced semiconductor chips. Hsu addressed TSMC’s US\$ 100 billion

MODERATOR



Sunjoy Joshi

Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India

SPEAKERS



Szu-Chien Hsu

Advisor, Taiwan Foundation for Democracy



Władysław Teofil Bartoszewski

Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland



Stephen Biegun

Senior Vice President, Global Public Policy, Boeing & Former Deputy Secretary of State, United States of America



Carolin Albrecht

Managing Director, Berlin Global Dialogue, Germany



Valbona Zeneli

Non-Resident Senior Fellow, Europe Center, Atlantic Council, United States of America



investment in the United States (US) and its expansion to Arizona, Japan (Kumamoto), and Germany (Dresden) being market-driven, with Taiwan retaining leadership through headquarters, most advanced manufacturing, and Research and Development (R&D) capabilities domestically.

As Władysław Bartoszewski described Poland as the frontline of European security following the Russia-Ukraine war, Joshi inquired Poland's perspective on the transnational order. He outlined the burden-sharing debate in NATO. While NATO members agreed in 2014 to spend 2 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on defence, only 22 out of 30 have met this obligation in 2024. As Poland commits 4.7 percent of its GDP to defence with over US\$30 billion in American arms purchases, the nation stands as a model ally in its determination to increase this figure to 5 percent.

Stephen Biegun identified multiple global disruptions: revisionist powers like Russia and China, and shifting US attitudes toward multilateral agreements. Biegun categorised world powers into three groups: revisionist powers (Russia, China); liberal powers (the European Union, Canada); and non-aligned countries (including India) that have benefited from the stable environment while not considering themselves part of the liberal order. He projected 'coalitions of the willing' like the QUAD (India, US, Australia, and Japan) would replace traditional alliances, being organised around shared interests rather than shared values.

Addressing Germany's economic resilience amidst global uncertainty, Carolin Albrecht credited planned infrastructure investments and defence spending increases. The new German government is creating fiscal space by loosening debt restrictions for defence spending above 1 percent of GDP. Albrecht argued that short-term transactional deals, while seemingly aligned with business models, undermine stability. Businesses

thrive on certainty and long-term planning for investments and supply chains. She highlighted the opportunity to create a more legitimate international system where trust and reliability become prime currencies.

Valbona Zeneli noted Europe's compromised security architecture following the Russia-Ukraine war. While Russia-China partnership has strengthened through 45 high-level visits in two years, their motivations differ: Russia seeks disruption while China wants rule modifications that benefit itself. She noted that international institutions require reform, with the World Trade Organisation's (WTO) effectiveness in question and the US's halt of multilateral development assistance programmes creating a vacuum for China's state-led investment model. These developments risk creating a vacuum for China's state-led investment model. Transatlantic alliance cohesion remains vital for leverage with both powers.

The panellists agreed that globalisation is not slowing down but transforming. Hsu advocated that free trade requires fair trade and mutual trust. Albrecht advocated for reducing economic barriers within alliances sharing common values. Biegun questioned whether security partnerships could be sustained alongside coercive economic measures like tariffs, warning that losing allies' confidence would damage American interests. Zeneli emphasised that globalisation is about freedom to choose partners, freedom conveyed by sovereignty, and freedom of principles essential for fair trade. As global powers chart new courses through a fragmented geopolitical landscape, the panel's insights reveal a world in transition rather than collapse. While traditional alliances face unprecedented stress tests, new frameworks rooted in pragmatic partnerships must emerge.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Curtain Raisers Guardians and Angels: Preventing Disinvestment from Development

Soumya Bhowmick

Day 1: March 17, 2025

At a time when global conflicts and geo-economic rivalries are undermining long-standing commitments to sustainable development, the Raisina Dialogue 2025 panel “Guardians and Angels: Preventing Disinvestment from Development” provided a vital platform to discuss how recent developments on the international agenda. Moderated by Louise van Schaik, Head of Unit for EU & Global Affairs at the Clingendael Institute, the session brought together experts from multilateral institutions, philanthropy, government, and development agencies to reflect on financing priorities, policy shifts, and strategic leadership in the Global South.

Andreas Schaal opened the panel by reframing development as a multi-dimensional challenge that cannot be solved through aid alone. He stressed the need to complement Official Development Assistance (ODA) with trade, investment, domestic resource mobilisation, and sound institutions. While emergency and poverty-targeted assistance remains necessary, Schaal highlighted that transformational impact requires systemic interventions—especially blended finance mechanisms that leverage private capital. With the global Sustainable Development Goals

MODERATOR



Louise van Schaik

Head of Unit EU & Global Affairs,
Clingendael, Netherlands

SPEAKERS



Andreas Schaal

Director, Global Relations and
Co-operation and Sherpa to the G7, G20
and APEC, Organisation for Economic
Co-operation and Development



Susan Ferguson

Country Representative- India, UN
Women



Pamla Gopaul

Senior Programme Officer, Data Analyst,
African Union Development Agency



Sonam Yangchen

Health Policy and Systems Researcher,
Institute of Health Partners, Bhutan



Vanita Sharma

Advisor, Strategic Initiatives, Reliance
Foundation, India



(SDG) financing gap estimated at US\$4 trillion post-COVID, this integrated approach is more urgent than ever.

Susan Ferguson pointed to the acute impact of shrinking the ODA on gender equality and women's empowerment—areas historically underfunded even in more generous aid environments. She noted that the increasing funds diversion to defence and crisis response has left fewer resources for foundational development sectors. Ferguson urged a recommitment to SDG 5 and stronger global coalitions, including feminist foreign policies and multilateral cooperation, to keep gender issues at the forefront of international financing strategies.

From Bhutan, Sonam Yangchen offered a holistic view, underlining her country's Gross National Happiness (GNH) philosophy, prioritising well-being, equity, and sustainability. Yangchen warned that crises such as COVID-19 and economic downturns have led to disinvestment from critical sectors such as health and education. She highlighted that over 300 million people in the WHO Southeast Asia region still face catastrophic health expenses, which she termed a regressive and unjust outcome of weak health systems. She argued that publicly funded, universal health care must be viewed as a moral and economic imperative, not an optional expenditure.

Vanita Sharma drew attention to the rise of domestic philanthropy and corporate social responsibility in India. Citing data that social sector funding has grown by 13 percent in the last five years, she pointed to a maturing ecosystem where funders are increasingly focused on capital deployment, innovation, collaboration, and impact assessment. India, she noted, has valuable lessons to offer other Global South nations in how domestic resources can be mobilised at scale to address localised challenges in health, livelihoods, and education.

Pamla Gopaul offered a regional perspective from Africa, where ODA remains critical—accounting for 40 percent of external funding across the continent. She stressed the importance of building regional resilience through stronger alliances like the African Union (AU) and frameworks like the African Continental Free Trade Agreement. She explained these platforms are key to reducing dependency and buffering against aid volatility. Gopaul called for a recalibration of global aid narratives, which places greater trust in home-grown solutions and South-South cooperation, drawing on lessons from Brazil’s agricultural transformation and India’s technology-driven models. She also highlighted the New Development Bank (NDB) and BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) as alternative financial systems that can empower the Global South in global decision-making.

Revisiting aid architecture, Schaal underscored the ongoing need for humanitarian and poverty-focused support, especially for least-developed countries. Yet, he stressed that success must now be judged by long-term structural transformation, urging a shift from fragmented projects to catalytic, systemic investments. Ferguson agreed, highlighting India’s growing influence in shaping global development narratives. With deepening ties across Africa and Asia and active roles in forums like the G20 and BRICS, India is well-positioned to champion inclusive growth and recalibrate global priorities.

The session culminated in a clear consensus: development must not be the casualty of rising geopolitical tensions. Whether through more innovative financing, institutional reform, regional integration, or philanthropic innovation, the global community must reaffirm its commitment to inclusive, sustainable progress. Once positioned as a recipient, the Global South is now emerging as a leader in defining this new paradigm. By drawing on diverse experiences, strengthening multilateral cooperation, and amplifying local agency, the world can collectively navigate its return to a development-first agenda.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Curtain Raisers

Crisis Coordination: New Economic Order Imperatives

Anika Chillar

Day 1: March 17, 2025

The economic order that the world has known for decades has been dominated by the Global North, with the US at the helm. However, with the rise of India and China, the economic activity has grown eastwards, and a general dissatisfaction with the Bretton Woods institutions has been growing. Increasing geopolitical tensions and adverse economic shifts have stressed the rules-based order, raising concerns about its long-term sustainability. The post-World War II economic framework now faces mounting challenges and is at an inflection point. In this context, the panel convened to examine how financial institutions and countries can adapt to these changes. Additionally, the panel discussed whether a new world order is emerging and what form it might take.

While the outgoing world order is unipolar, rules-based, and multilateral, the global economic environment is transitioning. It is characterised by uncertainty and a shift towards bilateralism. Markus Brunnermeier argues that the best way for countries to survive in this environment is to be resilient; they must adapt quickly to new circumstances. However, as more countries focus on strengthening their resilience, the global order may become less

MODERATOR



Radhicka Kapoor

Senior Employment Specialist, Decent Work Team for South Asia, International Labour Organisation

SPEAKERS



Markus Brunnermeier

Edwards S. Sanford Professor, Economics Department; Director, Bendheim Centre for Finance, Princeton University, United States of America



Poonam Gupta

Director General, National Council of Applied Economic Research, India



Pravin Krishna

Chung Ju Yung Distinguished Professor of International Economics and Business, Johns Hopkins University, United States of America



Riatu Mariatul Qibthiyah

Senior Researcher, Institute for Economic and Social Research, Faculty of Economics and Business, University of Indonesia; Special Staff to the Minister of Planning Agency, Indonesia



Udaibir Das

Distinguished Fellow, ORF America, United States of America



stable. This is because individual countries will have fewer incentives to invest in the common good, leading to disengagement from multilateral frameworks and a rise in bilateral or trilateral agreements. Brunnermeier warns that shifting from multilateralism would be most detrimental to smaller nations, which lack the bargaining power to secure favourable bilateral agreements. He highlights the critical role of international organisations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in safeguarding the interests of smaller nations. Looking ahead, Brunnermeier predicts that the world order will have five big players: India, the US, the EU, China, and Russia. A key question for India in the future will be the nature of the alliance it seeks to maintain and whether it seeks to uphold the rules-based order.

Poonam Gupta argues that emerging markets have avoided homegrown financial crises due to the resilience of their monetary and fiscal policies. Factors that have contributed to this have been independent central banks, concrete monetary policies such as inflation targeting, reduced dependence on dollar-dependent liabilities and a large stock of foreign exchange reserves. Amid the current economic uncertainty, Gupta emphasised the need for emerging markets to continue along the path of macroeconomic prudence and to create more buffers in their fiscal and monetary policy so that when uncertainty peaks at some stage, they will have room to respond. While no new growth model is in sight, Gupta suggests that every major and minor opportunity must be exploited. Emerging markets should strengthen their non-tradeable services sector, build a workforce for the future and focus on sectors such as education, health, and tourism.

Indonesia, as a member of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), has experienced fluctuations such as the 1998 financial crisis but has benefited from the bloc's rules-based trade framework. Riatu Mariatul Qibthiyah highlighted that

investment inflows into Indonesia are regional rather than dominated by external players. Indonesia is focusing on industrial policy to target manufacturing and develop a value chain as part of its growth strategy. However, she noted the importance of assessing whether key opportunities in certain sectors have been missed, particularly given the volatility of resource-based sectors. Meanwhile, rising protectionism and trade wars are shaping globalisation.

Pravin Krishna warned of a potential breakdown of the international trade system due to the rise of country-specific tariffs, which go against the principles of non-discrimination. However, Krishna argued that trade has remained resilient. International trade has consistently found ways to adapt and circumvent barriers.

Udaibir Das highlighted an issue with multilateral institutions. He stated that they are not reflective of the current global economic realities. When these institutions were designed, the Global South was not a significant economic player. The economic framework of these institutions has upheld the old reality. Nearly US\$30 trillion is held in foreign reserves by the developing countries, largely because they lack the confidence that immediate assistance from multilateral institutions would be available to them in times of crisis. Das suggested that reforms can be made within the current framework to address these challenges. First, regional arrangements should be expanded and included in the multilateral system more formally. Second, developing countries with substantial economic resources should explore ways to enhance their collective bargaining power and negotiate as a group.

In conclusion, the global economic order is undergoing transformation marked by geopolitical and economic shifts. As nations adapt, the new order would likely be shaped by regional alliances, strengthened economic leverage for developing countries and the ability of multilateral institutions to adapt.

Inaugural Session

Sameer Patil

Day 1: March 17, 2025

The tenth edition of the Raisina Dialogue was inaugurated on 17 March 2025 by Shri Narendra Modi, Prime Minister (PM) of India and the Chief Guest, Christopher Luxon, PM of New Zealand, presiding over the opening session. Describing the theme of the dialogue, "Kālachakra, the 'Wheel of Time'", Samir Saran, President of the Observer Research Foundation and Curator, Raisina Dialogue, stated that it reflects the circularity of the past, present, and future. He added that the goals driving the 2025 edition of the Raisina Dialogue are the well-being of people, the quest for peace, and the stewardship of our planet.

Building on this idea, Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman of the Observer Research Foundation, noted that when conflicts challenge the global order and we struggle to find our way forward, we often seek solace in symbols and metaphors. The idea of Kālachakra is one such metaphor which challenges the linearity of time and reminds us that no condition is permanent. Every spiral - whether tightening into unity or fraying into chaos - always holds the seed of its opposite.

In his inaugural address, PM Luxon highlighted India's ascent onto the world stage, appreciating its extraordinary achievements in the last decade in the economic, sports, and technological domains. He added that the Raisina Dialogue was one such achievement that provided a platform for global thought leaders to deliberate on the contemporary strategic challenges.

PM Luxon underlined the two centuries-long history of India-New Zealand ties, which have showcased a long-established cultural and people-to-people exchange. He commented that today New Zealanders of Indian heritage have become an integral part of the country's multicultural society, contributing to its polity and economy. They comprise 11 percent of the people living in Auckland, New Zealand's biggest city.



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Highlighting the complementarities between the two countries, he noted that India is a critical source of pharmaceuticals and machinery for New Zealand, which in turn serves as a tourism and education destination for India. Both countries have plans to deepen the ties through greater defence interactions, improved air connectivity, expanded scientific collaborations, enhanced people-to-people exchanges, and negotiating a free trade agreement (FTA). This, he opined, will ensure New Delhi and Wellington create strategic trust and commercial connections.

Taking a broader view of the region, PM Luxon described the Indo-Pacific as the world's most economically dynamic region, representing two-thirds of global economic growth over the coming years. He added that the region is witnessing three significant shifts. First, rules are giving way to power, as witnessed by sharper competition between nations. Second, there is a shift from economics to security, with governments dedicating increased attention and resources to military modernisation. Third, geoeconomics is shifting from efficiency to resilience, with decoupling, onshoring, protectionism, and trade wars dominating.

He declared that New Zealand aims to protect and advance its interests in the Indo-Pacific, and partners like India play a significant role. To this end, he highlighted three overarching principles guiding the two nations. First, both aspire for an Indo-Pacific where countries can freely determine their own course without external interference. Second, they recognise the importance of regional institutions in the Indo-Pacific, even as they continue to evolve. Last, they envision a region grounded in respect for established rules.

S. Jaishankar, the Minister of External Affairs, India, concluded the inaugural session by remarking that the world is undergoing a great churn and debating the nature of the global order. He noted that old assumptions cannot be relied upon. We need fresh ideas, honest conversations and fresh ideas, and the Raisina Dialogue provides that value proposition.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Dinner

Compete and Cooperate: Securing the Future

Rahul Rawat

Day 1: March 17, 2025

In his inaugural remarks, Vikram Misri highlighted the role of the Raisina dialogue as a Global Public Square to foster discussions on multifaceted challenges over the years. The rules of the order defining the world are constantly under challenge, with multilateralism in retreat, transactionalism becoming a norm, and force postures and strategic lenses of states being reevaluated.

Following the Raisina 2025 'Kalachakra' theme, he urged participants to shed the 'arrogance of certainty', and approach the global challenges of 'one world' with openness and reflection.

Nandan Nilekani laid out India's evolution of innovation journey, which began in 2016 with transformative changes in the digital sphere since 2016— Raisina's inaugural year. India's major milestones from the year 2016 include AADHAR IDs reaching 1 billion, the Unified Payments Interface (UPI) launch, accessible internet rollout, demonetisation, and the launch of the BHIM app. According to him, the next phase of the digital revolution is— 'job creation'. This will be shaped by how people utilise their phones to learn and work, given

WELCOME REMARKS



Vikram Misri
Foreign Secretary, India

FEATURED ADDRESS

INDIA'S TECH JOURNEY: INNOVATION, TRANSFORMATION, AND THE ROAD AHEAD



Nandan Nilekani
Co-Founder and Chairman, Infosys, India

MODERATOR



Samir Saran
President, Observer Research Foundation,
India

SPEAKERS



Tanja Fajon
Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign
and European Affairs, Slovenia



Hassan El Khatib
Minister of Investment and Foreign Trade,
Egypt



Maka Botchorishvili
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Georgia



Jonathan Powell
National Security Adviser, United
Kingdom



Rizwan Soomar
Chief Executive Officer and Managing
Director, Middle East, North Africa and
India Subcontinent, DP World, United
Arab Emirates



the increasing internet penetration in India. He projected one million startups in India by 2035, driven by GenZ entrepreneurs, mobile tech, fintech, and AI. The base of start-ups is supported by the 'democratisation of credit' is evident through easy access to loans, credit via fintech, account aggregators, and Initial Public Offerings (IPOs).

Nilekani suggested a set of recommendations to boost the GDP growth from 6 percent to 8 percent. India's success model in applying technology for a large volume of the population in a cheap and accessible manner should be emulated in the case of AI to facilitate transformation of the society. Second, 50 percent of Indian assets in the form of land should be made fungible and tradable in geographies beyond the metropolitan cities to spread the entrepreneurship spirit across the country. Third, it is imperative to accelerate the formalisation of India's business sector, which currently stands at approximately 15 percent, in contrast to Brazil's estimated 60 percent. Further, efforts should be made to deregulate business through the reduction of compliances and decriminalisation of laws.

In contrast with the rest, India is at an advantageous position now, being a single market for labour, capital, and products, with the Goods and Services tax (GST) complemented by new connectivity infrastructure in the physical and digital domains have set the foundation for progress in the next decade.

The subsequent panel discussion, "Compete and Cooperate: Securing the Future," featured government, business, and diplomatic representatives from Slovenia, Egypt, Georgia, the United Kingdom, and DP World.

Amid emerging opportunities and challenges, the discourse on trade and globalisation has shifted from how to reduce the suppliers' base to reduce cost and better reliance to 'supplier diversification' in the face of trade restrictions and new trade routes emerging on the scene.

kālachakra



Regarding geopolitics and peace, Jonathan Powell noted that ‘geopolitics is back with a vengeance.’ In the present age, economic stability is seen as both a cause and a consequence of peace. Hassan El Khatib underscored the infrastructure element at the heart of trade and investment opportunities to ensure regional development. Egypt has invested in massive infrastructure and has the potential to be a ‘gateway of green energy’ to European Partners exploring the export of green electricity, green ammonia, and green products to Europe. The principled approach of Egypt to address the complex geopolitical challenges is aligned with private investors’ aims to create stability and peace.

Despite regional conflicts, Maka Botchorishvili spoke on leveraging its strategic location for East-West connectivity. Tanja Fajon re-emphasised the commitment to multilateralism by ‘building trust, securing the future’ for better global institutions. There is also a need to build new partnerships, alliances, and economic ties in an uncertain geopolitical environment. The conversation’s sub-theme of *multilateralism versus bilateralism* captured the increasing trend of states entering bilateral FTAs, driven by efficiency and mutual interests. Simultaneously, serious concerns exist about the decline of trust in multilateral structures such as the WTO, with implications for global order.

In the concluding remarks, the panellists suggested a set of measures to balance the opportunities of new forms of globalisation with the national security challenges: **Trust** (to facilitate global dialogue and cooperation); **Agility** (to adapt in a fast-changing world); **Resilience** (necessary to withstand future disruptions) and **Dialogue** (diplomacy and problem-solving).

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Dinner Concert of Oceans: Towards a Digital Indo-Pacific

Pratnashree Basu

Day 1: March 17, 2025

This dinner discussion focused on advancing digitalisation, data protection, and cybersecurity frameworks to enhance regional interconnectedness in the Indo-Pacific. Given that the Indo-Pacific's digital landscape is rapidly evolving, nations are investing in digital infrastructure alongside addressing challenges such as cyber threats, data privacy, and the digital divide. Strong partnerships, including the Quad and regional initiatives, are shaping cooperation on technology, cybersecurity, and data governance. The key question is how to harmonise these efforts to build a secure, resilient, and inclusive digital ecosystem across the region.

Highlighting India's Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI), Amit Shukla observed that its success stems from a platform-based approach rather than isolated solutions, fostering inclusion, innovation, and regulatory compliance. Aadhaar and Unified Payments Interface (UPI), built with open Application Programme Interfaces (APIs), have enabled financial inclusion, reducing banking costs and expanding access to over 400 million accounts. By embedding cybersecurity and regulatory safeguards into digital frameworks from the outset, India has ensured data security and user privacy.

MODERATOR



Sharon Stirling

Chief Operating Officer, ORF America,
United States of America

SPEAKERS



Liew Chin Tong

Deputy Minister, Ministry of Investment,
Trade, and Industry, Malaysia



Amit Shukla

Joint Secretary, Cyber Diplomacy Division,
Ministry of External Affairs, India



Marcus Bartley Johns

Senior Director, Asia Government Affairs
and Regulatory Lead, Microsoft, Japan



Melissa Conley Tyler

Executive Director, Asia-Pacific
Development, Diplomacy & Defence
Dialogue, Australia



Sabeen Malik

Vice President, Global Government Affairs
and Public Policy, Rapid7, United States
of America



The Account Aggregator (AA) system empowers individuals to control data access, enhancing transparency, and India's techno-legal framework integrates legal and technological safeguards, addressing security concerns proactively. As digital cooperation expands, interoperable regulatory frameworks and adaptable platforms will be essential for cross-border connectivity. With over 1.4 billion Aadhaar cards issued and digital transactions surpassing 120 billion in 2023, India's DPI model demonstrates scalability and resilience. By embedding privacy, security, and consent mechanisms into digital platforms, India has continued to balance innovation with robust data protection.

Liew Chin Tong underscored the role of Malaysia, as the ASEAN chair, in advancing a digital economy framework, emphasising integration and cyber-readiness. Despite the fact that the cyber domain faces broader Indo-Pacific challenges, including security, geopolitics, and geoeconomics, he noted a key shift from prioritising efficiency to emphasising security, a transition which is still being navigated, particularly by the US. While trade agreements such as the Digital Economy Framework Agreement focus on market access, there is a growing need to incorporate security considerations. ASEAN, unlike the EU, has a unique regional structure with significant potential, but the challenge lies in adapting its framework to be more effective and resilient in the digital era. Harnessing ASEAN's position at the heart of the Indo-Pacific and transforming its architecture to address contemporary security and economic demands necessitates collective effort. Balancing economic integration with cybersecurity will be critical to ensuring that ASEAN remains a strong and adaptive regional player in the evolving digital landscape.

Introducing a geopolitical reality check, Melissa Conley Tyler emphasised that technology is now a frontline in global competition. Instead of seamless connectivity, there is a growing risk of digital fragmentation, where nations may be forced into competing tech ecosystems, limiting their strategic autonomy. This raises concerns about Indo-Pacific nations being drawn into geopolitical contests rather than maintaining agency over their digital choices. Key digital infrastructure—such as undersea cables, networks, and payment systems—is thus a highly contested area. While DPI could be a strategic offering, imposing tech ecosystems may counter regional aspirations for independence. Trust, therefore, emerges as a central theme, particularly in government partnerships with large tech firms such as Microsoft. As countries seek certainty regarding digital infrastructure, making investments in regional data centres is essential for trust-building. Additionally, aligning applications with national regulations and engaging with policymakers is crucial for effective technology integration. Trust requires long-term infrastructure commitments, adherence to regulatory frameworks, and transparent policies. Balancing digital inclusion, sovereignty, and security will be critical for sustainable regional digital integration.

Marcus Bartley Johns observed that there are significant opportunities in this region, particularly when considering India's role as both a major market and a hub for innovation. India is not only a key player for tech companies but also a source of technological advancements. For Microsoft, products are being developed in India, research labs are actively contributing to innovation, and there are strong commercial partnerships with local companies to enhance their technological capabilities. This model is seen across the region, highlighting vast opportunities. However, to fully realise these opportunities, some fundamental elements must function more seamlessly. First, policy frameworks need greater interoperability. Malaysia's work within ASEAN on digital frameworks is a good example of aligning laws and standards. Cybersecurity regulations, in particular, require better coordination, as differences in breach notification timelines and regulatory thresholds create friction for businesses and hinder cross-border collaboration. Second, institutional collaboration is critical. India's AI Mission exemplifies how public-private partnerships (PPPs) can drive AI innovation and infrastructure development. Finally, ensuring access to fundamental technologies is essential for governments and regulators. Without firsthand experience in using technology, policymaking and institutional effectiveness suffer. Aligning these three aspects—policy, institutional collaboration, and technology access—will be crucial to unlocking the full potential of digital transformation across the region.

Talking about geopolitics factoring into corporate strategy, Sabeen Malik stressed that for businesses, geopolitics is less about competition and more about continuity, resilience, and long-term investment security. Companies need stability and predictability to ensure that their technological and financial commitments are not disrupted by sudden geopolitical shifts. This concern extends beyond companies to consumers, investors, and even governments, all of whom are impacted by potential fragmentation in digital infrastructure. The assumption that Internet infrastructure is always available

is not yet a reality across the Indo-Pacific, and so when geopolitical tensions threaten digital fragmentation, it creates uncertainty about investment returns and the future of digital services. Businesses, therefore, want to see a commitment to long-term technological integration, not just short-term applications. The conversation around digital infrastructure is still treated as a luxury rather than a public good, despite its centrality to economic growth. While DPI has been discussed as an enabler, geopolitical complexities hinder long-term investment and trade. The challenge is to shift digital services from being seen as optional to being recognised as fundamental economic assets, requiring protection and strategic planning similar to traditional commodities.

The discussion underscored the necessity for building collective resilience through stronger PPPs and enhanced intelligence sharing. Additionally, it also focused on harmonising standards, especially for incident reporting, to ensure timely and effective responses. Instead of fragmented requirements, the emphasis should be on delivering the right information to the right people as quickly as possible. Achieving this will enable the region—and the world—to leverage the best intelligence and capabilities, strengthening cybersecurity and overall digital security.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Dinner Making Money Meet Mitigation: Bridging Finance, Technology, and Geopolitics

Aparna Roy

Day 1: March 17, 2025

The urgency of financing the green transition has never been more pressing. Despite global commitments to net-zero pathways, the funding gap for climate action remains staggering—estimates suggest that developing economies alone need nearly US\$2.4 trillion annually by 2030 to meet climate and development goals. Yet, climate finance remains fragmented, slow-moving, and often inaccessible to those who need it most. The world is at a critical juncture where making money meet mitigation is not just an economic necessity but a survival imperative.

While 2024 marked a historic milestone where global green finance investments surpassed fossil fuel funding, structural inequities remain deeply entrenched. Advanced economies absorbed 85 percent of these funds, with only 15 percent directed towards emerging markets and developing economies (EMDEs) outside China. Compounding this disparity is the reliance on public finance in developing nations—state-owned enterprises and government-backed funds dominate, unlike in advanced economies, where private capital leads with 85 percent of investments.

MODERATOR



Mannat Jaspal

Director and Fellow, Climate and Energy,
ORF Middle East, United Arab Emirates

SPEAKERS



Angel Gurría

Former Secretary-General, Organisation
for Economic Co-operation and
Development; Honorary Member, Club de
Madrid



Amitabh Kant

G20 Sherpa, India



Ornela Cuci

Former Vice Minister of Environment and
Tourism, Albania



Osamu Yamamoto

Chief Executive Officer, Unison Capital
Management Pte. Ltd., Japan



Yasmine Moezinia

Program Director, Climate Finance,
Sequoia Climate Foundation, United
States of America



A key bottleneck remains the punitive risk premiums imposed on developing nations. Credit rating agencies continue to follow outdated methodologies that amplify currency risks, increasing borrowing costs. Emerging economies often rely on US dollar-denominated debt, leaving them vulnerable to external shocks. Angel Gurria underscored the need for multilateral institutions to rethink capital allocation and actively de-risk investments in EMDEs to ensure a fairer financial ecosystem.

While energy efficiency, electrification, and carbon capture have seen substantial progress, hard-to-abate sectors—trucking, aviation, and heavy industry—remain underfunded and technologically constrained. Investment in scalable solutions for these sectors is critical, yet they receive a fraction of global green finance. Amitabh Kant emphasised that without a robust industrial decarbonisation strategy, emerging economies will struggle to achieve net-zero targets. He highlighted that India alone requires over US\$10 trillion in climate investment by 2070, but current flows fall woefully short.

Osamu Yamamoto stressed the need for blended finance models that merge public and private capital to accelerate technological diffusion. He pointed to Japan's model of risk-sharing mechanisms and catalytic funding as a template for other nations. Geopolitics has emerged as a double-edged sword in climate finance. On one hand, industrial policies such as the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) and the EU's Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM) have propelled green investment. On the other hand, these measures risk deepening global financing asymmetries by skewing capital towards wealthier nations.

Trade tensions further exacerbate the situation. The rise of protectionist policies and tech rivalries, particularly between the US and China, threatens the global green supply chain. Ornela Cuci warned that excessive focus on domestic green industrial policies in advanced economies could crowd out funding for EMDEs.

Yasmine Moezinia highlighted that while private sector participation is increasing, risk appetite remains limited. Emerging economies need tailored financial instruments—sovereign guarantees, green credit rating reforms, and concessional financing—to level the playing field.

Gurria issued a stark reminder: climate change remains the most pressing intergenerational challenge, yet geopolitical crises—Ukraine, the Middle East, Sudan—risk diverting attention and resources. He urged G20 leaders to harness this critical moment before the presidency shifts to the US, where climate finance commitments may become more uncertain.

Kant reinforced this by calling for an overhaul of global financial institutions to reflect new economic realities. He pointed to India's push for a new financial architecture under its G20 presidency as a critical step towards a more equitable system.

The session made clear that green finance must move beyond rhetoric. While capital flows have surged, their concentration in advanced economies threatens to stall global mitigation efforts. De-risking investments in emerging markets, scaling breakthrough technologies, and mitigating nativist economic policies are essential. As the world races towards net-zero, only bold political action and structural financial reforms can ensure that money truly meets mitigation.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Dinner

Secret City: Agents, Aid, Agenda

Krishna Vohra

Day 1: March 17, 2025

The discussion promised a riveting debate on the contentious issue of foreign aid, following the dismantling of programmes of the United States' Agency for International Development (USAID), and the panel did not disappoint. The moderator Padmaja Joshi set the context by quoting the infamous tweet posted by the parallel Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE) spearheaded by Elon Musk, the unelected leader systematically gutting the US federal agencies, purportedly to eliminate redundancies in government spending.

While the issues highlighted in the tweet, questioning the need to spend millions of dollars on seemingly irrelevant issues like voter turnout in India, are important to reexamine, does it warrant a complete dismantling of USAID or rather highlight the need for reform to make foreign aid more meaningful?

Sanjeev Sanyal doubled down on his claim that he posted on his social media, that USAID is the biggest scam in American history, although this was met with some rebuttal from the other speakers. He further argued that using foreign aid to improve voter turnout in India was unnecessary and purposeless.

MODERATOR



Padmaja Joshi

Senior Executive Editor, TV9 Group, India

SPEAKERS



Sanjeev Sanyal

Member, Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council, India



Jürgen Stock

Former Secretary General, INTERPOL



Ayoade Alakija

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



Bonnie Glick

Adjunct Senior Fellow, Foundation for Defence of Democracies, United States of America



Kaush Arha

President, Free & Open Indo-Pacific Forum, United States of America



Ayoade Alakija provided her unique perspective on the panel discussion, questioning why we continue to be so obsessed with the US and USAID. She disagreed with the contention that USAID is a scam, but argued that the masks are being lifted, perhaps the biggest myth in international relations. She further argued that a lot of foreign aid from the West is eventually routed back to the source countries, while still being used as capital to increase their soft power. Alakija eloquently emphasises that there are no permanent friends, only permanent interests. She also brought attention to the fact that many vulnerable communities, being ravaged by diseases such as tuberculosis and malaria, have had their humanitarian assistance halted due to the shutdown of USAID programmes. Although she recognises that most countries today use aid as a tool, they must not throw away the baby with the bathwater and indiscriminately shut these programmes down altogether.

Bonnie Glick stood in total agreement with Alakija's remark on permanent interests over permanent alliances. She felt that this was a compelling lens to look at foreign relations and the role of national interest when it comes to humanitarian aid. While she recognised that DOGE is not an officially elected federal institution, and its decisions could be questioned by US courts, the cutbacks are the present reality. Ultimately, Glick argues, when Americans hear of wasteful spending in far-off lands, that is when foreign aid becomes a controversial issue.

Kaush Arha defended USAID, arguing that any programme can be projected in a negative light when selective instances of 'wasteful spending' are cherry-picked, sensationalised, and conflated with the programme as a whole. Contrary to popular belief, USAID has the most earmarked budget, primarily determined by Congress. The answer, for Kaush Arha, is not to throw away the baby with the bathwater, in agreement with Alakija. Rather, we must look to improve USAID and the affiliated bureaucracies, not shut them down altogether.

Jürgen Stock reflected on the issue from his perspective as the former Secretary General of INTERPOL, a position he held for ten years. With the participation of various nations like members of the EU and the G7, international organisations have an important role in supporting the security of hundreds of countries. While it is undoubtedly linked to national interests, INTERPOL and the use of multilateral frameworks are key in making the world a more secure place. In conclusion, steps need to be taken to enhance the accountability and transparency of these programmes.

The exhilarating discussion concluded with a question-and-answer session with members from the audience. The questions underlined the importance of the African perspective and safeguarding foreign aid to ensure it is retained by its intended recipients. Closing remarks from While Stock reiterated the importance of border security, Alakija eloquently argued that the only way to safeguard the interests of those in need of aid is to place increased emphasis on the self-determination of these nations.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Dinner As Atlantis Sinks: Does China Rise?

Srijan Shukla

Day 1: March 17, 2025

James Carafano begins the discussion by challenging the panel's premise, arguing that the current global order no longer mirrors the Cold War-era international system. He asserts that today's major powers lack both the capacity and political will to establish spheres of influence akin to those of the US and the erstwhile Soviet Union during that period. Instead, modern powers prioritise connectivity projects that constrain adversaries from engaging in sphere-of-influence politics.

Kishore Mahbubani highlights that significant power shifts are underway in the global system. He notes that in 1990, the EU's economy was ten times larger than China's, but now they are equal, with projections suggesting that the Chinese economy will be ten times larger than the EU's by 2050. Similarly, the US-China economic gap has narrowed considerably. Mahbubani emphasises that these shifts in the global balance of power pose critical questions for the Global South on adapting to changing power dynamics. Moreover, without meaningful collective global leadership and effective diplomacy, geopolitical flashpoints, such as the Ukraine-Russia rivalry, are more likely to turn into outright conflicts.

MODERATOR



Tara Varma

Visiting Fellow, Brookings Institution,
United States of America

SPEAKERS



Kishore Mahbubani

Distinguished Fellow, Asia Research
Institute, National University of Singapore,
Singapore



Theresa Fallon

Founder and Director, Centre for Russia,
Europe and Asia Studies, Bruegel,
Belgium



Benedikt Franke

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



Peter Grk

Secretary General, Bled Strategic Forum,
Slovenia



James Carafano

Senior Counsellor to the President and
E.W. Richardson Fellow, The Heritage
Foundation, United States of America



On China's domestic political economy question, Mahbubani contends that while the Chinese economy has had a few bad years, it would be a folly to underestimate it in the long run. Given China's growing prowess across technological frontiers, it is on track to achieve its long-term economic and industrial objectives.

Peter Grk refutes Carafano's position and contends that the US's global position is in relative decline. On the European project, he notes that while the EU's way of functioning is complex, slow, and imperfect - a single market of half a billion people and comprising 27 member-states—is one of history's most unique political projects. Considering that the EU is a process of integration as opposed to a finished state project, this evolutionary process renders it exceptionally resilient. However, Grk concedes that although the EU has succeeded in building an economic giant, it has failed to become a geostrategic giant.

Grk also contends that, given the EU is a consensus-based union of member-states, it needs multilateralism to survive. Consequently, given its own stakes, the EU has to be the one to invest in rebuilding multilateralism and ensuring its efficacy.

Theresa Fallon expresses optimism about Europe's future, particularly in response to Donald Trump's strained relationship with Europe. She believes Trump's presidency has spurred Europe to take greater responsibility for its security. Fallon notes that the US administration's changing stance on the common transatlantic security umbrella stems from the American population's growing unwillingness to support European free-riding on US security. She notes that US administrations since Barack Obama have urged Europe to increase defence spending to at least 2 percent of the GDP, but

without success. However, there is now a growing consensus among European nations to raise defence budgets to at least 3.5 percent and adopt a geopolitical approach to global affairs.

Fallon also remains hopeful that transatlantic cooperation can endure despite recent tensions and that it will come out stronger from this tumultuous phase. However, she does note that some of Trump's callous language towards the EU can be counterproductive and cause unease on the other side of the Atlantic.

Benedikt Franke advises against overestimating current transatlantic discord, noting such turbulence has been a recurring feature of their relationship. He stresses that Europe must effectively communicate the benefits of its partnership with the US to American leaders and citizens while taking greater responsibility for its defence and security.

Addressing multilateralism and global governance, Franke laments that as the leadership vacuum deepens, other major powers such as China, India, and Brazil haven't stepped up. He contends that the EU can play a leading role in revamping and instilling more dynamism in the global governance architecture.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Breakfast

Multipolar Disorder: No Takers for a G2

Nimisha Chadha

Day 2: March 18, 2025

In a rapidly shifting international landscape, old paradigms crumble as nations forge new paths amid mounting complexities. Global power, security, and economic interests are being reshaped by factors beyond the US-China rivalry. The world observes the rise of a multipolar disorder, where international relations can no longer be seen solely through a hierarchical lens. As the West withdraws from its long-established role in upholding the international order, nations are actively forging their regional structures and alliances, in alignment with national interests. Emerging middle powers, unconventional, opportunistic alliances, and disruptive strategies are redefining the world order, leading to fragmentation, while challenging traditional models of power projections.

With international organisations such as the WTO being rendered ineffective, longstanding sanctions on nations like Iran, emerging political reforms and conflicts, nations are adopting unconventional alliances and economic strategies that highlight the complexity and fluidity of today's international system according to Saeed Khatibzadeh. This institutional erosion showcases the need to rethink multilateral frameworks and build systems that can coordinate responses across wide-ranging challenges.

MODERATOR



Steve Clemons

Editor-At-Large, National Interest, United States of America

SPEAKERS



Saeed Khatibzadeh

President, Institute for Political and International Studies, Iran



Dino Patti Djalal

Founder, Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia, Indonesia



Sunjoy Joshi

Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India



Nada Al Hajjri

President, Yemen Information Centre, Yemen



Almut Möller

Director for European and Global Affairs; Head of the Europe in the World Programme, European Policy Centre, Germany



Moreover, Almut Möller states that Europe is confronted with an existential crisis—amplified by the ongoing Russia-Ukraine conflict. A coalition of the willing is emerging, with Europe prioritising its security interests and redefining its role on the global stage. Despite existing rivalries, the alignment on shared interests among global powers reflects the contradiction in international diplomacy. According to Nada Al Hajjri, nations such as the UAE and Oman have leveraged this dynamic with cultural diplomacy elements to sustain healthy ties with major players. The discussion urged Western nations to embrace a similar, more inclusive, and pragmatic approach to foreign policy.

What are the viable paths ahead in a world where traditional models fail to account for all the complexities of global affairs? What challenges, opportunities and partnerships are on the horizon? How can emerging middle powers and regional coalitions help build a more balanced international order without relying solely on binary superpowers? How can nations help restore loyalty to the international order and prevent fragmentation? As nations work through these changes, how can alliances that mirror the multidimensional reality of modern international relations be fortified?

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Breakfast

Climate Proofing the Indo-Pacific: Food, Water, Economic Resilience

Abhishek Sharma

Day 2: March 18, 2025

The Indo-Pacific is at the frontline of the climate crisis. The need for food and water security, alongside economic resilience, is paramount for this region. To deliberate on the subject, Erin Watson posed a question to the panel: how can we make the water and food systems more resilient in the Indo-Pacific region in the face of increasing climate change threats?

Coming from Germany, Silvia Bender shared her unique perspective based on her ministerial and government experience. She started by accepting that, firstly, there is no uniform template to address the food and water security issue globally and, secondly, that the Indo-Pacific is more vulnerable to climate change than Europe. Following this, she shared Germany's solution through Agroecology as a principle that aims to make farming more resilient against climate change. She also shared that Germany is working in India to replicate this principle to make agriculture more resilient for changing weather patterns, improving soil health, and promoting organic farming and crop rotation.

MODERATOR



Erin Watson

Founder and Managing Director, Baker & York, Australia

SPEAKERS



Silvia Bender

State Secretary, Federal Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Germany



Claire Alembik

Investment Specialist, Asian Development Bank



Lise Breuil

Country Director, Agence Française de Développement, India



Nilanjan Ghosh

Vice President, Development Studies, Observer Research Foundation, India



Robert Kaan

President, Asia Pacific, Corteva Agriscience



Claire Alembik emphasised the multi-faceted, three-pronged approach they have developed for the food sector. The first aspect focuses on improving productivity, which includes enhancing agricultural inputs' efficiency, improving farm equipment quality, and developing drought-tolerant seeds through policy and private-sector financing. The second aspect promotes sustainable farming models, such as greenhouse horticulture, forest tree plantation, and aquaculture. To achieve this, more investments in the supply chain and rural infrastructure, including food distribution, storage, and agri logistics, are needed. The last one highlights the importance of nature-based solutions and the need to develop policies around this in the region, which are currently missing. She concluded by emphasising the importance of private sector involvement in the sector, along with policy intervention.

Nilanjan Ghosh started with a provocative statement stating that Water and Food security are not correlated and that food security can be achieved with the judicious use of water resources. He emphasised the importance of less water-consuming crops, moving towards regenerative agriculture, and green water practices (land levelling and drip irrigation) to enhance the sustainability of agriculture, supply chains, farmers' earnings, and more nutritious crops. Sharing some crucial interventions by the Indian Government, he highlighted the criticality of policy intervention, such as giving more Minimum Support Price (MSP) for less water-consuming crops like millet, unlike others such as paddy.

Reflecting some of the private sector research, Robert Kaan focused on technological and policy support for farmers by the government. He added that many current problems could be resolved with technological innovation and research, such as enabling crops to grow in non-traditional regions through new breeding technologies, short-season and short-stature varieties, such as the Mustard in India.

Lise Breuil stressed a crucial aspect of the conversation: the suitable financial model. She emphasised the role of Public Development Banks (PDB) in making systems more resilient in the water and agricultural sector, including national and regional, in creating traction towards adaptation and resilience through financing and technical assistance. She added the necessity of international partnerships with regional banks across Brazil, Vietnam, and Indonesia. Claire built on Lise's point, touching on the role of PDB in the agricultural space and shared the Asian Development Bank's (ADB) experience in this space as an enabler through their specific technological assistance and creating feedback loops through agencies and governments, making it more attractive for PDB to step in for investment. She concluded by emphasising the need for knowledge partnership in this space.

In the panel's concluding remarks, touching upon the role and the need for regional government, business, and civil society collaboration to make supply chain and economic security more resilient, Kaan highlighted the uniqueness of the region in terms of scale and scope, which necessitates collaboration and cooperation for initiatives and projects. He gave an example of a Farmer Producers Organisation (FPO) setup based in India. Silvia pitched in by emphasising the government's perspective, discussing capacity building and knowledge sharing as a mechanism. Lise highlighted the need for more conversations on water and food security at conferences to bring more attention to non-traditional security issues to the mainstream, appreciating the Raisina dialogue's broad agenda.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Breakfast

Iran Factor: Crisis, Conversions, Competition

Ambar Kumar Ghosh

Day 2: March 18, 2025

The discussion was centred around the highly dynamic geopolitical landscape of the Middle East broadly, and the Islamic Republic of Iran more specifically. Developments such as shifting alliances in the region, political conflicts, and the geo-political competition between Europe, the US, and China set the premise of the deliberation.

The panel began with Sayed Mohammad Kazem Sadjadpour, offering a conceptual framework to understand Iran's interaction with the region, underscoring the need to revisit preconceived notions about Iran to avoid reductionist framing of the region. Iran is a genuine regional power that is not dependent on any power for security. The Speaker noted the limitations of reshaping the region along the dominant vision of the US and the inadequacy of an approach that would ignore either the regional complexity or the role that global actors such as China and Russia play in the region. He reiterated the huge scope for strong connectivity ties between India and Iran.

Hind Kabawat, in her deliberations, delved into the challenge of constant interference and violence by Hezbollah on the Syrian people.

MODERATOR



Mohamad Ali Harisi

Foreign Editor, The National, United Arab Emirates

SPEAKERS



Sayed Mohammad Kazem Sadjadpour

Distinguished Senior Fellow at the Institute for Political and International Studies and Adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Iran



Hind Kabawat

Director, Interfaith Peace-building, George Mason University Centre for World Religions, Diplomacy, and Conflict Resolution, United States of America



Maha Yahya

Director, Malcolm H Kerr Carnegie Middle East Centre, Lebanon



Vahan Kostanyan

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Armenia



Manish Tiwari

Member of Parliament, India



She pointed out that the fall of the Assad regime has consequences for the region. She highlighted the potential role that international organisations such as the EU can play in aiding the Syrian civil society in conflict resolution and rebuilding the region, concluding that people in the Middle East have had enough of war and wish for peace.

Maha Yahya pointed out that the region has internal structural problems, such as competition between countries, but also complex problems within countries. She also drew attention to the need to reconfigure Hezbollah and other political forces in Lebanon and delved into Iran's changing dynamics in the region. She highlighted the initiation of Iran-Saudi Arabia dialogue facilitated by China, but feels it should make greater use of its political capital in the region.

Speaking on the role of India in the context, Manish Tiwari emphasised India's historical connection with Persia. He highlighted the need to bring Iran into the larger global ethos mainstream. He pointed out India's role as a facilitator towards global stability reinforced the non-interventionist nature of Indian diplomacy. He delved into China's extractive models of building influence in different regions with major implications. He emphasised that it is up to the region to find a solution to their internal structural problems, with India willing to play the role of a catalyst for the process.

Vahan Kostanyan reminded the panel that the developments in the countries in the Middle East impact entire regions. So, the connection between communities across the region is crucial. He touched upon the need for having a common denominator across the major powers for a solution to be brought about. He highlighted that

everybody wants to continue dialogue and maintain stability in the South Caucasus, particularly making efforts to develop it as a hub of transport connectivity in the region.

In the concluding comments on the future of Middle East, Kostanyan underlined that crossroads of peace can be built through greater connectivity achieved through political courage; Yahya found the Gramscian analogy of the old world dying while the new world being yet to come, reminding about the huge costs of war and the need for working for a better situation. Kabawat expressed the need to find hope in the fatigue of war for the people of the Middle East. Tiwari also urged for peace, highlighting that the only beneficiaries of war are the Military-Industrial Complex. Sadjadpour circled back to the question of framing, flagging that there is nothing 'essential' about conflict and wars in the Middle East. He also highlighted achievements in bilateral cooperation between multiple countries and the potential for incrementalist progress in diplomatic interactions in solving major issues. The panel ended with a sense of cautious and measured hopefulness for the future of the region.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Breakfast

Digital Divide to Digital Solution: Tech-First Path to SDGs

Amoha Basrur

Day 2: March 18, 2025

Throughout history, access to technology has defined progress, but it has also deepened inequalities. As emerging technologies such as AI, blockchain, and digital finance reshape the world, 2.6 billion people still lack internet access, and only 17 percent of SDG targets are on track. Equitable digital access in the Global South will require investment and policy support to accelerate SDGs and shield critical technologies from geopolitical volatility.

Abhishek Singh drew out how the success of DPI adoption goes beyond technology. It requires strong institutions, leadership, and capacity building. India's experience with Aadhaar, UPI, and DigiLocker showed that replication is not about copying technology but also about creating the right governance structures. Countries in the Global South must assess their existing digitisation levels, build institutional capacity, and secure leadership support before implementing projects for sustainable digital transformation.

Del Titus Bawua discussed Africa's digital asset landscape and the journey to bridge institutional and local perspectives. Initially, cryptocurrency activity in Africa was

MODERATOR



Mohamed AlSharhan

Managing Director, World Governments Summit; Director of Government Leaders and Talents Department, Ministry of Cabinet Affairs, United Arab Emirates

SPEAKERS



Abhishek Singh

Additional Secretary, Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology, India



Andreas Urschitz

Chief Marketing Officer and Member of the Management Board, Infineon Technologies AG, Germany



Del Titus Bawuah

Chief Executive Officer, Web3 Africa Group, Ghana



Marianne Demarchi

Chief Executive Officer, Europe, Middle East, and Africa, Swift



Stephanie Diepeveen

Senior Research Fellow, Digital Societies, ODI Global, United Kingdom



predominantly over-the-counter due to regulatory uncertainty. Ghana established its first digital asset policy framework and a regulatory sandbox by engaging with global and local entities through sustained dialogue. With policy and education now in place, the focus has shifted to commercialisation. The Bank of Ghana successfully piloted the eCedi, a potential Central Bank Digital Currency (CBDC), particularly benefiting rural areas. The pilot demonstrated blockchain's potential for intellectual property protection. Bawua believes blockchain and CBDCs will significantly reshape financial infrastructure across the continent over the next decade.

Marianne Demarchi highlighted SWIFT's role as a global leader in financial messaging. It facilitates cross-border payments across 200+ countries, connecting over 11,500 financial institutions. As global trade drives economic growth, the rise of instant payment systems, CBDCs, and tokenised assets offers new opportunities but also risks financial fragmentation. Unconnected payment networks can hinder economic integration, reduce capital flows, and impact GDP growth and employment. Studies indicate that fragmentation could shrink global GDP by up to 6 percent, costing approximately 280 million jobs. Demarchi emphasised that ensuring interoperability across evolving financial systems is crucial to maintaining a seamless, inclusive, resilient global financial infrastructure.

Andreas Urschitz pointed out that affordable hardware is the backbone of digitalisation, with smartphones being a key access point. This makes cost-effective hardware essential for global digital inclusion. When individual companies globalise supply chains and optimise production and R&D to achieve economies of scale, it ensures widespread access to technology at competitive costs, which helps drive digital accessibility and economic opportunity worldwide. Calls for fully nationalised supply chains potentially lead to significant cost inflation, contradicting affordability and efficiency. Accessibility will require balancing national interests with global collaboration.

Stephanie Diepeveen took this idea further by noting that the inherently global nature of digital platforms and supply chains means that digital sovereignty in the modern age cannot be defined by national control over infrastructure. Governments must navigate dependencies on foreign-owned technologies and complex international networks. The Russia-Ukraine war and the influence of private entities such as Starlink have highlighted the risks of relying on a single company or individual. Smaller nations must collaborate to shape digital policies, explore alternative ownership models, and leverage diverse knowledge systems, especially from the Global South, to create inclusive and sustainable digital frameworks.

The digital divide extends beyond connectivity—it impacts governance, growth, and opportunities. Without action, digital transformation risks widening inequality, making it imperative to direct digital economic gains toward societal benefit rather than concentrating wealth among the few.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Ministerial Address Towards a 'Green Future' for Sustainable Development: India's Climate Initiatives for Environmental Cooperation

Gopalika Arora

Day 2: March 18, 2025

Kirti Vardhan Singh commenced his ministerial remarks by emphasising India's leadership in climate action, the importance of global partnerships, and the need for sustainable, equitable development. He highlighted that, despite progress, climate change remains an existential threat, compounded by geopolitical and economic challenges. Stressing global security's interconnectedness, he called for an integrated approach incorporating climate resilience into broader policies.

Singh reaffirmed India's commitment to achieving net-zero emissions by 2070 and 50 percent renewable energy capacity by 2030. As the first G20 nation to meet its Paris Agreement targets, India prioritises development, poverty alleviation, and decoupling emissions from growth. He highlighted India's leadership in renewable energy, noting its position as the fourth-largest solar power producer. Singh credited initiatives such as Solar Parks, Ultra Mega Solar Projects, and the Solar Rooftop

MINISTERIAL ADDRESS



Kirti Vardhan Singh

Minister of State, Ministry of External
Affairs, India



Programme, which has engaged 10 million families. He also emphasised India's advancements in the National Green Hydrogen Mission (NGHM) and the expansion of EVs, further solidifying the country's dedication to a sustainable energy future.

Addressing the financial challenges of climate action, he highlighted the trillions required globally and the limited private investment available. He pointed to India's efforts to create a climate finance taxonomy and its growing adaptation spending, which increased from 3.5 percent of the GDP in 2015-16 to 5.6 percent in 2022. Singh also emphasised the upcoming National Adaptation Plan, which aims to integrate climate resilience into governance and planning processes.

Reaffirming India's global leadership, Singh also mentioned India's active role in international initiatives such as the International Solar Alliance (ISA), One Sun One World One Grid (OSOWOG), the Coalition for Disaster Resilient Infrastructure (CDRI), and the Global Biofuel Alliance. He iterated India's Mission LiFE, which promotes sustainable living, and pointed out that due to deeply embedded environmental practices, India's per capita carbon footprint is 60 percent below the global average.

In conclusion, Singh reinforced India's commitment to climate justice, advocating the principle of 'Common but Differentiated Responsibilities' and policies that balance development with sustainability. He called on nations to set aside geopolitical differences and work together toward a just and sustainable future.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Thrones and Thorns: Defending the Integrity of Nations

Rajoli Siddharth Jayaprakash

Day 2: March 18, 2025

The post-war rules-based order is fragmented, mired in war, violence, and instability, with the prospects of lasting peace and economic development looking grim. This phenomenon is certainly not a recent development. Thus, reform in the rules-based order is key. The panel, comprising four ministers, former ministers, and an expert on the Middle East, examined the current world order in light of the wars in Ukraine and Gaza, discussing international system reforms from both similar and contrasting perspectives on issues from Europe and the Global South.

Carl Bildt highlighted the European position on the Ukraine and Gaza crises by contrasting the epistemological foundations for the two situations. According to him, Russian aggression in Ukraine differed from Israel's actions in Palestine. The former pertains to the fundamentals of international law and not only European values. Bildt added that the international system was built on the unity of states, with respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity being the foundation of international security. He argued that Russian aggression breaches this foundation. On the

MODERATOR



Ashok Malik

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

SPEAKERS



Dominique Hasler

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Education and
Sport, Liechtenstein



Juraj Blanár

Minister of Foreign and European Affairs,
Slovak Republic



Dubai Abulhoul

Founder, Fiker Institute, United Arab
Emirates



S. Jaishankar

Minister of External Affairs, India



Carl Bildt

Former Prime Minister, Sweden



other hand, Bildt opined that while Israel has the right to respond to terrorist aggression, it did not do so under international humanitarian law.

Dominique Hasler stated Liechtenstein's commitment to the international rules-based order, advocating for a truly multipolar world order and a stronger UN. This view emanates from the nature of the state, as the country does not have a standing army. Recently, Liechtenstein introduced reforms in the UN, including the veto initiative to ensure more checks on the veto procedure in the Security Council.

According to Juraj Blanar the diversity of political systems within the EU, operating under the umbrella of solidarity, is one of the biggest strengths of the union. Blanar called for a veto for the EU. He further reiterated Slovakia's commitment to adhering to international law, arguing that the erosion of international law will lead to disorder. Thus, a serious debate must be held on reforming the UN and the UNSC. There is a noticeable shift in the rules-based order, with European countries becoming more autonomous and embracing self-help under the pretext of regional collective security, exacerbated by the conflict in Ukraine. Since the war began, Finland and Sweden have joined the alliance, and European countries have started to increase their military budgets.

According to S. Jaishankar there is a necessity for the international order; the absence of one comes with its own set of consequences. Jaishankar added that any country that takes risks and adopts extreme positions, which would test the system, may exploit disorder to its advantage. Therefore, it is pertinent to comprehend the importance of an established order. The old order was a product of its time; however, its virtues fell short due to double standards and normative judgments, occasionally not in India's interest. For instance, Pakistan's invasion of Indian territory was branded as a dispute. On the other hand, Western leaders overlooked this

blatant violation of India's sovereignty—this was from the same countries that uphold political freedoms and are sensitive to external political interference. Thus, Jaishankar is against such a hypocritical order. A requirement for a new order, where a strong UN is essential, would necessitate a fair UN. A robust global order must maintain a basic consistency of facts. It is important to audit the workings of the world over the past eight decades to understand the new dynamics that necessitate a new conversation. When asked about the drivers of India's identity on the world stage, Jaishankar highlighted that the Global South, democratic values, India's ability to accommodate different interests and views, and its commitment to a multipolar world are the core drivers of India's identity.

Lastly, Dubai Abulhoul spoke about the instability in the Middle East being rooted in the great power contestation of the past by European leaders, which ignored the social and political realities; the consequences of which can be reflected in the current politics of the Middle East. Today, there is a shift in tone; Gulf and Arab nations are becoming more vocal in how they perceive the world. This can be reflected in the role of Arab countries in brokering peace between warring European nations. This reversal underscores a fundamental shift that has not received enough attention. According to Abuhoul, Gulf countries are no longer passive subjects of the international order, but rather active shapers. There is also a belief that the Global South is the new centre for peacebuilding, as there is an absence of ideology and partisanship; there is no legacy of neocolonialism, nor a one-size-fits-all approach, and there is a stronger emphasis on building economic interdependence and multi-alignment, which makes the Global South ideal.

The discussions among the panellists underscored the urgent need for reform in the international rules-based order to address contemporary conflicts. The emphasis on sovereignty, adherence to international law, and the active role of the Global South highlights the shifting dynamics of global power. A collaborative approach that respects diverse perspectives is essential for fostering stability. Ultimately, a reimagined international order may pave the way for a more equitable and peaceful world.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Keynote and In Conversation with Tulsi Gabbard & Samir Saran

Vivek Mishra

Day 2: March 18, 2025

The world is at a crossroads, especially amid growing geopolitical tensions, economic instability, and ideological polarisation. Speaking at the Raisina Dialogue 2025, Tulsi Gabbard pointed out that institutions and governance structures are being undermined by the erosion of trust and diminishing confidence, from within or otherwise. She pointed out that internal conflicts are plaguing several nations, reflecting the ebb and flow of alliances and rifts in global affairs. The world risks becoming even more fragmented without true diplomacy and cooperation, making it more challenging to address shared crises.

The militarisation of foreign policy is a major cause for concern. Force is being preferred over diplomacy by nations more and more, which results in never-ending conflicts that deplete resources and destabilise entire regions. Gabbard warned against this cycle of interventionism, claiming that unending conflicts are fought for financial and political gain rather than justifiable security requirements. In contrast to well-meaning but temporary reliance on military action, she called on leaders to re-evaluate their position and advocate for genuine dialogue and measured restraint.

MODERATOR



Samir Saran

President, Observer Research Foundation,
India

KEYNOTE ADDRESS



Tulsi Gabbard

Director of National Intelligence, United
States of America



Technology is another fundamental force shaping global affairs. AI, cyber warfare, and misinformation campaigns are weaponised to shape public opinion and attack democratic institutions. Without ethical oversight, these tools risk exacerbating social divides and threatening global stability. Gabbard emphasised the urgent need for responsible governance, warning that emerging technologies could become instruments of control rather than progress, in the wrong hands. One of the great challenges of this age is ensuring that innovation is used for the benefit of humanity, not weaponised for power.

Economic resilience also remains a pressing issue. Recent crises have exposed the vulnerabilities of global dependencies, making it clear that over-reliance on external supply chains can leave nations dangerously exposed. While globalisation has driven economic growth, it has also created dependencies that can be leveraged for political or strategic gain. Gabbard emphasised the significance of national resilience, especially in vital areas such as energy and food security. Long-term stability depends on finding this balance.

The world ultimately requires principled leadership—leaders who act with integrity, vision, and a dedication to long-term stability rather than out of fear, profit, or political expediency. To restore confidence, heal divisions, and guarantee that policies are determined by principles rather than expediency, Gabbard’s speech appealed to put aside rhetoric and act decisively because today’s decisions will shape future generations’ perceptions of world stability. Leadership based on honesty, vision, and collaboration is necessary to meet the challenges that lie ahead.

If principled decision-making is not adopted, the world risks becoming more divided and unstable. Therefore, rebuilding trust, promoting diplomacy, and ensuring power is used responsibly and purposefully will remain essential to a successful future.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

In Conversation with Anwar Mohammed Gargash & Samir Saran

Kabir Taneja

Day 2: March 18, 2025

The relations between India and the UAE are undoubtedly and arguably one of the biggest diplomatic success stories for New Delhi and Abu Dhabi alike. Trade between the two countries is flourishing, people-to-people engagement is at its peak, and common strategic goals underpin the bilateral relationship in an era of global churn and uncertainty.

Anwar Gargash's worldview promoted strategic autonomy and aimed to arrest the decline of multilateralism. Arguably, India has championed an independent foreign policy for decades; the UAE is relatively new to this concept. Abu Dhabi's 'independence' global approach is not just about multilateralism or even management of trans-Atlantic interests in President Donald Trump's era, but includes a significant recalibration of the Gulf state's regional outlook.

The regional view and what kind of future the Middle East holds for itself is perhaps the most consequential lingering question, as the past year or so is seen as nothing short of a geostrategic earthquake. This includes a proliferation of militias and what was mentioned as para-states. These tectonic shifts

MODERATOR



Samir Saran

President, Observer Research Foundation,
India

CONVERSATION WITH



Anwar Mohammed Gargash

Diplomatic Advisor to the President,
United Arab Emirates

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PEACE PLANET

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are some of the reasons why outside forces in the region, predominantly the US, were attributed to being important despite a robust debate across the region on the veracity of US presence in the Middle East and a broader argument which sees the US as a declining power. But despite these realities, the Trump administration is also seen as providing opportunities.

Despite the regional challenges, opportunities to bridge long-standing political crevasses, such as those with Iran, continue to be seen as opportunities. The development of a middle ground where Tehran and Arab capitals can incubate both opportunities and points of contention was highlighted as an important factor moving forward. The Arab world's commonalities with Iran and not the problems that often take centre stage were prioritised, to take the developing environment of normalcy with Iran despite the persistence of long-standing issues where the Arab world does not see eye to eye with the Iranians.

Beyond the regional intricacies, the UAE has also been at the forefront of developing new multilateral systems. In 2020, Abu Dhabi led a group of Gulf states in normalising diplomatic relations with Israel via the Abraham Accords. In 2022, the I2U2 group was formed, bringing together India, Israel, the US, and the UAE. Derailed since 2023 as geopolitical realities in the region drastically changed, a sense of positivity of many of these 'new' diplomacy tools will return to the forefront was palpable.

Finally, the UAE was highlighted as a country that does not act solo. Abu Dhabi works with friends, partners, and allies. The UAE's aims were underscored as being a state which is relevant and dynamic. Policies have to be de-escalatory for these aims to succeed.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Waging Peace: Looking Back to Look Ahead

Prithvi Gupta

Day 2: March 18, 2025

Peacemaking in a divided and violent world remains an intricate challenge, shaped by shifting global power structures, entrenched conflicts, and evolving geopolitical dynamics. While past negotiations provide valuable lessons, the success of contemporary peace efforts depends on the adaptability of political leadership, the effectiveness of multi-mediation, and the broader context of the international rules-based order.

Drawing from his experience in conflict resolution, Dag Nylander stressed that sustainable peace requires strong diplomatic engagement and the recognition that conflicts are deeply rooted in political, economic, and historical grievances. He argued that mediation must address these underlying factors to achieve durable solutions.

Moussa Mara highlighted the complexities of mediation in regions where state institutions are weak and non-state actors wield significant influence. He contended that peacemaking efforts must extend beyond elite negotiations to include local communities, traditional leaders, and grassroots organisations to build legitimacy and trust. Mara also noted that international mediation must avoid imposing

SCENE SETTER



Dag Nylander

Director, Norwegian Centre for Conflict Resolution, Norway

MODERATOR



Yalda Hakim

Lead World News Presenter, Sky News, United Kingdom

SPEAKERS



Moussa Mara

Former Prime Minister of Mali; Member, Club de Madrid



Stephen Harper

Former Prime Minister, Canada



Espen Barth Eide

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Norway



Shashi Tharoor

Member of Parliament, Lok Sabha; Chairperson, Parliamentary Standing Committee on External Affairs, India



Comfort Ero

President and Chief Executive Officer, International Crisis Group, United Kingdom



external templates that do not align with the realities on the ground. Stephen Harper emphasised the limits of mediation when conflicting parties lack a genuine interest in resolution. He contended that peace cannot be imposed externally and that in cases where actors engage in negotiations merely for strategic advantage, mediation efforts risk prolonging conflict rather than resolving it. Harper further observed that contemporary peacemaking efforts must account for the declining influence of traditional power brokers, as rising multipolarity complicates consensus-building and enforcement mechanisms.

Espen Barth Eide highlighted the role of middle powers in facilitating dialogue and fostering diplomatic engagement. He pointed out that smaller states with credible diplomatic traditions can serve as impartial mediators, leveraging their neutrality to create communication channels between adversaries. Eide cautioned, however, that the increasing fragmentation of global governance institutions has made it more difficult to sustain long-term peace initiatives, as external support for mediation is often subject to geopolitical rivalries.

Comfort Ero underscored the importance of regional organisations in peace processes, arguing that African and Asian institutions must take greater ownership of conflict resolution efforts. She observed that external interventions often lack the contextual understanding necessary to craft viable solutions and, when empowered, regional actors can play a decisive role in mediating disputes and ensuring post-conflict stability. Ero also noted that peacebuilding efforts must incorporate justice mechanisms to address grievances and prevent cycles of violence.

Shashi Tharoor reflected on the role of global governance structures in peacemaking, asserting that the UN and other multilateral institutions must undergo reforms to remain relevant in an era of shifting power dynamics. He argued that emerging powers, particularly from the Global South, should have a greater voice in shaping mediation efforts, ensuring that peace initiatives reflect diverse geopolitical perspectives. Tharoor also cautioned against the instrumentalisation of peace processes for geopolitical gains, stressing that neutrality and credibility are essential for successful mediation.

The evolution of the rules-based order also shapes the prospects for peacemaking. Harper asserted that the erosion of multilateral institutions and the increasing assertiveness of revisionist powers undermine the normative frameworks that have historically supported conflict resolution. Nylander added that the international community must balance pragmatism with principles, ensuring that peace efforts do not legitimise violations of sovereignty or human rights in pursuit of expediency. Eide stressed that contemporary conflicts are characterised by complex non-state dynamics, requiring a departure from traditional mediation strategies. He argued that peace processes must adapt to the realities of hybrid warfare, transnational militias, and cyber-enabled conflicts, which challenge conventional diplomatic tools. Furthermore, he noted that successful peacemaking necessitates inclusivity, with women, civil society actors, and marginalised groups playing essential roles in ensuring comprehensive and sustainable agreements.

Ultimately, their respective views underscored the reality that while historical precedents offer valuable insights, modern peacemaking requires a recalibration of strategies in response to emerging challenges. The role of political leadership, the effectiveness of multi-mediation, and the resilience of the rules-based order remain central to determining whether conflict resolution efforts can achieve tangible and lasting results.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Blue Economy: Balancing Prosperity, Sustainability and Resilience

Sohini Bose

Day 2: March 18, 2025

Blue Economy has gained traction in recent years as nations strive to harness the economic potential of oceans while safeguarding their ecological integrity. It sustains the livelihoods of nearly three billion people globally, particularly in coastal and island nations. However, increasing climate vulnerabilities, marine pollution, technological, and financial disparities pose serious challenges. The Raisina Dialogue 2025 panel discussion on 'Blue Economy: Balancing Prosperity, Sustainability, and Resilience' brought together five global experts to analyse how nations pursue inclusive, sustainable, and financially viable oceanic development.

Ambika Vishwanath opened the discussion by underlining the various facets of Blue Economy, from fisheries, tourism, renewable energy, maritime logistics, to undersea cables. In India, it accounts for approximately 4.1 percent of the GDP. However, threats such as changing weather patterns, rising sea temperatures, and increasing cyclone intensity threaten the progress of this sector, making it necessary to balance economic extraction and marine preservation.

MODERATOR



Ambika Vishwanath
Director, Kubernein Initiative, India

SPEAKERS



Axel Berger
Deputy Director (Interim), German Institute of Development and Sustainability, Germany



Kekeli Ahiable
Trade and Infrastructure Advisor, Tony Blair Institute for Global Change, United Kingdom



Teenah Jutton
Former Member of Parliament, Mauritius



Thilan Wijesinghe
Chairman & Managing Director, TW Corp (Pvt) Ltd, Sri Lanka



Suthikorn Kingkaew
Advisor, Hydrogen Economy Project, Energy Policy and Planning Office, Thailand



Commenting on this note, Teenah Jutton offered the Small Island Developing State (SIDS) perspective. With modest territorial space, Mauritius relies considerably on its extensive Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) spanning 2.3 million square kilometres (km²)- the fifth-largest globally, for sustenance. Tourism is its economic mainstay, but marine pollution, illegal fishing, and inadequate coastal protection pose existential risks. Hence, sustained financing mechanisms based on the Multi-Vulnerability Index were necessary, as is realising the importance of long-term climate adaptation and mitigation. Due to the structural vulnerability of SIDS, despite their oceanic wealth, collaborative financing from the Global North is necessary.

Extending the discussion to the challenges faced by mainland developing countries, Suthikorn Kingkaew highlighted that they remain entrenched in low-end, labour-intensive Blue Economy sectors such as seafood exports. Developed nations, on the other hand, dominate high-tech domains such as offshore energy and shipping. Although sustainability mandates from global markets are necessary, they raise operational costs, making it difficult for smaller enterprises to compete, ultimately favouring larger conglomerates. This deepens inequalities between developed and developing countries, and within the latter. Drawing a parallel with climate systems—where actions in one region affect others—he proposed that the international community adopt a climate-style global approach to ocean sustainability, with public-private partnerships (PPPs) for capacity building in developing economies.

Building on the theme of sustainable infrastructures, Kekeli Ahiable highlighted Africa's need for better maritime transport. Among the continent's 54 nations, 38 have coastal access. Thus, the most effective means of increasing intra-African trade, as envisioned by the African Continental Free Trade Area, is to improve maritime transport, which is both cost-effective and more environmentally friendly than land transport. Discussions are underway for a continent-wide maritime strategy, a legal

framework for sea transport, alongside initiatives for a common African maritime transport corridor to facilitate coastal and short sea shipping. However, operational efficiency is key as rising sea trade will increase carbon emissions.

Thilan Wijesinghe argued that a critical bottleneck lies in financing the diverse spectrums of the Blue Economy. While major projects may require billion-dollar investments, most SIDS need far smaller sums that rarely attract global capital. Financing structures must accommodate both ends of the spectrum, with multiple pools of capital, credit enhancements, risk guarantees, and long-term instruments. Accordingly, there is a need for impact-focused financing, where community concerns, such as those of local fishermen, are resolved as a part of successful project implementation.

Research partnerships are thus necessary to enhance understanding of the impacts and concerns of countries across regions and income levels, stated Axel Berger. Equitable, locally grounded research collaborations can help understand how global challenges manifest locally and generate context-specific solutions. Without such cooperative attempts, the Blue Economy initiatives risk imposing unsustainable models on vulnerable communities. Local engagement and adaptive science are therefore essential for resilience and sustainability.

The panel concluded that the Blue Economy promises economic gains and inclusive, sustainable development. As a shared space, the ocean demands collaborative efforts among developed and developing nations to bridge technological divides, expand financial access, and address climate vulnerability for a more resilient global future.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

The Peace Tableau: Actions and Aspirations

Manini

Day 2: March 18, 2025

The Russia-Ukraine war, one of the most pressing global conflicts, was the focus of a panel moderated by DB Venkatesh Varma. Distinguished voices from across Europe examined the complexities of achieving peace, exploring prospects for a durable peace settlement and the broader geopolitical stakes. Varma set the stage with critical questions: What would a peace deal entail? Who would negotiate it, what role would other nations play, and ultimately, who would bear the compromises and benefit from the outcome?

The discussion opened with Andrii Sybiha reaffirming Ukraine's commitment to a just and lasting peace. He highlighted that Ukraine had embraced diplomatic efforts, including talks in Jeddah, and the US proposed a 30-day ceasefire. However, he firmly reiterated that Ukraine would not accept settlements compromising its territorial integrity or sovereignty. According to him, peace could not be built on concessions to Russian occupation. While acknowledging the shifting diplomatic landscape, he expressed concerns over Ukraine's security being heavily reliant on foreign allies, emphasizing the need for sustained international support.

MODERATOR



DB Venkatesh Varma

Former Ambassador of India to Russia,
India

SPEAKERS



Mihai Popșoi

Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Foreign
Affairs, Moldova



Andrii Sybiha

Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ukraine



Baiba Braže

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Latvia



Péter Szijjártó

Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade,
Hungary



Hanna Notte

Director, Eurasia Nonproliferation
Program, James Martin Centre for
Nonproliferation Studies, United States of
America



As a neighboring country deeply affected by the war, Mihai Popșoi shared how his country has provided humanitarian support to Ukraine, despite its own modest resources. Moldova, he said, having struggled with the frozen conflict in Transnistria for over 30 years, understands the challenges of sovereignty disputes. He reaffirmed Moldova's commitment to European security and the Helsinki Act of 1975 while maintaining neutrality. However, he acknowledged that neutrality alone cannot ensure security and stressed the need of upholding international law against territorial aggression. Moldova, he asserted, seeks lasting peace through legal frameworks rather than coercion.

Baiba Braže framed the war in Ukraine as a broader challenge to European security. Citing the Baltic region's history under Soviet rule, Braže emphasised national sovereignty and self-determination, noting that Gandhi's peaceful resistance inspired their resistance. She highlighted Ukraine's right to self-defence under Article 51 of the UN Charter and stressed that European unity was crucial to preventing further destabilisation. She also noted that any compromise on Ukraine's sovereignty would have global repercussions, including in Africa and Asia.

Péter Szijjártó emphasised his country's long-standing opposition to military engagement, summarising its stance as 'no war, no migration, no gender' for the past 15 years. He noted that Hungary, the only NATO member not supplying weapons to Ukraine, had focused on humanitarian aid, receiving 1.4 million refugees. While reaffirming Hungary's commitment to peace, he acknowledged the challenges of maintaining this position within the EU. Optimistic about renewed US-Russia talks, he saw them as a path to a ceasefire. However, he remained sceptical of military strategies that excluded Russia, arguing that lasting peace required direct negotiations between key stakeholders.

Hanna Notte took a step back to assess the broader European security landscape. She warned that Russia's strategic goals remain unchanged— reducing NATO's presence in Central and Eastern Europe and weakening Ukraine. She also highlighted shifting transatlantic dynamics, noting the US is focused on burden-shifting rather than burden-sharing with Europe. Given this, she urged Europe to rethink its defence strategies, particularly deterrence and escalation management. Notte also raised concerns about nuclear security, emphasising that Europe needed to prepare for a potential decline in the US extended deterrence.

Despite differences, the discussion highlighted common themes: the necessity of a just and comprehensive peace, adherence to international law, and the role of deterrence in maintaining stability. While diplomacy remains the only viable path, it must be grounded in principles that ensure lasting security. The session reinforced the fundamental truth that peace is forged at the negotiating table, not on the battlefield. As PM Modi has stressed, diplomacy must reflect global realities, not hypothetical scenarios. The world must balance engagement with deterrence to make peace a reality.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Lunch

Uninterrupted Peaks: Rethinking Energy Access, Affordability, and Security

Abhishree Pandey

Day 2: March 18, 2025

This panel brought together experts to discuss the evolving global energy landscape, shaped by energy security, affordability, innovation, and sustainability. Kelly Gallagher opened the session by highlighting the shifting nature of economic and political priorities that have brought the energy security question to the forefront. She noted that market forces are driving a renewable energy boom in the US. China has also seen a rapid renewable energy growth and surpassed its 2030 wind and solar capacity targets. However, China continues to rely more on coal than the US does. She concluded by stressing the importance of affordability in determining a country's energy mix, and invited other panellists to discuss global energy costs and the role of nuclear energy.

Bringing a Canadian perspective, Stephen Harper shared insights about the country's energy sector. He noted its provincial diversity and explained that regions have very different power mixes across the country. Despite Canada's surplus supply of energy resources, he highlighted that it still imports a lot of energy. Canada is also facing the issue of

MODERATOR



Kelly Gallagher

Dean and Professor of Energy & Environmental Policy, The Fletcher School, Tufts University, United States of America

SPEAKERS



Stephen Harper

Former Prime Minister, Canada



Rafael Mariano Grossi

Director General, International Atomic Energy Agency



Bjørn Lomborg

President, Copenhagen Consensus Centre, Denmark



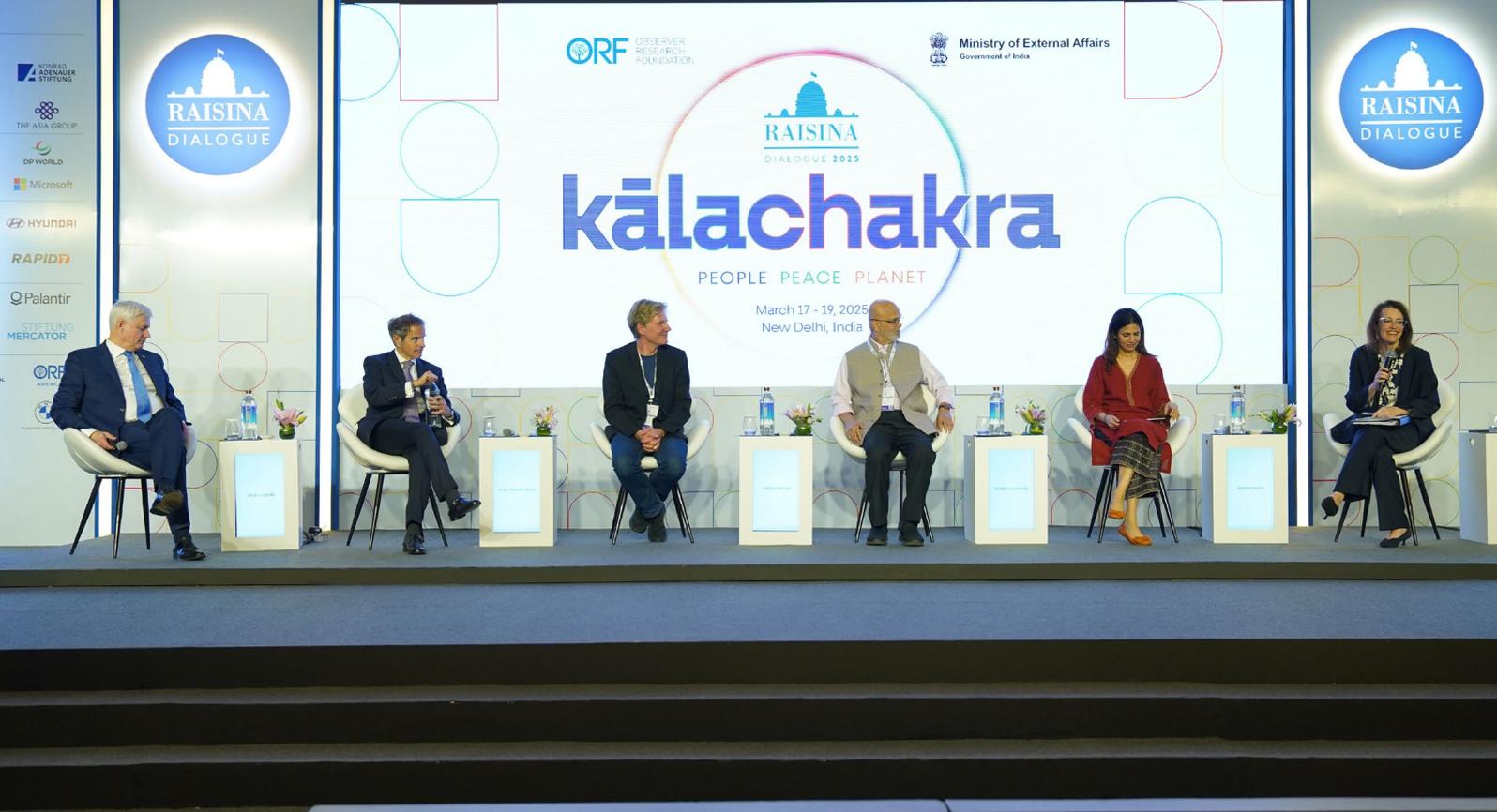
Pramod Chaudhari

Founder and Chairman, Praj Industries, India



Divyata Ashiya

Managing Director, Fortescue Capital, United Kingdom



rapidly rising consumer prices, which might lead to increased pressure to deliver low-cost but reliable energy solutions. Looking at the big picture, Harper warned of a potential net global energy shortage, as even with all energy sources combined, demand growth may outpace the supply.

The discussion then pivoted to nuclear fuel and energy security, and Rafael Mariano Grossi noted the renewed interest in nuclear power, particularly in India, China, and Europe. Nuclear energy is also experiencing a surge in popularity with the private sector, with an increase in investment in Small Modular Reactors (SMRs) by major technology firms. While nuclear energy is increasingly viewed as a stable power source, he cautioned that the industry must deliver on the promise of cost-effectiveness.

Bjørn Lomborg shared his perspective on the question of energy affordability. Solar and wind power are often considered cheaper than fossil fuels when the levelised cost of electricity (LCOE) is used. However, LCOE doesn't account for system-wide expenses, and can occasionally mislead. He explained that fossil fuels remain necessary for economic growth and affordability in many regions.

Pramod Chaudhari presented the Indian perspective. He highlighted the potential of biomass for power and noted that the government supports small nuclear plants as its potential solution. He emphasised that energy affordability and security must be balanced with climate commitments. Divyata Ashiya examined the financial challenges of the energy transition from an investor's perspective. She pointed out that globally, the transition is mainly financed by private capital, not development finance institutions. Technology companies are investing in nuclear and other energy sources to secure stable power, which raises questions about who is responsible for securing energy access for the public.

The discussion also explored the importance of energy innovation. Grossi noted the increase in private capital in fusion energy. Divyata Ashiya highlighted the growing trend of countries optimising their energy mixes based on their unique needs and resources. For example, Morocco is becoming a key player in Europe's energy strategy, with its significant investments in solar and hydrogen infrastructure, and developments in undersea supply cables to Europe. Chaudhari highlighted bio-energy's role in creating an inclusive energy transition. Lomborg noted that innovation is crucial for reducing costs. Harper agreed and asserted that the only way to meet the goals of security, reliability, affordability, and environment is through innovation.

The session painted a comprehensive picture of the factors that surround energy access, affordability and security. Even as renewable energy's share in the energy mix grows, concerns about cost and stability persist. The discussion highlighted the importance of pragmatic policy decisions, financial mechanisms, and technological advancements in shaping a secure energy future for all.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Lunch

Policy Perch: Technology, Industry, Individuals

Shivam Shekhawat

Day 2: March 18, 2025

As policy planning gradually moves away from the traditional 'state-to-state' framework and adapts to co-opt other non-state actors in the decision-making process, new challenges emerge for policymakers. The growing importance of multinational corporations and technology giants, in tandem with technological advancements, can reshape global policy priorities. Policymakers must reconcile and strike a balance between the industry's interests and public welfare, especially amid these challenges.

Setting the scene for the panel, Ricky Gill gave an overview of the fast-developing India-US partnership and its importance for the newly elected Trump 2.0 administration. India-US bilateral relations are rooted in shared values and mutual respect for priorities and interests. He highlighted the importance of increasing technology cooperation between the two sides and the agreement to further initiatives such as the ASIA initiative, Mission 500, and the TRUST Initiative. The focus is to make the economic relationship as strong as the strategic partnership.

Building on this, the moderator, Elena Lazarou, refocused on the need for policymakers to

MODERATOR



Elena Lazarou

Senior Research Fellow, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy; Associate Fellow, US and the Americas Programme, Chatham House, United Kingdom

SPEAKERS



Benedetta Berti

Director, Policy Planning, Office of the Secretary General, NATO



Muath Alwari

Director, Policy Planning Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Arab Emirates



Harsh V. Pant

Vice President, Studies and Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India



Tristan Aureau

Head of the Policy Planning Department, Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, France



Rory Medcalf

Head, National Security College, Australian National University, Australia



focus on erstwhile peripheral factors, such as technology, which, along with industries and individuals, are now imperative for any policy decision. While there is a growing acknowledgement of the need for policymakers to expand the definition of who their partners and stakeholders are, specific challenges remain. As per Benedetta Berti, all countries keep their core national interests central in developing any policy-making strategy. According to her, the propensity of decision-makers to look at issues in siloes is a significant challenge as the world becomes more integrated. Any policy decision will also involve considerable give and take, with potential trade-offs and possibly unpopular decisions. Muath Alwari added to the challenges faced by decision-makers and highlighted the need to develop the tools needed to face these challenges. All countries worldwide face similar challenges at the regional and global levels, even as the tools that policymakers have to deal with them aren't designed to address them. They must be adapted to fit a world where states are not the only primary actors. In the UAE, the emphasis is on building economic resilience, which reflects the increasing investment in AI.

Tristan Aureau also stressed the adoption of new approaches to overcome cognitive biases. He explained how the Paris AI summit, held in February 2025, brought together various actors, with France focusing on fostering an environment of innovation and furthering public-private partnerships. He also emphasised the importance of increasing AI's accessibility to make those partnerships successful.

Giving more of an 'outside-in' perspective, Harsh V. Pant highlighted the need for policymakers to ask the right questions to keep the institutions in sync with the rapid changes in the world, particularly the bureaucracy. He also credited the growing progress in the India-US partnership as a testament to the bureaucracies' ability to adapt to changing times. There has to be a willingness to either reform

the system from within or allow external actors to become a part of it, bringing in their expertise and skills. Rory Medcalf also highlighted the importance of a whole-of-government approach to address the challenges and focus on developing economically viable frameworks for addressing those challenges.

The panel reiterated that any disruption or change requires resilience, which, in turn, leads to the adaptation of new and better frameworks and strategies. This allows policymakers enough space to respond to new challenges, adopt a non-linear approach towards them, and conceptualise policies that balance the interests of both the public and the industries.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Lunch

Demographic Deficits: Migration, Education, Economic Growth

Debosmita Sarkar

Day 2: March 18, 2025

This session examined the paradoxes confronting developed and developing countries worldwide. Advanced economies face an increasing need for a skilled workforce whilst reconsidering the scope for immigration. On the other hand, developing countries with large and growing working-age populations struggle to upgrade human capital that meet global market demands.

In this context, the session began by launching the report, 'Making a Case for Global Workforce Migration: A Strategic Blueprint to Harness India's Demographic Dividend', co-developed by PwC and ORF. It explores solutions to align skilling, migration, and employment strategies, leveraging digital innovation and education reforms to create a future-ready global workforce. Sanjeev Krishan noted that although ageing populations limit productivity in developed countries, India, with 65 percent of its population in the working-age group, is well-situated to meet this demand, particularly in technology and AI. He emphasised the scope of India's existing agreements with the UAE, Australia, Germany, and Japan and the ongoing EU talent

PRESENTATION



Sanjeev Krishan
Chairman, PwC, India

MODERATOR



Terri Chapman
Research Fellow, George Washington
University Institute of Public Policy, United
States of America

SPEAKERS



James Lawless
Minister for Further and Higher Education,
Research, Innovation and Science, Ireland



Ila Patnaik
Chief Economist, Aditya Birla Group,
India



Karthik Muralidharan
Tata Chancellor's Professor of Economics,
University of California San Diego, United
States of America



Maitreyi Das
Director, Trust Funds and Partner
Relations, Development Finance, World
Bank



Manish Sabharwal
Executive Vice Chairman, TeamLease
Services, India

kālachakra

PEOPLE PEACE PLAN



partnership negotiations in advancing this goal. By 2050, advanced economies will face a shortfall of 400 million workers, making structured migration essential. Krishan drew upon the report to advocate shifting from 'labour migration' to 'skill migration', framing migration as value creation.

Terri Chapman set the stage by emphasising how migration is linked to key global issues, from economic opportunities to political tensions, urging the panel to discuss ways to align migration policies with economic needs while addressing political concerns. Karthik Muralidharan underscored that economic research overwhelmingly supports migration as beneficial for host and sending countries. He stressed that while migration makes economic sense, politics often obstructs it. He advocated structured guest worker programmes that balance economic benefits with these political realities, highlighting India's potential to supply skilled talent through a 'learn, earn, and return' model, ensuring brain circulation rather than brain drain with a focus on reframing migration as a tool for shared prosperity and emphasised the role of skilling, education, and bilateral agreements in creating these pathways for a global workforce that benefits both developing and developed economies.

James Lawless shared Ireland's dual experience as a source and destination for migrants, emphasising that brain redistribution can be an economic asset. He highlighted how strategic migration policies, public engagement, and investment in education help mitigate social tensions and foster successful integration. Manish Sabharwal underscored India's potential to supply skilled workers globally, noting that the country's labour mobility could expand from 13 million to 30 million, significantly boosting remittances. However, he identified broken matching mechanisms between labour demand and supply, restrictive visa policies, and political opposition as key



barriers. The discussion emphasised the need for structured migration pathways that balance economic needs with political realities, ensuring that migration contributes to host and sending economies.

Maitreyi Das highlighted the dual nature of migration in India, stressing that, albeit significant, internal migration remains limited, with only 10 percent of the workforce being migrants. She shared an example from Jaipur's geriatric care sector, where rising wages led to shifts in labour participation, demonstrating the complex interplay of wages, skills, and social norms in migration patterns. Ila Patnaik underscored the critical role of migration in addressing labour shortages globally, arguing that receiving countries, rather than just India, should take the initiative in workforce integration. She pointed out that anti-immigration sentiments are temporary, driven by short-term politics rather than long-term economic realities. Adding to this concern, Sabharwal framed migration restrictions as a case of myopic decision-making, comparing it to climate inaction, where immediate concerns overshadow long-term benefits.

The discussion highlighted the importance of structured migration pathways, skill recognition, and policies that align labour supply with demand. Economic conditions were identified as key drivers of public perceptions of migration, with prosperity fostering acceptance and downturns triggering resistance. The trade-off between wages and social benefits in temporary migration was also highlighted, emphasising the need for fair compensation rather than unrealistic social security commitments. Framing migration as an opportunity to enhance workforce skills and wages rather than a drain on domestic labour, the discussion concluded with an emphasis on the need for better data, structured policy frameworks, and international cooperation to optimise migration as an economic and social lever.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

The Continent Debates: Europe's Role in the World

Shairee Malhotra

Day 2: March 18, 2025

This panel discussion examined Europe's redefined role on the global stage in the context of the emergence of a 'new America'. Maria Malmer Stenergard agreed with the US view that Europe has not done enough to secure itself, but mentioned how this was changing since several European countries, including Sweden, have now doubled their defence expenditures. However, Europe should simultaneously return to the basics of free trade and conclude more trade deals with countries like India to enhance its competitiveness.

Xavier Bettel emphasised that any decision about Ukraine should not be taken without Ukraine. Ruben Brekelmans stated that Europe needs to invest in its industries, innovation, and strategic capabilities and create a roadmap with the US to take over more responsibilities, at the EU level. Yet he acknowledged the difficulties for individual EU countries to transcend their national interests and reach consensus with 27 others. Citing the examples of Poland and the UK that changed after elections, he called upon European countries to work with coalitions of

MODERATOR



Vanessa Ghanem

Arab Affairs Editor, The National, United Arab Emirates

SPEAKERS



Xavier Bettel

Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade; and Minister for Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Affairs, Luxembourg



Maria Malmer Stenergard

Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sweden



Ruben Brekelmans

Minister of Defence, Netherlands



Diego Martinez Belío

State Secretary for Foreign and Global Affairs, Spain



Florence Gaub

Director of the Research Division, NATO Defence College, Italy



the willing to decide on the kind of ammunition needed and set up production lines accordingly, beginning with simpler products and then advanced equipment.

Diego Martínez Belio asserted that defence has become a key priority for Europe, and it needs to have its own capacities independent of what other actors do. The Russian economy is ten times smaller than the EU's, and Europe should be able to face a threat from a relatively small economy. Since moving forward with 27 member states is difficult, those willing to cooperate should do so.

Florence Gaub reiterated that the current debate on European security frames the situation around money or transactionalism. However, the question of security is the precondition for other successes. The US cannot sustain a two-front war fighting Russia and China, so Europe has a critical security vulnerability, which could worsen over time if not prepared for sooner. A mindset change and awareness are needed amongst the European public that Europe is ramping up its security to protect its societies and way of life, not for the US.

On the question of Turkey, Brekelmans alluded to Turkey's important role in the Black Sea grain deal and in the exchange of prisoners of war. Turkey is a key NATO ally, has a big land force and is a valuable asset in defence. Yet it also has issues of human rights and migration. Diego emphasised the need to engage with Turkey on Ukraine, given that Turkey is an important military power at the entrance of the Black Sea, where Russian vessels could be present at some point.

On deeper EU security cooperation with the UK, Norway, and Southern neighbours, Florence urged the EU to think creatively on engagement with global and NATO partners. Brekelmanns spoke about the UK and France's strategic capacities that

would be useful on the issue of security guarantees for Ukraine. The idea is to think of a potential European force in Ukraine and a monitoring mission that can identify if a peace agreement is being violated.

On Sweden's foreign aid budget cuts, Stenergard reiterated the need to balance priorities with resource allocation, where most value is delivered. Bettel mentioned the importance of communicating to citizens that investment in other parts of the world is in their interest.

To leverage Europe's technological innovation and digital expertise, Bettel urged reducing internal barriers and regulations and encouraged a risk-taking mindset. Gaub urged Europeans to have a long-term strategy and outlook with clear objectives of what Europe wants to achieve and be in the world by 2040.

Overall, the panellists agreed that for Europe to lead in a multipolar world, it must secure and invest more in its defence capabilities, to enable a more balanced transatlantic relationship. At the same time, the EU should focus on free trade and reducing internal barriers and regulations, while developing a clear long-term vision for the continent.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Avenues for the Americas: Deciphering the Latin Beat

Tanya Aggarwal

Day 2: March 18, 2025

The session *Avenues for the Americas: Deciphering the Latin Beat* at the Raisina Dialogue 2025, moderated by Carolina Chimoy, explored Latin America's evolving geopolitical and economic position amidst shifting global powers. The discussion centred on the region's relationships with key players such as the US, China, Europe, and India and addressed internal challenges such as migration, security, and climate change. Panellists included Elmer Schialer Salcedo, E.P. Chet Greene, Héctor Cárdenas, Keiti da Rocha Gomes, and Aude Darnal.

Chimoy opened the discussion by framing Latin America's position amidst global shifts. She expressed optimism about strengthening ties between India and Latin America, highlighting the region's growing geopolitical significance. She guided the conversation, emphasising key global engagement and regional cooperation themes.

Cárdenas addressed the evolving relationship between Latin America and North America, particularly the US-Mexico-Canada economic integration, which he views as a continuing

MODERATOR



Carolina Chimoy

Political Correspondent and News Presenter, Deutsche Welle, United States of America

SPEAKERS



Elmer Schialer Salcedo

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Peru



E. P. Chet Greene

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Antigua & Barbuda



Héctor Cárdenas

President, Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales, Mexico



Keiti da Rocha Gomes

Director, International Studies, Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, Brazil



Aude Darnal

Research Analyst and Project Manager, The Stimson Centre, United States of America



strength despite recent challenges. He acknowledged the region's security, migration, and crime issues but stressed the importance of collaboration among countries such as Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina. He also underscored the need for Latin America to diversify its economic partnerships, particularly with India, and praised the growing Mexican-Indian trade and investment relations.

Salcedo discussed China's growing influence on Peru's economy, surpassing the US as a leading trading partner and investor. She emphasised Peru's open economy and willingness to engage with global partners, including China, the EU, and India. She noted Peru's expanding trade ties with India and highlighted the importance of transnational cooperation to address shared challenges, including organised crime, migration, and environmental issues. She also spoke positively about Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation's (APEC) role in fostering connections between Latin America, North America, and Asia-Pacific.

Green focused on the challenges small island nations such as Antigua and Barbuda face, which must navigate assertive US policies while engaging with China. He emphasised the importance of independent Caribbean policies focused on growth, healthcare, and infrastructure. He also highlighted the vulnerabilities of tourism-based economies and stressed the need to diversify partnerships with regions, including South America, Africa, and ASEAN. Green recognised India as a key partner, citing historical ties and India's support during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Darnal discussed the challenges facing Caribbean nations amid shifting global dynamics, particularly during the Trump administration. She suggested that Caribbean countries could strengthen their relationships with European territories such as the UK, Netherlands, and France to secure diplomatic support. She stressed the importance of diversifying partnerships with India to overcome investment challenges and foster

development. Darnal also expressed concerns over the US's evolving policies and the growing need for the Caribbean to explore alternative alliances to protect their interests.

Gomes provided insights into the EU-MERCOSUR trade agreement, highlighting its modern components, such as human rights and climate change commitments. She emphasised the agreement's significance for regional integration, including reduced tariffs and expanded market access. Gomes also countered claims of Latin America's irrelevance, stressing its growing geopolitical importance and the need for regional cooperation, particularly for small island states facing existential threats such as climate change.

The session concluded with recognising that Latin America and the Caribbean are at a pivotal moment, navigating a multipolar world with evolving relationships and internal challenges. While the US influence remains significant, the region is diversifying its partnerships with China, Europe, and India. The panellists highlighted the necessity for greater regional cooperation on shared issues such as security, migration, and climate change. Despite the complexities, the session conveyed optimism about Latin America's potential to forge new global connections and assert its relevance on the world stage.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Rescripting the Liberal Order: Can Tariffs Trump China?

Kalpita A Mankikar

Day 2: March 18, 2025

The post-World War II construct of 'liberal international order' opposed economic nationalism and stressed abolishing trade barriers. Yet, in the current milieu, nations are again protecting their industry through tariffs, closing the door on globalisation and economic twinning. This U-turn is seemingly in response to China's rise as the world's assembly line.

Palki Sharma set the debate rolling with her poser on an appropriate response to the tariffs imposed upon nations by US President Donald Trump. Tony Abbott said that Trump's priority is to re-industrialize America, and is using tariffs to that end. The Australian statesman argued that China claims to have practised free trade, yet in practice, it has distorted the concept of free trade through technology theft and bribing national elites to enrich itself, and this is what the new US President seeks to redress. In this context, Trump's tariff war on China is understandable. However, since the levies have begun to hurt Washington's strategic friends too, there is consternation, and some analysts have likened it to a declaration of war on America's

MODERATOR



Palki Sharma

Managing Editor, Firstpost, India

SPEAKERS



Tony Abbott

Former Prime Minister, Australia



Takehiko Matsuo

Vice Minister for International Affairs,
Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry,
Japan



Jane Holl Lute

President and Chief Executive Officer,
SICPA, United States of America



Carla Sands

Vice Chair, Centre for Energy and
Environment, America First Policy Institute,
United States of America



Alicia Garcia Herrero

Chief Economist, Asia Pacific, Natixis;
Senior Fellow, Bruegel Hong Kong



allies. Takehiko Matsuo disagreed with the assessment, as it was a declaration of war. Matsuo pointed out that the multilateral trading system was the brainchild of America, but issues of weaponisation of economic dependence, civil-military fusion, and supply chain disruptions during the pandemic had brought forth the importance of economic security, thus bringing about a change in the US approach to free trade.

This has also turned the focus on the relevance of tariffs as a policy tool in the 21st century. While Jane Holl Lute admitted that tariffs were not the most suitable instrument, it was necessary to use them since the concept of fair trade has been vitiated through corporations getting lavish subsidies or theft of intellectual property, giving one side an unfair advantage. Carla Sands justified Trump's tariffs, saying that in the trade arena, the US has been on the receiving end due to high levies on its merchandise by other nations. There has been a grievance that the offshoring of manufacturing from the U.S. impoverished the blue-collar class, and thus, there is a sentiment that Trump's tariffs will incentivise onshoring. Sands proffered that Trump's strategy was already bearing fruit with nations pledging around US\$2 trillion of investment to the US.

Alicia Garcia Herrero disagreed with her panellists, saying that the US has already received large sums of investment since the passing of the legislation that offered tax breaks by the Joe Biden administration. The economist warned that strong-arm tactics may prove counterproductive, alternatively suggesting that focusing on improving productivity spurred by the advances in AI would be a better route to re-industrialise.

The denial of sophisticated semiconductors to China is yet another tenet of the US policy on China. However, it does not seem to have stalled Beijing's progress on AI. This apparent lack of success in stymying Beijing's march has provoked a debate on technology curbs. To this, the former Australian premier replied that while the curbs may have had a patchy record, they were important to check the ambitions of Chinese territorial expansionism in the Indo-Pacific.

To sum up the discussion, tariffs are here to stay. They will remain an important part of the new Republican mantra to revive American manufacturing, help the US worker, and deal with the China challenge. Yet while trying to achieve these overarching objectives, Trump 2.0 runs the risk of running roughshod over alliances and partnerships that can be an effective bulwark against Beijing's expansionism.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Checkmate or Comeback? EMDEs in the Great Global Macroeconomic Rebalancing (Raisina Economic Forum)

Anika Chillar

Day 2: March 18, 2025

Today's world is marked by geopolitical and economic power shifts, prompting countries to explore ways to expand or at least sustain their growth. The group of emerging market and developing economies (EMDEs), which are facing issues ranging from high debt to limited fiscal space and current account deficits, are vulnerable to this uncertain environment. In this context, the panel discussed areas of reform and actions for EMDEs to face an evolving and uncertain world order.

Four challenging questions confront the EMDEs today. First, the issue of how to manage debt. Several EMDEs, particularly those in Africa, are facing the problem of high debt-to-GDP ratios. Without any clear solution on the multilateral front, EMDEs will have to assess whether debt can be serviced with domestic resource mobilisation or restructuring to manage stable macroeconomic frameworks. Second, questions about appropriate credible fiscal framework to address contemporary challenges were raised after the pandemic. EMDEs must assess the

CHAIR



NK Singh

Chairperson, Fifteenth Finance Commission; Co-Convenor, Expert Group on MDB Reforms, India

MODERATOR



Poonam Gupta

Director General, National Council of Applied Economic Research, India

SPEAKERS



Hannah Wanjie Ryder

Chief Executive Officer, Development Reimagined, Kenya



Heungchong Kim

Distinguished Professor, College of International Relations, Korea University, South Korea



Kate O'Shaughnessy

Research Director, Perth USAsia Centre, Australia



Karim El Aynaoui

Executive President, Policy Centre for the New South, Morocco



Rahul Bajoria

Managing Director, Head of India and ASEAN Economic Research, Bank of America, India



current framework to determine whether they require recalibration, more flexibility or much greater credible accountability. The third issue, particularly relevant for large federal countries such as India, is related to the role of sub-national governments. EMDEs should focus on the behaviour patterns of sub-national governments that optimise outcomes. Finally, the question of how to address growing current account deficits needs to be addressed.

While large EMDEs have influenced global trade and economic order, most African countries have been left out. Hannah Wanjie Ryder highlighted the systemic inequalities that African countries face in the global economic order. Many African countries are WTO members, however, they remain marginal players in international trade. Similarly, African countries account for 40 percent of lending requests in the IMF, but receive only 10 percent of it. Most African countries are accustomed to operating under uncertainty; however, as Ryder pointed out, multipolarity can either make economic growth harder due to increased opacity or create a more transparent environment and encourage global engagement. Ryder stressed that African nations must work collectively as a bloc in trade and financial negotiations and demand that others also work with Africa as a continent.

Heungchong Kim spoke of the areas of focus for the EMDEs to address contemporary challenges. Many EMDEs lag in key public infrastructure. Kim emphasised the importance of strategic investments in public services such as education, healthcare, and transportation to enhance human capital and boost economic demand. Further, the need for transparency in policy formulation was brought out in the discussion. Governments should share the hardships associated with the contemporary world and consult with citizens on policy choices and execution, taking joint responsibility for the outcomes. A more transparent environment in policy implementation is inevitably linked to reduced corruption. Addressing labour market challenges is also a key priority.

Countries with high populations must completely utilise their demographic bonus by promoting women's inclusion in the workforce. Additionally, EMDEs must accurately assess their labour market conditions and invest in industries with the appropriate technology to address labour issues.

The current fiscal situation in many EMDEs is the result of several crises, which have led to a shrinking of fiscal space and fiscal dominance. Central banks in advanced economies have lost independence due to the necessity of governments to take the lead in managing economic distress. These countries are pro-cyclical, and even though they are not in debt distress, they have to make difficult trade-offs between servicing debt and social spending. At the same time, the environment is difficult and uncertain, which implies that most fiscal policies are prudent and cautious, which comes at the cost of growth. To overcome some of these challenges, Karim El Aynaoui highlighted the need for domestic mechanisms to build internal consensus and strengthen institutions. Equitable tax policies must be implemented to ensure the burden is shared equitably. Additionally, El Aynaoui stressed the importance of African countries understanding the impact of geopolitical shifts between large emerging markets and developed nations on Africa's economic future.

Kate O'Shaughnessy reflected on the future of foreign aid. The US retreat from global aid is seismic, and there is no easy and clear replacement for US AID in the international economy. USAID has historically surpassed aid from other donors, and the absence of US AID is expected to hurt small island and African nations the hardest. With no major donor stepping up to fill the void, O'Shaughnessy stressed the role of partnerships. Emerging economies such as India, Brazil, and Indonesia have a growing role to play in ensuring fiscal stability in the developing economies. The issue of growing current account deficits is also increasingly important, and Rahul Bajoria highlighted the need for EMDEs to identify new areas of growth to lessen the burden of deficits. Economies face a trade-off between sustaining growth and making necessary adjustments for long-term sustainability. In this context, the quality of fiscal spending is crucial. Trade-dependent and resource-oriented nations need to diversify to reduce vulnerability to shocks.

Overall, the panellists agreed that EMDEs face significant economic challenges due to global challenges and laid out several reform areas. Countries must balance servicing debt with social spending and economic growth, and continue investments in public infrastructure for long-term sustainability. Diversification for trade-dependent economies is key to insulating them from external shocks. Partnerships will play an integral role in ensuring the fiscal stability of vulnerable nations, especially in the absence of foreign aid.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Climate Cataclysm: The Adaptation Agenda is Gasping

Gopalika Arora

Day 2: March 18, 2025

Climate change poses an existential threat to the Vulnerable Twenty (V20) Group, where mounting debt is compounded by climate-driven disasters, disrupting infrastructure and social systems. Despite minimal contribution to global emissions, these countries face severe climate risks and financial barriers to adaptation. As we delve into the multifaceted journey of the V20 nations amid a changing climate regime, it is crucial to understand the key drivers, challenges, and successes shaping their adaptation efforts and development pathways. These factors will define their future as they seek increased adaptation finance and global support to address growing climate risks.

Kira Vinke opened the discussion by highlighting the disproportionate climate threats vulnerable countries face. She stressed the alarming shortfall in adaptation finance, with annual needs estimated between US\$190 billion and US\$300 billion, while only US\$28 billion was mobilised in 2022. She also highlighted that reducing climate finance commitments from key international players presents a considerable challenge for global adaptation efforts.

MODERATOR



Kira Vinke

Head, Centre for Climate and Foreign Policy, German Council on Foreign Relations, Germany

SPEAKERS



Eduardo Martínez Díaz

Deputy Prime Minister, Cuba



Abdulla Khaleel

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Maldives



Arzu Rana Deuba

Minister for Foreign Affairs, Nepal



D.N. Dhungyel

Minister for Foreign Affairs and External Trade, Bhutan



Wangari Muchiri

Director of Africa, Global Wind Energy Council, Kenya



Eduardo Martínez Díaz emphasised the need for stronger financial commitments from developed nations, calling climate change an existential crisis for small island states. He reaffirmed Cuba's long-standing advocacy for vulnerable nations and urged greater international cooperation. He expressed concern that the withdrawal of the US from the Paris Agreement and its reduction in financial commitments under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) represent a significant challenge to global climate action. Emphasising the critical importance of COP29 outcomes, Díaz called for a commitment to double adaptation finance by 2025 and expand the Loss and Damage Fund. He cautioned that insufficient support could impede developing nations' ability to implement effective adaptation strategies.

Abdulla Khaleel highlighted the precarious situation of the Maldives, where many islands are situated less than one meter above sea level. The country faces rising climate risks despite contributing under 2.5 percent of global emissions. He pointed out significant barriers to accessing adaptation finance, such as bureaucratic hurdles, high financing costs, and growing debt, which complicate efforts to balance debt servicing with climate resilience. Ahead of COP30, he called for small island nations to present a united front in climate negotiations. Given the existential threats they face, he stressed the urgent need for stronger financial commitments, particularly in advancing the US\$1.3 trillion Baku Roadmap established at COP29.

Arzu Rana Deuba highlighted the growing impacts of glacial melt and extreme flooding in Nepal, despite strong adaptation efforts like dedicating 45 percent of its land to forests. Climate-induced disasters, such as a recent monsoon that caused nearly NPR 45 billion in losses, continue to strain the economy and infrastructure. With US\$45.9 billion in external assistance required to implement Nepal's adaptation strategies, she stressed the limitations of traditional donor support. She also urged

the exploration of alternative financing mechanisms, such as private sector engagement, debt-for-nature swaps, green bonds, and blended finance.

D.N. Dhungyel called for a more structured global approach to adaptation, proposing the concept of a 'Climate Marshal' to coordinate international efforts. Rather than relying on a single leadership model, he advocated for a coalition-driven approach, highlighting Bhutan's role in establishing G-ZERO—a network of carbon-neutral and carbon-negative nations, including Bhutan, Madagascar, Panama, and Suriname. He stressed that such multilateral efforts would amplify the voices of smaller nations in global climate negotiations while emphasising that political will and financial commitments remain crucial for effective adaptation.

Wangari Muchiri highlighted the challenges that debt-ridden, vulnerable nations face in accessing climate finance, criticising the inefficiency of current debt restructuring mechanisms. She pointed out the fragmented negotiations, with China engaging bilaterally and the Paris Club taking a multilateral approach. Muchiri urged developing nations to frame climate finance as an economic and geopolitical priority, not just a vulnerability issue. She condemned developed nations for not meeting their US\$100 billion climate finance commitment and called COP30 a 'do-or-die' moment for securing adaptation funding, stressing that further delays were unacceptable.

The session concluded with a strong consensus on the urgent need for greater financial commitments, enhanced cooperation, and immediate action to ensure that vulnerable nations receive the support they need to adapt to a rapidly changing climate.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Overtures from Penn Avenue- How will the Kremlin Respond?

Abhishek Sharma

Day 2: March 18, 2025

Hours before the second phone call between Russian President Vladimir Putin and US President Donald J. Trump, discussing the contours of a possible 30-day ceasefire in the conflict in Ukraine, the speakers discussed the road to peace, the starting positions, and the realistic outcomes of these talks. The discussion pointed towards a new phase of the conflict regarding how the war would end, which was a radical departure from previous positions.

Paul Saunders shed light on Washington's Ukraine strategy. The strategy had two components: using Ukraine's reliance on the US for military and other support as leverage to bring Ukraine to the negotiating table and applying additional support, such as sanctions, to pressure Russia to come to the negotiating table. Saunders highlighted the US, Ukraine, and Russia's varying positions on the conflict. For Trump, the Ukraine conflict is a senseless one; however, the Russians and Ukrainians do not view the conflict in the same light. For Kyiv, the conflict is an existential war for the survival of the Ukrainian state, while for Moscow, it is a broader conflict that manifests its grievances with the post-Cold War order.

MODERATOR



Dhruva Jaishankar

Executive Director, ORF America, United States of America

SPEAKERS



Vyacheslav Nikonov

Member of the State Duma, Federal Assembly, Russia



Anastasia Likhacheva

Dean, Faculty of World Economy and International Affairs, HSE University, Russia



Georgette Mosbacher

Co-Chair, Three Seas Programming, Europe Centre, Atlantic Council, United States of America



Paul Saunders

President, Centre for the National Interest, United States of America



Rachel Rizzo

Senior Fellow, Europe Centre, Atlantic Council, United States of America

kālachakra

THE PEACE PLANET



Vyacheslav Nikonov highlighted the trust deficit in US-Russia relations. Nikonov recalled President Putin's statement that trusting the West was Russia's biggest strategic miscalculation, as they had cancelled every arms control agreement signed. However, the recent discussion between Putin and Witkoff, which lasted for 3.5 hours, reflects that both sides could have received clarity on the technical aspects of how the conflict could end. Nikonov touched upon the nature of peace, reiterating that a lasting peace is imperative and that a name-of-the-game ceasefire is insufficient. He further outlined the red lines and what one could expect from the talks. Despite the highlighted trust deficit, the phone call between the two leaders was the second in more than three years, and both calls took place within three weeks, which is a considerable development.

According to Georgette Mosbacher, Putin's 2007 Munich Security Conference speech reflected his grievances with the existing state of affairs. Since the conflict in Ukraine began in 2014, the West has not paid adequate attention to bolstering defences against the Russian threat, even when 200,000 Russian forces were on the border of Ukraine. Support for Ukraine was recognised as an inevitable need only when Ukraine's resolve to deter Russia became apparent. Furthermore, Mosbacher stated that European countries spending less than 2 percent of their GDP on defence before 2022 made supporting Ukraine difficult, leading them to depend on the US for aid. First, Trump wants to reverse this trend by bringing about a negotiated settlement, something European countries are not particularly happy about. Mosbacher reiterated that dialogue should occur as early as possible between Russia and the West. With the second phone call, the likelihood of Russia's concerns being addressed seems more promising.

According to Anastasia Likhacheva, there will likely be less emphasis on historical narratives and more on the future. She reiterated that negotiations are not a goal for Moscow but a tool to provide more security and deconflict for years or decades.

Likhacheva believes the best-case scenario is the transition from armed conflict to non-armed conflict; however, there are often miscalculations during this transition. For Likhacheva, any talks are better than no talks; building trust is key, yet the ground realities do not allow cooperation.

According to Rachel Rizzo, the Biden administration's support for Ukraine's hardline stance of restoring the 1991 borders has complicated Ukraine's position at the negotiating table and weakened it. A shift in the US position has left Ukraine unprepared to recalibrate to the new realities. Rizzo stated that negotiations will be a long-drawn-out process, as each side's red lines negate the other side's must-haves. For instance, Ukraine's need for security guarantees transgresses Russia's red line of curbing Western influence in the post-Soviet space. Furthermore, Rizzo presented models of the likely ceasefire.

The panel highlighted the intricate dynamics surrounding the potential ceasefire in Ukraine, emphasising the need for renewed dialogue amid deep-seated mistrust between the US and Russia. While differing narratives and red lines complicate negotiations, the recent increase in communication, including two phone calls between leaders, suggests a willingness to explore diplomatic avenues. The perspectives shared underscore that any path toward peace will require careful navigation of historical grievances and the realities of the current geopolitical landscape.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

The Southern Handover: Sustaining G20 Solidarity Agenda

Anusha Gavankar

Day 2: March 18, 2025

The parallel session on The Southern Handover: Sustaining G20 Solidarity Agenda provided an insightful discussion on the impact of successive developing-country presidencies in the G20 and the evolving role of the forum in global economic governance. The session was set against the transition from four consecutive developing-country presidencies—Indonesia, India, Brazil, and South Africa—to upcoming leadership from the Global North. The discussion explored key contributions of these presidencies, the challenges facing multilateralism, and the role of the G20 in addressing global economic issues.

Harsh V Pant set the stage, underscoring the significance of these transitions in shaping global policy directions. He highlighted the role that successive developing-country presidencies—Indonesia, India, Brazil, and South Africa—have played in shaping the G20 agenda. As the scene-setter, Abhishek Singh reflected on how these countries were able to steer the post-pandemic economic recovery while strengthening the G20's position as a bridge between the Global South and the Global North. Singh emphasised the importance of supporting the priorities of South Africa's current presidency

SCENE SETTER



Abhishek Singh

Joint Secretary, Multilateral Economic Relations; Sous-Sherpa for G20, BRICS, IBSA, Ministry of External Affairs, India

MODERATOR



Harsh V. Pant

Vice President, Studies and Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India

SPEAKERS



Elizabeth Sidiropoulos

Chief Executive, South African Institute of International Affairs, South Africa



Héctor Cárdenas Suárez

President, Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales, Mexico



Keiti da Rocha Gomes

Director, Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, Brazil



Markus Brunnermeier

Edwards S. Sanford Professor of Economics, Princeton University, United States of America



Riatu Mariatul Qibthiyah

Director, Institute for Economic and Social Research, University of Indonesia, Indonesia



to ensure policy continuity and foster sustained multilateral cooperation, preserving the momentum established by previous presidencies. He further discussed how these developing-country presidencies influenced the G20 agenda, highlighting their efforts to amplify the voices of the Global South, drive inclusive growth, and navigate geopolitical complexities.

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos outlined South Africa's priorities for its present G20 presidency amid geopolitical uncertainties. She emphasised the urgency of addressing capital costs and debt concerns while integrating climate and development with trade agendas. Additionally, she stressed the need to correct financial flows and trade pricing linked to domestic resource mobilisation, tackle structural imbalances, promote inclusive economic growth, and boost investments in sustainable infrastructure. Sidiropoulos underscored that effectively advancing these priorities requires a firm commitment to continuity between successive presidencies, ensuring that the progress made by previous developing-country leaders is sustained and not reversed. While South Africa faces challenges in this fraught environment—particularly in climate and finance, where adaptation must be prioritised alongside mitigation and just energy transitions—its ability to drive consensus and align shared interests will be crucial in making its G20 presidency effective.

Building on this perspective, Héctor Cárdenas Suárez highlighted how recent presidencies have reshaped global economic governance. He emphasised the Think20's vital role in fostering collaboration, generating knowledge, and guiding better decision-making. He noted that Indonesia, India, Brazil, and South Africa have promoted more inclusive decision-making, particularly in debt relief, climate financing, and trade facilitation. The Think20, he argued, has been instrumental in these efforts, strengthening multilateralism and ensuring a more balanced G20 that prioritises emerging economies alongside traditional global players.

Keiti da Rocha Gomes shared insights from Brazil's recently concluded presidency, emphasising its commitment to prioritising financial stability, just energy transitions, food security, and global inequalities. She underscored the importance of North-South and South-South cooperation in keeping emerging economies at the forefront of global economic discourse, stressing that solidarity will be key to achieving these goals.

Markus Brunnermeier highlighted the G20's role in navigating a multipolar transition amid political tensions. He stressed the need for economic resilience through diversified supply chains and strong financial policies while advocating for a new rules-based order to balance global interests. He emphasised the role of institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF and countries such as India in championing the Global South. Additionally, he called for financial reforms to support debt restructuring for developing economies. Brunnermeier also warned of growing fragmentation, suggesting a dual approach—global cooperation on key issues like climate action and financial stability, while allowing flexibility in other areas.

Finally, Riatu Mariatul Qibthiyah looked back at Indonesia's achievements under its presidency, specifically in financial inclusion and sustainable energy transitions, setting a precedent for developing economies in driving reforms. She emphasised knowledge-sharing to sustain progress, the G20's role in legitimising global common goods, and the need for accountability, evidence-based financial policies, and inclusive discussions on challenges of the less-developed countries, reaffirming the importance of multilateralism.

Overall, the discussion reinforced the significance of the G20 as a platform for global economic governance, particularly in ensuring that the voices of developing economies remain central to decision-making. The discussants underscored the need for sustained collaboration and policy coherence to maintain the momentum generated by recent presidencies. As the leadership transitions to the Global North, the challenge will be to preserve the inclusivity and developmental focus that has characterised the recent G20 agenda. Continued engagement and cross-regional partnerships will be crucial in shaping the forum's future trajectory.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Winning the AI Marathon: India in the Global AI Race

Anulekha Nandi

Day 2: March 18, 2025

This panel focused on situating India within the global AI race. The discussion highlighted strategic opportunities for India to leverage its strengths while building a wider set of capabilities required to achieve self-reliance and global competitiveness.

Vinod Dham put forward a five-point plan for India to succeed in AI. These included skills, models, compute infrastructure, energy, and public investments. He highlighted the strength of India's IT and software talent pool, which enables them to easily transition to AI because of strong statistical, mathematical, and programming foundations. He remarked on the importance for India to take a hybrid approach, leveraging existing open source and proprietary models while reinforcing the need for developing its models for sensitive sectors, including government and defence. He emphasised proactive steps taken by the Indian government to cement India's position in AI, such as the launch of 14,000 Graphics Processing Units (GPU) clusters in the country. Since developing compute capacity goes hand-in-hand with the high energy demand, he highlighted the need to multiply and diversify energy sources. Overall, strengthening India's position in the AI space would require an

MODERATOR



Shereen Bhan

Managing Editor, CNBC-TV18, India

SPEAKERS



Ashwini Vaishnaw

Minister for Railways; Information & Broadcasting; Electronics & Information Technology, India



Ronnie Chatterji

Chief Economist, OpenAI, United States of America



Vinod K. Dham

Founder and Executive Managing Partner, Indo-US Venture Partners, United States of America



estimated US\$ 50-US\$100 billion of public investments over the next three years or so, with a programme similar in structure to the India Semiconductor Mission.

Ashwini Vaishnav explained that India has been taking a pragmatic and structured approach. He highlighted the work in building two key AI capabilities in the form of compute capacity, mentioned by Dham earlier, as well as the datasets platform, AIKosh. He also highlighted India's key advantages in talent and mentioned ongoing partnerships with the Indian Parliament, Doordarshan, and All India Radio towards developing rich multi-lingual datasets. He announced India's plans to develop its own GPU chips, which would be a crucial step towards self-reliance. He mentioned that work on this is currently ongoing with academia and industry, and different options are being evaluated, with the hope to have this ready in the next 3-4 years. He also emphasised the need for India to have its Large Language Model (LLM) since models that are presently open source might not be in the future. Vaishnav further identified critical sectors for AI-driven innovation in India - healthcare, agriculture, weather forecasting, and education, emphasising the need for frugal and effective innovation for higher adoption.

Ronnie Chatterji highlighted how frictions in AI adoption still exist, and economists are still trying to understand the implications of AI and how it is being adopted in government or by businesses. Tools such as ChatGPT will evolve from being an assistant to providing high-level research support and AI agents which can independently interact with each other. These developments over time will help scale productivity benefits. However, as economic benefits converge, he emphasised the importance of identifying applications in key verticals - in India, it could potentially be in education, defence, or healthcare. The focus of countries around the world is currently shifting towards investments in developing critical technologies, supply chains

and infrastructures, with national security assuming centre stage. This signifies a move away from globalisation and the removal of trade barriers. However, despite this shift, he highlighted the potential of an India-US technology partnership and, like the other speakers, the key advantage of India's talent pool in this domain.

In sum, the session identified key factors in India's AI growth story, such as a strong talent pool and proactive government policies. It signified the importance of India establishing its trajectory by aligning AI innovation to its domestic needs rather than replicating success stories from the US. It further highlighted the significance of realising the potential of an India-US technology partnership.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Secure Waters: ASEAN, Quad and the Indo-Pacific

Shivam Shekhawat

Day 2: March 18, 2025

The Indo-Pacific region is currently in a state of flux. The uncertainties surrounding the Trump administration's return to power and China's growing assertiveness, with concerns around a conflict breaking out over Taiwan, pose significant challenges to the region's security and stability. For the regional countries, there is a growing acknowledgement of the need for regional groupings such as ASEAN and the Quad to adapt to these changing dynamics and safeguard the rules-based international order. This panel discussion discussed these challenges, and the panellists explored how regional countries can reconcile their national interests with multilateral cooperation.

Lisa Singh started the discussion by stating how geopolitical rivalries shape the region's destiny. Showing confidence in the effectiveness of ASEAN in addressing these challenges, Enrique Manalo highlighted how the grouping has been expanding its partnerships with different countries and engaging with its dialogue and development partners with an emphasis on ASEAN centrality. Maris Sangiampongsa highlighted how ASEAN has always withstood the challenges that it faced.

MODERATOR



Lisa Singh

Chief Executive Officer, Australia India Institute, Australia

SPEAKERS



Enrique Manalo

Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Philippines



Maris Sangiampongsa

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thailand



Brent Sadler

Senior Research Fellow, Naval Warfare and Advanced Technology, Allison Center for National Security, The Heritage Foundation, United States of America



Hiroyuki Akita

Foreign Affairs and International Security Commentator, Nikkei, Japan



Ji Yeon-Jung

Assistant Professor, Department of Military History and Strategy, Republic of Korea Naval Academy, South Korea



According to him, the ASEAN countries must collaborate and follow the principle of strategic equilibrium, i.e. balancing economic security and diplomatic priority while upholding ASEAN's importance. It is also effectively placed as a bridge between different regional groupings, giving it more space to manage differences. Brent Sadler also called for assessing ASEAN's effectiveness by looking at what the countries can do, i.e., come to the most optimum solution through dialogue and discussion.

Offering a Japanese perspective, Hiroyuki Akita set a cautious tone, emphasising Japan's precarious geostrategic location and how the country can be affected by different destabilising factors. According to him, China's growing assertiveness can change the region's status quo entirely, with long-term implications for all the countries. The Trump 2.0 administration is trying to transition from a rules and values-based system to a transactional or power-based system. These raise important considerations and questions about the degree of US involvement in the region and its effectiveness in thwarting the China threat.

As per Ji Yeon-Jun, the changing dynamics between the US-China and the US-Russia have also affected the assumption based on which countries interact with each other in the region. With that changing, there are bound to be diplomatic or economic costs. These challenges can also lead to a revival of their hedging strategies or their quest for strategic autonomy. But even as the return of the Trump administration has raised speculations about US commitment to the region, Brent Sadler reiterated that the US foreign policy is not taking an isolationist turn and a clear articulation of American interests and priorities, as being done by the new administration, will in turn allow other countries to engage with them in a meaningful way. For the Trump administration, the possibility of a conflict over Taiwan is a major priority. While there have been cuts in some USAID programmes,

mainly where the host country hadn't asked for them and because limited resources required them to prioritise, it is still highly committed to its allies. According to him, military presence is the most effective language of diplomacy.

The disagreement over how China is pursuing its interests has given space for other countries to come together to counter that. But the unpredictability that a new Trump administration has brought makes the situation much more complex. Some countries in the region, such as the Philippines, have been trying to navigate the challenges posed by an assertive China for a while now. While they do see dialogue as the only practical way forward, it has become clear that any dialogue will not be at the expense of their interests. Moving forward, for countries, managing their national interests while maintaining the cohesiveness of groupings like ASEAN will determine how successful they will be in framing a collective response to the region's challenges.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Lunch

How Rare Earths Are Reshaping Global Power and the Future of Supply Chains

Soumya Awasthi

Day 2: March 18, 2025

Rare earth elements are at the heart of modern technology, yet their supply chains are increasingly shaping global geopolitics. These minerals, crucial for manufacturing advanced products, are controlled by a few key countries, creating both strategic advantages and vulnerabilities. Nations are now racing to secure their supply chains to mitigate risks and ensure economic growth. India, for instance, is focusing on enhancing its control over critical minerals while reducing its dependency on limited sources. A key challenge remains in overcoming strategic vulnerabilities caused by mineral concentration in specific regions. This calls for resilient supply chains and government coalitions that promote diversity in sourcing, with offtake agreements serving as a way for private companies to participate effectively.

Rare earths are challenging to obtain due to several factors: their scarcity in commercially viable quantities, the lengthy timeline from discovery to production (which can take over a decade), and the environmentally damaging extraction process. Additionally, profit margins in rare earth extraction are relatively low, further discouraging new market entrants. China dominates the industry, not only in production

SCENE SETTER



Dammu Ravi

Secretary, Economic Relations, Ministry of External Affairs, India

MODERATOR



Xenia Wickett

Director, Wickett Advisory, United Kingdom

SPEAKERS



Tadashi Maeda

Chairman of the Board, Japan Bank for International Cooperation, Japan



Brendan Nelson

President, Boeing Global, United Kingdom



Gopala Krishnan CS

Chief Manufacturing Officer, Hyundai Motor India Ltd



Agatha Kratz

Partner, Rhodium Group, France



Kate O'Shaughnessy

Research Director, Perth US-Asia Centre, Australia

kālahakra



but also in refining, making other countries heavily reliant on its supply. A prominent example of diversification efforts is the Japanese-backed Australian company Lynas, which began refining rare earths outside China following economic coercion against Japan in the 2010s. Japan's strategic decision to invest in refining outside China has helped shift some of the supply chain, but the process remains slow and challenging. Even when governments recognise the need for diversification, attracting investors to new projects remains a significant hurdle. For example, a West Australian rare earths company, Northern Minerals, was denied a Chinese investment due to national security concerns. Still, it struggled to find alternative funding, underscoring the challenge of reconciling government policy with business realities.

The circular economy is essential, but recycling alone cannot meet global demand. The International Energy Agency estimates that the world will need to quadruple its production of critical minerals by 2040, making new sources of these minerals essential. Meanwhile, China employs economic tactics such as flooding the market to drive prices down, thereby making it more difficult for competitors to sustain their operations. Additionally, China engages in disinformation campaigns to disrupt foreign rare earth projects, such as 'Operation Dragon Bridge', which aimed to stir public opposition to a rare earth processing plant in the US. To counteract such tactics, partnerships between like-minded countries should be established to set floor prices and ensure market stability.

The global race for rare-earth minerals has accelerated, driven by advances in battery tech, renewable energy, sustainable mobility, and quantum computing. Nations are forging novel partnerships across the value chain—from rare-earth processing to materials innovation. These are shifting from traditional buyer-seller relationships to deeper strategic alliances involving joint investments, technology sharing, and coordinated infrastructure development, which could help de-risk rare-earth dependencies. This panel will discuss how to ensure supply chain resilience in a volatile world.

Rare earth elements are becoming increasingly vital due to their concentration in advanced technologies. Dammu Ravi highlighted the strategic power of nations controlling these resources and stressed the need for resilient supply chains to mitigate vulnerabilities. India is actively working on securing critical minerals for its economic growth. Offtake agreements are seen as a means for private sector engagement in securing supply chains.

Kate O'Shaughnessy noted that rare earths are difficult to acquire due to their scarcity, environmental extraction costs, and long production timelines. China dominates the market, leveraging its early investments, technology, and vertical integration. A case study of Lionus, an Australian company, exemplifies diversification efforts, with Japan's government-backed investments enabling rare earth processing outside China. However, challenges remain, as seen in Australia's rejection of Chinese investment in Northern Minerals due to national security concerns, which has left the company without funding.

Agatha Kratz outlined China's strategic advantage in rare earths, citing its scale, technological edge, and ability to manipulate prices. China weaponise trade, as seen in its ban on gallium and germanium exports. Diversification efforts require a full supply chain approach, long-term demand guarantees, and policy-backed financial support. Without an integrated strategy, China's market dominance will persist. The slow response from businesses stems from a historical underestimation of risks, fears of Chinese retaliation, and price competitiveness, making alternative sourcing unviable. Tadashi Maeda recalled China's export ban on Japan, which exposed its vulnerability. He highlighted China's aggressive investment in Indonesia's nickel reserves, often at the expense of ESG standards. He emphasised the need for multilateral cooperation to mitigate risks, particularly in resource-rich but politically unstable regions, such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). He also supported government intervention to enhance recycling and enforce Environmental, Social, and Governance (ESG) compliance.

Brendon Nelson underscored Boeing's commitment to sustainability and global supply chain partnerships. He stressed the importance of stable government policies and regulatory alignment across nations to avoid supply chain disruptions. India, with its raw materials and technological potential, is emerging as a key partner in aviation manufacturing.

Gopala Krishnan CS emphasised responsible mining, community engagement, and strong environmental and safety protocols. Hyundai leverages data analytics to enhance manufacturing efficiency, collecting billions of data points daily. Strategic collaborations, technology adoption, and sustainable practices are essential for a resilient supply chain.

Overall, rare earths are central to geopolitical struggles, with China's dominance shaping global trade policies. Governments and industries must work together to ensure secure, ethical, and diverse supply chains.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Dinner

Capital's Gender Bias: Making Money Flow to Women Entrepreneurs

Soumya Bhowmick

Day 2: March 18, 2025

This session brought together a diverse and accomplished panel to confront one of the most persistent challenges in global finance—gender disparity in entrepreneurial funding. Despite a growing number of women-led ventures, women receive only a fraction of international venture capital. This discussion moved beyond data to unpack the structural, societal, and institutional factors contributing to the gap and explored both policy and ecosystem-level solutions to foster a more inclusive startup landscape.

Moderated by Lara Setrakian, the conversation began by acknowledging the disconcerting realities women face when raising capital. Drawing from her own experiences in Silicon Valley and venture capital, Setrakian emphasised how even seasoned women entrepreneurs are advised to use male co-founders to increase their chances of funding—an insight that sets the tone for a candid and constructive dialogue.

Priyanka Chaturvedi underlined the extent of the funding gap in India—just 3 percent of total venture capital funding goes to women-led businesses. She cited that out of India's

MODERATOR



Lara Setrakian

President, Applied Policy Research Institute, Armenia

SPEAKERS



Priyanka Chaturvedi

Member of Parliament, Rajya Sabha, Government of India



Cecilia Oldne

Chief India Representative, Sweden-India Business Council; Founding Partner, Visceral Capital, India



Kiyoto Matsuda

Co-Founder and Chairman, Topaz Capital, Japan



Aakanksha Tangri

Founder, Re.Set, United Arab Emirates



Thanuja Jayawardhane

Head, Women Go Beyond, MAS Holdings, Sri Lanka



63 million MSMEs, only about 20 percent are led by women, and these are often single-person operations with limited scale or employment capacity. Chaturvedi emphasised that despite women's high loan repayment rates and business commitment, marketing and pitching remain critical weaknesses due to entrenched social norms and a lack of support structures. She called for better-designed networks, policies, and role models to build women's confidence and enable their transition from informal to formal enterprise spaces.

Aakanksha Tangri brought a dual perspective as a journalist and entrepreneur. She spotlighted the presence of affinity bias in venture capital, where decision-makers, often male, gravitate toward founders who resemble themselves. Tangri highlighted that women founders usually face different lines of questioning and are focused more on risk and personal life choices than on business potential. She also pointed to a broader concern: the global rollback of diversity and inclusion initiatives, which may aggravate funding challenges for underserved groups.

Thanuja Jayawardhane shared an innovative corporate approach to nurturing women entrepreneurs from within the workforce. MAS's extensive upskilling and business development training programs for women have helped employees transition into micro and small business owners. However, Jayawardhane stressed that in rural Sri Lanka, systemic barriers such as lack of financial education and childcare infrastructure remain significant hurdles. She advocated for the role of the private sector in creating supportive ecosystems that empower women both within and beyond the workplace.

Kiyoto Matsuda brought a candid and introspective view from Japan, where the gender gap in corporate leadership remains one of the widest among developed nations. He acknowledged that while fundraising is difficult for all entrepreneurs,

women in Japan face additional hurdles due to limited access to investment networks. He emphasised the need to build and institutionalise female-focused financial networks to support women throughout their entrepreneurial journey.

Cecilia Oldne drew on her experience of living and working in India for over 17 years. She highlighted Sweden's strong institutional frameworks—from paternity leave to inclusive education and financial networks—enabling women to succeed in leadership and entrepreneurship. Oldne pointed to Sweden's robust ecosystem of accelerators, banks, and investment platforms that actively include women and urged cross-border learning to replicate these systems in other contexts like India.

Throughout the session, panellists converged on the idea that mentorship and networking, while helpful, are insufficient substitutes for capital. There was widespread agreement that deliberate structural reforms—including better-designed pipeline programs, gender-conscious investment practices, financial literacy campaigns, and robust childcare infrastructure—are essential to closing the funding gap.

In conclusion, the session underscored that while the barriers facing women entrepreneurs are deeply entrenched, they are not insurmountable. Countries like Sweden offer promising models of institutional and cultural change, while corporate initiatives in South Asia demonstrate the power of bottom-up capacity building. As the conversation wrapped up, the need for intentional collaboration across sectors and geographies emerged as a central theme. By blending policy reform, societal change, and inclusive ecosystems, there is a genuine opportunity to rewire capital flows and make them gender-just.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Kahwa

End of Christendom: Whose European Values Are They Anyway?

Srijan Shukla

Day 2: March 18, 2025

Angelika Niebler commences the discussion by arguing that the European Union's (EU) genesis stems from Greek philosophy, the Roman law and Christian values. In the contemporary context, the uniting principles of the EU include a common adherence towards rule of law, human rights, and equality, and an interest in developing a free trade, social democratic and sustainability-centric economy. However, given the current geopolitical turmoil in the global order, including the backlash against European values and the Russia-Ukraine war, the very principles upholding the European project are under fundamental threat.

Attila Demkó, reflecting on the emerging divide within the EU over religion and traditional values, argues that most European countries are now evenly split between liberal-cosmopolitical and more traditional segments. However, he believes that in most Western societies culture wars, particularly over key policy questions such as the nature and scale of migration, have reached a tipping point. Using Hungary as an example, Demkó notes

MODERATOR



Velina Tchakarova

Founder and Geopolitical Strategist,
FACE, Austria

SPEAKERS



Angelika Niebler

Member of the European Parliament;
Chair of the Delegation for Relations with
India



Attila Demkó

Head of the Strategic Foresight Program,
John Lukacs Institute, Ludovika University
of Public Service, Hungary



Gladden Pappin

President, Hungarian Institute of
International Affairs, United States of
America



Patrick Deneen

Professor, Department of Political Science,
University of Notre Dame, United States
of America



Stefania Benaglia

Foreign Policy Expert, European Union

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PEOPLE PEACE PLANET

March 17 - 19, 2025
New Delhi, India

that while Budapest incur fines from Brussels for rejecting the EU's migration policies, it gets to enjoy political and economic stability because of an evenly balanced migration policy. Going ahead, societies would engage in substantive internal debates to navigate this cultural shift and move towards shared goals which would allow them to work towards common objectives.

On the question of how the EU should engage with Moscow, Demkó argues that it is indisputable that Russia was the primary aggressor in the war against Ukraine. However, since the EU did not step up their defence spending over the past decade, they now have to face up to the new geopolitical realities. Given the scale of the Russian power and its geographical location, European countries need to have a pragmatic Russia policy.

Gladden Pappin contends that since the post-Cold War era, the Western nation states have promoted an increasingly liberal version of values, weakening the relationship between Western nations and Christianity. This liberal worldview has become more radical and "woke" overtime with significant policy ramifications, such as on migration. To restore and enhance multilateralism, Pappin advocates for a United Nations (UN) Charter that stems from religious values. He maintains that a UN Charter rooted in deeper religious values would have a greater chance of success compared to one based solely on universal principles, as the former is more likely to guide a state's behaviour towards just outcomes.

Patrick Deneen traces the origins of contemporary radical politics to the intensification and distortion of Christianity's core tenets. He illustrates this by pointing to individualism, one of the core principles of the liberal order, derived from the deep Christian belief in the dignity of each human life. Similarly, the streak of universalism in Western and European values comes from Christianity itself, and has led to Western nation states seeking to be a universal liberal order. Finally, some

of the radical social and technological movements of the day, essentially represent a distorted form of Christian principles, whereby nature can be improved upon by human grace.

Stefania Benaglia believes that globalist values continue to hold value in today's world order. While the universal liberal ideas need to be implemented more fairly and effectively, questioning their very value is a folly. Similarly, Benaglia further argued that while it is important to acknowledge the origins of EU as a peace project, it is undeniable that its constituent member-states have had to work for over seven decades to ensure its success.

The panel concludes by stressing the value of rule of law as a uniting principle of the EU and acknowledging the rights of individual member-states and their preferences regarding the nature of values that should underpin their societies.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Kahwa

Importing Dissent: Immigration and National Cohesion

Krishna Vohra

Day 2: March 18, 2025

Indrani Bagchi set the context of the discussion, given the aftermath of the US election and its impact on both legal and illegal immigration. We have also seen varying stances by European nations on migration, from Syria, Africa, and Afghanistan, among others.

Karoline Sophie Cychon gave her perspective on the topic of immigration given how big a talking point it was in their recent snap elections on 23 February. Her party, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), was particularly concerned with it, mirrored by the CDU's controversial decision to favour an anti-immigration bill also backed by the far-right AfD. While this decision by party leader Friedrich Merz was met with backlash, there is no denying that immigration has become a deeply polarising issue in Germany, Cychon warned that if politics does not address the issue of mass migration, people will vote for ultra-right parties, that do not represent the true spirit of democracy and tolerance.

Nathan Sales highlighted the importance of the subject of immigration in the United States (US) which undoubtedly remains a key

MODERATOR



Indrani Bagchi

Chief Executive Officer, Ananta Centre,
India

SPEAKERS



Karoline Sophie Cychon

State Chairwoman, Junge Union,
Niedersachsen for Junge Union, Germany



Nathan A. Sales

Nonresident Senior Fellow, Atlantic
Council; Former U.S. Acting Under
Secretary of State, United States of
America



Stefan Mair

Director, German Institute for International
and Security Affairs; Executive Chairman,
Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Germany



Sushant Sareen

Senior Fellow, Observer Research
Foundation, India



Nathalie Tocci

Director, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Italy



part of the Zeitgeist in America, particularly in a post-Trump world. He gently resisted the framing of the panel 'importing dissent', stating that dissent is an important part of democracy. He argued that the issue is more to do with the underlying values of the US which can be threatened by unchecked immigration. New arrivals in the US, whether on a work visa or student visa, who at times do not share these underlying values, like freedom of speech and religion.

Stefan Mair, of the SWP, underlined the importance of specifying what one means when discussing immigration. For example, early migration in Germany was by and large successful, with Turkish migrants greatly benefiting the German economy and serving an invaluable role in the nation's post-war rebuild. Furthermore, these migrants quickly integrated into German society and contributed their own unique touchstones that are inseparable from German culture today. However, instances of crime from the immigrant population coming from later waves of asylum-seekers has - perhaps unfairly - created a negative perception of migrants. The fact that a third of the German population voted for an anti-immigration party, emphasizes the issue that needs to be addressed.

Sushant Sareen, provided a different perspective on migration into India since 1947. The record of immigration in India, Sareen argues, is fairly positive. Post-partition immigrants assimilated into Indian society easily while maintaining their own cultural identities. In a diverse, pluralistic, and heterogeneous country like India, immigrants have not only survived in society but continue to thrive in the newly inhabited areas. However, he criticized the European model of migration, which in his frank opinion, has failed.

Nathalie Tocci, provided a strong counter-argument to the prevailing discourse on immigration in Europe. She importantly pointed out that across Europe, those countries with higher levels of migration, have performed better economically. In the long run, countries like Germany, Sweden, and Norway, have done better; there is a strong correlation between the share of migration and economic performance. Paradoxically, in times of political and economic crisis, migration suddenly becomes a contentious issue. This could also be applied, Tocci argues, to the American cost of living crisis, evident in the last three election campaigns. Simultaneously, migration seems to have become a politically charged issue in countries where there are few migrants - Tocci cites the vehemently anti-immigrant stance of the Hungarian foreign minister, while there are practically no migrants in their country.

Following a scintillating discussion on the implications of migration on national interests, the session concluded with pertinent questions from members of the audience, on the political dimension of migration and the role of the Global South in ensuring safe return with dignity and protecting human rights. The panelists' closing remarks echoed the importance of democratic values on the issue of migration, recognising its benefits and the necessity of holistically addressing the needs of asylum-seekers.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Breakfast Pole Vaults: The Revanchist West and a Rising South

Arya Roy Bardhan

Day 3: March 19, 2025

Against the backdrop of a rapidly fragmenting world order and growing tensions between traditional powers and emerging players, the panel “Pole Vaults: The Revanchist West and a Rising South” at the Raisina Dialogue 2025 offered a timely and critical conversation. Moderated by Ken Jimbo, Head of the Institute of Geoeconomics in Japan, the session brought together leading voices from different geopolitical regions to assess the future of global power dynamics and international cooperation.

Jimbo opened the discussion by situating it within the broader themes of the Raisina Dialogue—the rise of the Global South, the crisis of Western leadership, and the search for a new equilibrium in a multipolar world. He noted that while the United States and its allies seem unprepared for a more decentralised world order, the question remains whether the rising powers themselves are ready to shoulder leadership responsibilities.

Alexander Dynkin, President of the Primakov National Research Institute of World Economy

MODERATOR



Ken Jimbo

Head, Institute of Geoeconomics, Japan

SPEAKERS



Alexander Dynkin

President, Primakov National Research Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia



Ebtesam Al-Ketbi

Founder & President, Emirates Policy Center, United Arab Emirates



Karim El Aynaoui

Executive President, Policy Center for the New South, Morocco



Manjeet Kripalani

Executive Director, Gateway House, India



Paolo Magri

Managing Director and President of the Advisory Board, Italian Institute for International Political Studies, Italy



and International Relations, Russia went on to contextualise the recent shift in US-Russia dialogue in light of the Trump-Putin phone call. He described the limited ceasefire agreement on Ukraine's energy infrastructure as a tentative but meaningful step, noting that while Russia's core demands remain unchanged, the opportunity for sustained dialogue could benefit all stakeholders, including Europe. Dynkin emphasised that the world is undergoing a dramatic structural change—towards a multipolar, post-liberal order characterized by sovereign development models and new institutional alignments, moving beyond the Europe-centric global governance of the past.

Bringing in the West Asian perspective, Ebtessam Al-Ketbi, Founder and President of the Emirates Policy Center, United Arab Emirates (UAE), elaborated on the strategic recalibrations underway in the Gulf. She described the UAE's engagement with China and Russia alongside its traditional ties with the US as a pragmatic form of strategic hedging. Al-Ketbi argued that BRICS membership is not an anti-Western move but an effort to diversify partnerships and reduce overdependence on any single global power. For the UAE, foreign policy is increasingly shaped by its role as a logistical and diplomatic hub—a neutral bridge in an era of geopolitical fragmentation.

Representing North Africa, Karim El Aynaoui, Executive President of the Policy Center for the New South, Morocco, offered a reflective take on how Africa perceives the evolving world order. He underscored that while fragmentation defines the current moment, it is accompanied by an increasing demand for cooperation. El Aynaoui urged caution against over-personalising global politics, emphasizing that structural shifts—demographic, economic, and institutional—are the real drivers of change. He called for realism in framing the Global South not as a monolithic bloc but as a diverse, evolving coalition with varying capacities and aspirations.

From the Indian perspective, Manjeet Kripalani, Executive Director of Gateway House, emphasised India's continued commitment to strategic autonomy and inclusive development. She highlighted the country's leadership in digital innovation and its replicable governance models, which are increasingly being adopted across Africa and Southeast Asia. Kripalani suggested that India's role is evolving from a non-aligned actor to a "multi-aligned" force capable of bridging divides between East and West, North and South. She cited initiatives like the India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor (IMEC) as examples of India's inclusive and pragmatic foreign policy.

Paolo Magri, Managing Director and President of the Advisory Board at the Italian Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI), provided a European viewpoint marked by both optimism and caution. He noted that while Europe is currently gaining political cohesion—evidenced by a rare, unified voice across EU member states—it is also facing economic challenges. The shift from a welfare-based to a security-driven economy is straining resources and could provoke political backlash. Magri warned that despite current unity, future divisions may emerge if rearmament compromises social spending. He also expressed scepticism about institutional reform within global financial bodies but acknowledged that Europe is seeking new trade relationships with Global South countries, including India and members of Mercosur.

The panel ended with a round of audience questions, touching on topics like BRICS expansion, the role of private capital in financing the Global South, and the future of Russia-Europe relations post-conflict. Speakers generally agreed that while multipolarity presents risks, it also offers opportunities to revisit outdated global institutions and promote more equitable frameworks. Dynkin and Magri stressed that any future peace between Europe and Russia would depend on the nature of the ceasefire—whether it emerges from genuine negotiation or from one-sided concessions.

In closing, Ken Jimbo emphasised that the future of global order will not be dictated by a single pole or ideology, but by the ability of diverse actors to communicate, compromise, and coexist. The panel concluded with a recognition that institutions must evolve, strategic autonomy must be respected, and the Global South must be taken seriously—not as an alternative to the West, but as a central pillar in reshaping global governance.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Beyond the Crisis: Prospects for Peace and Progress in the Middle East

Kabir Taneja

Day 3: March 19, 2025

The panel discussion titled 'Beyond the Crisis: Prospects for Peace and Progress in the Middle East' included speakers from the US, Europe, Israel, and Egypt, looking at the Israel-Hamas war, and by association the crisis in Gaza, from the lenses of both objectivity and regional interests alike. The scene was aptly set by General David Petraeus, Chairman, KKR Global and a former Director of the CIA took on the tough job of looking at the conflict from the military perspective. While political decisions taken in both the Middle East and the US determine the direction this conflict takes, those political decisions are more than often dictated by military outcomes on the ground.

Getting Hamas out of governance and a safe return of Israeli hostages was a shared concern, highlighted further by Eden Bar Tal, underscoring that good intentions leading to good results are not always realistic. The fundamentals of the Gaza conflict were in contention not long after the debate had begun but were merged with other extended problems in the region, which include Israel's taking on Hezbollah in Lebanon, the fall of the regime of Bashar Al Assad in Syria, and so on.

MODERATOR



Leslie Vinjamuri

Director, US and Americas Programme;
Chair of the Faculty, Queen Elizabeth
II Academy, Chatham House, United
Kingdom

SPEAKERS



David Petraeus

Partner, KKR & Chairman, KKR Global
Institute, United States of America



Eden Bar Tal

Director General, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs, Israel



Abla Abdel-Latif

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



Rainer Rudolph

Vice-Chairman, Munich Security
Conference, Germany



Oana Popescu Zamfir

Director, GlobalFocus Center, Romania



The immediate demand for a ceasefire remained palpable, but what happened after that remained a core concern, which was highlighted by Abla Abdel-Latif, who suggested that the absolute basics as far as Palestinian rights are concerned and a political solution should ideally be agreed upon much before talks of economic reconstruction take place. The route towards this, expectedly, was outlined as a difficult one.

The regional views did not create any kind of surprise or shock in the early-morning room. These are points of contention that have been sticking our sorely not just during this iteration of the conflict, but over the decades, as international powers in the West, specifically those in Europe who have a deep history with this part of the world, a point driven home by Rainer Rudolph, Vice Chairman, Munich Security Conference. The geographic proximity of Europe to the Middle East offers a difference in understanding the impact of conflict and within that demand, a different kind of role from the European Union. However, Oana Popescu Zamfir, argued that Europe first and foremost needs to shape a much clearer and more active foreign policy before the continent can try and flex its muscles in and around multilayered and highly complex conflicts such as Israel and Palestine and the proverbial two-state solution.

The overall discussion was not too far from the chaotic debates taking place in the Middle East and the US about this war itself. While the sides included in the conflict directly have clear views on what it would take to move forward towards long-standing ceasefire agreements, chaos in the global order, and in particular the challenges being faced by the Western alliance system, is making it harder for external pressure to have an impact on the ground as far as the war in Gaza is concerned.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Breakfast A Bridge Between Continents: Development, Adaptation, and Food Security

Shobha Suri

Day 3: March 19, 2025

The Asian and the African continents are the two greatest hopes for global growth in the coming decade. Collaboration on agriculture and food security can serve as the bedrock for their future development; but this also needs the creation of new and better infrastructure and connectivity, as well as the promotion of hubs for trade and innovation on their coastlines. As the world contends with interconnected crises—climate change, economic volatility, and food insecurity—India and Asia are emerging as strategic bridges to Africa in reshaping global development narratives.

For both India and Africa, food insecurity is not just a humanitarian concern—it is a direct impediment to economic growth, human capital development, and political stability. According to global assessments, millions remain undernourished across South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. The pathway to eliminating food insecurity increasingly depends on leveraging South-South trade and investment, including the cross-pollination of innovations in climate-smart agriculture, precision farming, and digital extension services. The 2017 Asia-Africa Growth Corridor, a grain corridor connecting Africa and West Asia has been increasingly vital in the context of food security, trade resilience, and geopolitical shifts. More than

SCENE SETTER



Jaideep Mazumdar

Secretary, East, Ministry of External Affairs, India

MODERATOR



Sunaina Kumar

Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

SPEAKERS



Sarah Agbor Anyang

Vice President, Forum for African Women Educationalists, Kenya; Former Commissioner, African Union



Chevaan Daniel

Executive Group Director, Capital Maharaja Group, Sri Lanka



Rob Hewett

Chairman, Silver Fern Farms, New Zealand



Chitkala Kalidas

Senior Vice President and Global Head of Environment, Social & Governance, Bayer, United States of America



Sara Roversi

Founder and President, Future Food Institute, Italy



seven decades ago, the vision of Afro-Asian solidarity was born at the historic Bandung Conference of 1955 that provided an unfolding opportunity.

By investing in connectivity, infrastructure, trade, and innovation, Africa and Asia can together script a new chapter of global growth—one that is equitable, sustainable, and deeply rooted in shared aspirations. From the Global South, Sri Lanka holds the potential to become a model for climate adaptation in the region, demonstrating how resilience can safeguard both people and planet. Sri Lanka's three-pronged recovery: resilience, culture, and collective will offers a lesson for the region. New Zealand's pastoral farming model, combined with agritech innovation, offers valuable lessons and potential solutions to growing food insecurity in India and Africa. Smallholder farmers are central to food production in both India and Africa, however sustainability—both ecological and economic—is the core challenge. Initiative like "Better Life" farming has been transforming smallholder agriculture into a sustainable, entrepreneurial, and resilient force for food security. There is a growing consensus on the need to build strong partnerships, leverage relationships between countries, and draw on cultural heritage to tackle food security. This includes mobilising financial resources and innovating solutions that are locally relevant and globally informed, ensuring a more resilient and inclusive food system.

To quote, "Food security governance must be stronger, wider, higher and smarter" to address the scale and complexity of today's challenges. The vision of 'Health for All, Hunger for None' resonates with the spirit of Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam—the world as one family. Finally achieving lasting impact requires leadership that understands the unique context of each region and can inspire and mobilise local communities. Such leadership must be rooted in local realities, responsive to people's needs, and capable of driving inclusive action from the ground up.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Ministerial Remarks

India's Outreach to Latin America: New Vistas for Untapped Potential

Nimisha Chadha

Day 3: March 19, 2025

India's deepening engagement with Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) highlights its commitment to forging partnerships based on shared heritage and mutual growth with the developing world to build an inclusive global order. Recent visits and summits have revitalised cooperation, with India strengthening trade ties—totalling over US\$ 35 billion in the past fiscal year—and securing strategic agreements to boost economic cooperation.

MINISTERIAL REMARKS



Pabitra Margherita

Minister of State, Ministry of External Affairs, India



Beyond resource exchanges, India is exploring food security, renewable energy, climate change, technology and trade by deploying UPI across the region and enhancing pharmaceutical partnerships. At the same time, an increased emphasis on education and academic collaborations is opening fresh prospects for students and professionals to play a vital role in national development and global progress.

Looking ahead, how can economic and cultural integration between India and LAC be deepened? How might these alliances contribute to building a resilient, inclusive global South solidarity capable of addressing the challenges of a rapidly changing world?

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Destiny or Destination: Culture, Connectivity and Tourism

Prithvi Gupta

Day 3: March 19, 2025

Cities are increasingly becoming focal points of global economic, cultural, and technological exchanges, shaping national identities and international collaborations. In a rapidly urbanising world, competition among cities extends beyond infrastructure to encompass narrative construction, identity formation, and global connectivity. The discussion examined how nations strategically leverage urban centres to drive economic dynamism, foster cultural linkages, and project distinctive global brands. Mohamed Nasheed underscored Ireland's commitment to an open, progressive, and diverse society, differentiating its trajectory from that of the United Kingdom and the United States (US). He highlighted the country's global outlook and emphasis on inclusivity, positioning these attributes as central to Ireland's economic and social policies.

Noura bint Mohammed Al Kaabi traced the historical depth of United Arab Emirates-India ties, referencing centuries of trade and cultural exchange. She noted that the UAE previously used the Indian rupee as its currency and acknowledged India's enduring influence on regional cuisine and craftsmanship. She described the Indian diaspora as an integral element of the UAE's socio-economic fabric,

MODERATOR



Ashok Malik

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

SPEAKERS



Mohamed Nasheed

Former President; Secretary-General,
Climate Vulnerable 20, Maldives



James Lawless

Minister for Further and Higher Education,
Research, Innovation and Science, Ireland



Noura bint Mohammed Al Kaabi

Minister of State, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs, United Arab Emirates



Amitabh Kant

G20 Sherpa, India



reinforcing the multifaceted relationship between the two nations. Al Kaabi pointed to the expedited negotiation of the UAE-India Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) as a benchmark for efficient trade diplomacy and highlighted the significant bilateral trade volume and extensive air connectivity. Further, she emphasised institutional mechanisms such as task forces and cultural councils as vehicles for deepening cultural cooperation, particularly in literature, film, and technology. On the proposal for an Indian passport control system in Abu Dhabi, she expressed interest in advancing collaboration to facilitate greater mobility and people-to-people exchanges.

Amitabh Kant examined India's evolving urban landscape, noting the transformation of cities such as Indore, Surat, and Mysuru. He underscored the role of urban pride and civic engagement in shaping contemporary Indian cities, pointing to emerging centres such as Gurugram and GIFT City in Gujarat alongside the revitalisation of traditional urban hubs. Kant argued that India must cultivate distinctive urban experiences rather than replicating Western paradigms. Citing Kerala's tourism strategy, he illustrated how leveraging natural and cultural heritage enables cities to establish unique identities. He contended that city branding must evolve independently of national or state branding, positioning urban centres as catalysts for economic expansion and cultural diplomacy.

When addressing rising costs and accessibility in tourism, Kant argued that differentiation through storytelling and immersive experiences is essential for competitiveness. He cited heritage sites such as Hampi, Khajuraho, and Mahabalipuram, where guided tours enhance engagement with history and culture. Al Kaabi reinforced this perspective, advocating for cities to cultivate unique identities rather than succumbing to homogenisation under globalisation. She underscored the increasing significance of cultural narratives in shaping tourism appeal, with travellers increasingly seeking

immersive and personalised experiences. The UAE, she added, is investing in initiatives to broaden accessibility for diverse visitor demographics, including backpackers and students.

James Lawless asserted that cities are now competing on the strength of their storytelling, harnessing history, heritage, and cultural specificity to craft compelling global identities. He cited the emergence of Dubai's local chocolate industry as an example of how a city's narrative can enhance its economic distinctiveness. In his view, effective storytelling fortifies city identities while preserving historical and cultural authenticity.

Ashok Malik reinforced the argument that cities are instrumental in shaping both national and global narratives. He emphasised the imperative of maintaining distinct urban identities, leveraging historical affinities, and fostering deeper economic and cultural interconnectivity.

As cities continue to position themselves within an increasingly interconnected global system, their capacity to construct compelling narratives, cultivate inclusivity, and build upon historical and cultural legacies will determine their influence. The discussion reaffirmed that urban centres are not merely economic engines but pivotal actors in diplomacy, trade, and cultural diplomacy, shaping the contours of global engagement in the 21st century.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Verses and Wars: Navigating Hybrid Theatres

Kartik Bommakanti

Day 3: March 19, 2025

The contemporary wars transcend the military domain moving into financial systems, cyberspace, information environment, critical infrastructure and democratic societies writ large. Warfare has become hybrid affecting the entire expanse of social, economic, political, institutional life of societies and countries and not just the battlefield. Rapid advances in technology are catalysing this transformation enabled by Artificial Intelligence (AI). Ukraine has made considerable advances with integration of AI for battlefield operations and Europe is working on doing the same. In this context how are countries across world adapting and coping with the challenges in the conventional and hybrid domains.

General Anil Chauhan kicked off the panel discussion observing that two characteristics are evident across the landscape of global security. Firstly, transformation is underway at an exponentially quick pace and the second feature is that uncertainty or ambiguity characterises modern warfare and the security environment in the world today. India faces the dual challenges of training personnel to comprehend these emerging challenges in the domain of conventional warfare as well as hybrid warfare.

MODERATOR



Róbert Vass

Founder and President, GLOBSEC,
Slovakia

SPEAKERS



General Anil Chauhan

Chief of Defence Staff, India



David Petraeus

Partner, KKR & Chairman, KKR Global
Institute, United States of America



Vivek Lall

Chief Executive, General Atomics Global
Corporation, United States of America



Maggie Sprenger

Co-Founder and General Partner, Audere
Capital, United States of America



Pavlina Pavlova

Fellow, New America, United States of
America



David Petruerus observed that Western and more specifically US military transformation is not happening as expeditiously as it should given the military technological developments in the Ukraine war. In Ukraine, technologies for the future are being developed applied on the battlefield. Unmanned Vehicles (UVs) have become a lethal platform. The US military is not integrating technologies and adapting as quickly as the Ukrainians and Russian are on the battlefield.

Vivek Lall in his comments noted that speed is essential in modern warfare. Surveillance that is persistent in the air and space is vital in preventing wars. Sharing of data is necessary within organisations and not just between nation states and intelligence services. Training personnel is especially critical for special forces. Electromagnetic Spectrum (EMS) dominance is vital as data needs to be collated that can produce a real time operational picture. Mass is critical in the form of large numbers of loitering munitions and delivery by industry both in India and abroad.

Maggie Sprengerin in her comments noted somewhat differently from the previous speakers that states capacity for monopolising technology is fragmenting. Existing state control of technology will progressively or potentially fall into the hands of non-state actors that erodes state power. Adversaries are taking advantage of loopholes between the civilian and military domains. Deterring non-state threats is not easy because demonstrating credibility is daunting. Traditional state structures are too top-down and excessively process driven. Grey-zone warfare has become more deadly and countering it requires more than state-led responses. Innovation in technology that is transforming the battlefield whether in addressing threats from the grey-zone or beyond is primarily driven by the private sector. The influence of technology looms large on the conduct of war, in shaping perceptions and the mobilisation of publics across the world.

Pavlina Pavlova noted that the cyber operations directed at health infrastructure, financial infrastructure and critical infrastructure are not well-known. Cyber-attacks against healthcare systems can lead to hacks against people, which may vary for men and women. Building cyber resilience is critical to limit the damage from cyber-attacks. National cyber resilience across society is also vital as Ukraine demonstrated following the Russian invasion in 2022 to prevent damage to national infrastructure. In conclusion, technologies are vital for the battlefield and adapting them is vital to the security and sovereignty of countries. The private sector has become an even more consequential part of the security landscape and the modern battlefield. Speed of technological change and innovation has been so great that governments, especially democratic ones, often failing to integrate new technologies effectively while contending with authoritarian state Governments, the military, and the private sector have to work together institutionally to bring about change to tackle hybrid and conventional threats.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

The Decade Ahead: Ideas for BRICS Presidencies

Manini

Day 3: March 19, 2025

The expansion of BRICS marks a pivotal moment in global governance, with the group now representing nearly half the world's population and over a third of global GDP. Its growing influence took center stage in a thought-provoking panel discussion featuring distinguished experts, reflecting the topic's significance and timeliness.

Moderated by Sunaina Kumar, the discussion focused on navigating diversity, maintaining cohesion, and BRICS' role in shaping a multipolar world. Abhishek Singh, set the stage by emphasising BRICS' growing influence in global governance, spanning trade, Artificial Intelligence (AI), climate change, and financial reform. With 11 members and nine partner countries across continents, its reach is expanding. However, he also pointed out that rapid expansion comes with challenges, such as integration difficulties and decision-making complexities. He emphasised that BRICS operates on a consensus-based model, requiring alignment among diverse national interests.

Victoria Panova reinforced the idea that BRICS is not an anti-Western coalition but a platform for an inclusive and fair global order. While acknowledging the challenges of diversity, she

MODERATOR



Sunaina Kumar

Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

SPEAKERS



Sarah Mosoetsa

Chief Executive Officer, Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa



Victoria Panova

Head, BRICS Expert Council; Vice Rector, HSE University; Russian W20 Sherpa, Russia



Xie Chao

Associate Professor, Institute of International Studies, Fudan University, China



Alireza Gholipour

Deputy Director General of IPIS & Director, Unit for European Studies; Unit for Asian Studies, Coordinator & Chair of Iran Delegation at BRICS Think-Tank Council, Institute for Political and International Studies, Iran



Walter Desidera

Researcher and Coordinator of Studies in Economic Relations, Institute for Applied Economic Research, Brazil



argued that this very diversity strengthens the bloc by fostering negotiation and critical thinking. Unlike Western-dominated alliances, BRICS enables countries with different perspectives to find common ground. She suggested that rather than further expansion, BRICS should focus on consolidating its current structure for more effective decision-making.

Sarah Mosoetsa framed Africa's engagement with BRICS as an opportunity for solidarity and sustainable development. She stressed that Africa's Agenda 2063 and the African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA) align with BRICS' objectives, positioning the bloc as both a strategic alliance and a platform to amplify Africa's voice in global governance. Underscoring the need for effective integration over rapid expansion, Mosoetsa also called for a permanent BRICS secretariat to enhance coordination and streamline communication.

Shi Chao discussed China-India relations within BRICS. Despite historical tensions, he noted their shared interests in technology, supply chains, and climate action. He described BRICS as a platform for "uncoordinated coordination", where nations independently align on policies, strengthening South-South cooperation. Emphasising its role in peace and development rather than political maneuvering, he noted that while geopolitical tensions persist, BRICS fosters practical engagement, not revisionism. He also highlighted the role of other forums like the AU and ASEAN Plus in maintaining regional stability.

Walter Desidera, outlined Brazil's vision for its 2025 BRICS presidency under the theme "Strengthening Global South Cooperation for More Inclusive and Sustainable Governance" He highlighted six priorities: global health, trade and finance, climate change, AI governance, multilateral security reforms, and institutional development.

Emphasising trade facilitation and climate finance, he also stressed the need to strengthen the New Development Bank and explore alternative financial architectures.

As a representative of one of BRICS' newest members, Alireza Gholipour viewed BRICS as a strategic platform for emerging economies facing geopolitical pressures. He noted that traditional global institutions often disadvantage these nations, making BRICS crucial for collective development and risk mitigation through shared capacities. With its energy resources and technological expertise, Iran aims to contribute in transit, energy, trade, innovation and technology. He emphasised BRICS should assert its influence, without confrontation, shaping global economic and political norms to align with its members' interests.

The discussion illuminated BRICS' evolving role in multilateral governance. While the expansion has strengthened its influence, integrating diverse economies and political systems remains a challenge. Panelists agreed that consolidation should take precedence over further expansion to ensure BRICS functions effectively as a unified bloc. As BRICS enters its next phase, its success will depend on balancing national interests with collective goals, strengthening multilateral partnerships, and reinforcing its role as a pillar of the Global South. The session concluded on an optimistic note, asserting BRICS' potential to foster a more equitable world order.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Commissars and Capitalists: Politics, Business and New World Order

Tanya Aggarwal

Day 3: March 19, 2025

The session *Commissars and Capitalists: Politics, Business and New World Order* was moderated by Palki Sharma, the panel exploring the growing influence of business entities on national and global politics, particularly as countries reassess their economic and strategic priorities amid increasing geopolitical realignments. The discussion centred on the implications of global economic policies, digital platform regulation, and the challenges posed by a shifting world order.

Sharma opened the discussion by highlighting the relationship between business and government, citing historical examples such as the East India Company to illustrate the impact of corporate entities on power dynamics. She questioned how this evolving relationship could influence global power rivalries and the future of international relations. Her inquiry set the stage for a deeper exploration of the challenges businesses face in adapting to geopolitical changes, particularly in areas such as social media regulation, trade protectionism, and financial systems.

Kaplan pointed out the contrasting approaches between the US and Europe in regulating platforms like Meta. While the

MODERATOR



Palki Sharma
Managing Editor, Firstpost, India

SPEAKERS



Joel Kaplan
Chief Global Affairs Officer, Meta, US



Pierroberto Folgiero
Chief Executive Officer & Managing Director, Fincantieri, Italy



Marianne Demarchi
Chief Executive Officer, Europe, Middle East, Africa, SWIFT



S. Jaishankar
Minister of External Affairs, India



US administration advocates for expanding freedom of expression, the EU imposes stricter regulations to ensure fairness and transparency. He discussed Meta's shift from third-party fact-checking to a community-based system, "Community Notes", aimed at reducing bias and fostering trust. Kaplan also addressed concerns about data sharing, drawing a distinction between American companies sharing data with the US government under legal orders and Chinese companies' alleged data-sharing practices with the Chinese government.

Folgiero turned the focus to the geopolitics of shipbuilding, noting how Western nations, which had largely abandoned shipbuilding for two decades, are now reconsidering its strategic importance as global trade dynamics evolve. He emphasised the need for technological advancements in shipbuilding, where innovation is becoming more important than traditional factors like labour costs and raw materials. Folgiero advocated for a shipbuilding renaissance in the West, driven by automation and robotics, while suggesting that India could play a key role through its manufacturing capabilities, engineering expertise, and workforce. He also highlighted the rise of protectionism and the need for reindustrialisation in the West to regain technological superiority in strategic industries.

Demarchi offered insights into the role of global financial infrastructure during times of geopolitical fragmentation. As a neutral cooperative, Swift connects financial institutions worldwide and ensures interoperability between different financial systems. She discussed the impact of geopolitical tensions on global financial stability, particularly with the rise of alternative payment systems from countries like Russia and China, and the potential emergence of Central Bank Digital Currencies (CBDCs). Demarchi stressed that while financial fragmentation poses risks to global growth, Swift's role as the "glue" connecting different financial ecosystems is crucial to maintaining stability. She

also addressed the challenge of neutrality, acknowledging Swift's adherence to EU law while ensuring inclusivity in governance.

Jaishankar highlighted the blurring of boundaries between economic, technological, and political domains in the digital era. He noted that national security now influences business decisions, with countries prioritising trust and security. Jaishankar discussed India's strategy of diversifying trade ties with the EU, US, and UK, and mentioned the rising influence of companies like Starlink. He emphasised India's focus on digital sovereignty, with data governance and innovation as key priorities. He called for India to leverage its strengths in digital technology and data to shape the global tech future.

The session underscored the growing interconnectedness between business, politics, and global power. Panellists agreed that the boundaries between these areas are increasingly blurred, requiring nations to adapt. As geopolitical tensions reshape the world, countries and companies face challenges such as digital sovereignty, financial fragmentation, and changing trade dynamics. India's focus on diversification, technological advancement, and digital innovation positions it as a key player in this evolving landscape. The session concluded with an emphasis on collaboration, adaptability, and foresight, recognising both the risks and opportunities these changes present for nations and businesses.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Deepwater Perils: Securing Trade Through Red Zones

Manini

Day 3: March 19, 2025

The Indo-Pacific has emerged as the nerve center of global maritime trade and strategic competition. This panel brought together senior military leaders from five Indo-Pacific nations to explore the evolving landscape of maritime threats, the rise of unconventional actors, and the urgent need for collaboration to protect vital sea lanes. Moderated by Yalda Hakim the session offered a compelling analysis of the volatile maritime theatre and the importance of being future-ready.

Mara Motherway opened the session by highlighting how state and non-state actors increasingly blur tactical lines, a trend accelerated by advances in AI, cyber warfare, and unmanned systems. With over 80 percent of maritime oil trade and 40 percent of global trade passing through routes like the Indian Ocean, she emphasised the need for integrated deterrence, multinational cooperation, and open, modular defence technologies. She set the tone for a conversation centered on alliance-building, information-sharing, and anticipatory preparedness in an increasingly contested maritime domain.

Admiral Samuel Paparo weighed in on the sensitive issue of China's military posture toward

MODERATOR



Yalda Hakim

Lead World News Presenter, Sky News,
United Kingdom

SPEAKERS



Admiral Dinesh K. Tripathi

Chief of the Naval Staff, India



Admiral Justin Jones

Chief of Joint Operations, Australia



Admiral Samuel Paparo

Commander, US Indo-Pacific Command,
United States of America



General Romeo S. Brawner

Chief of Staff, Armed Forces of the
Philippines



General Yoshihide Yoshida

Chief of Staff of the Joint Staff, Japan



Mara Motherway

Vice-President, Strategy and Business
Development, Lockheed Martin, United
States of America



Taiwan. While acknowledging Beijing's 2027 target for PLA readiness, he emphasised that any aggression would be conditional, dependent on political calculations, risk assessments, and international deterrence. He cautioned against overemphasis on fixed timelines and stressed sustained readiness. Reflecting on the Ukraine conflict, he underscored the relevance of mass production of unmanned systems and open-source intelligence, urging militaries to embrace the agility demonstrated in that war.

Admiral Justin Jones spoke about the readiness of the Australian Defence Force amid its transition to 21st-century capabilities. He highlighted ongoing investments in long-range strike and digital warfare systems. Addressing recent sightings of Chinese naval vessels near Australian waters, he advocated a calm and professional response, acknowledging such movements are legal but carry strategic intent. Jones stressed that, like other navies, Australia must continue asserting its presence through freedom of navigation operations, firm yet measured.

General Romeo Brawner, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, offered a candid view of tensions in the South China Sea. He described China's construction of military installations on Mischief, Fiery Cross and Subi Reef, along with harassment by Chinese militias and coast guards as "ICAD": illegal, coercive, aggressive, and deceptive. In response, he outlined the Philippines' threefold strategy: asserting sovereignty through presence, modernising defence, and strengthening alliances. Brawner also highlighted the formation of the "Squad"—a strategic partnership with Japan, Australia, and the US, with efforts underway to include India and South Korea.

General Yoshihide Yoshida, Japan's Chief of Staff, connected Indo-Pacific tensions to broader global instability. Referencing the Ukraine war, he warned of the ripple effects of nuclear threats and North Korea's involvement, with implications reaching

the Korean Peninsula. Yoshida called for a revised “Arc of Peace and Prosperity” and highlighted Japan’s push toward cross-domain capabilities, spanning space, cyber, and electromagnetic warfare while advocating for more resilient, AI-integrated, decision-centric operations rather than platform centric.

Admiral Dinesh Tripathi offered a comprehensive Indian perspective, emphasising the need for adaptability, self-reliance, and continuous learning. He highlighted the growing role of startups and MSMEs in delivering cutting-edge defence tech aided by government schemes. Tripathi noted that the democratisation of technology has enabled even non-state actors to innovate quickly, often bypassing the constraints that formal militaries face. He reaffirmed India’s commitment to maritime domain awareness, deeper regional cooperation, and support for smaller island nations through patrolling and capacity building.

The panel also addressed sustainability in naval operations. Both Admiral Jones and Admiral Tripathi reaffirmed their commitment to adopting greener technologies in line with international decarbonisation standards.

In all, the session captured the complexity and urgency of securing maritime trade in an era of gray-zone tactics, rapid technological change, and shifting geopolitical balances. The panel underscored the need to future-proof naval forces, strengthen alliances, and absorb lessons from ongoing conflicts like Ukraine. Despite differing national lenses, the unified message was clear: through shared foresight and cooperation, nations can navigate the deepwater perils of the Indo-Pacific because no single nation can safeguard the seas alone.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Lunch

Virtual Rubicon: Controlling Digital Frontiers

Shravistha Ajaykumar

Day 3: March 19, 2025

Digital spaces and the technological developments therein, including Artificial Intelligence (AI), Unified Payment Interfaces (UPI), and the application of big data, are revolutionizing economies and societies. The 10th edition of The Raisina Dialogue was organized in March 2025 and featured a panel discussion titled "Virtual Rubicon: Governing Digital Frontiers" discussing these issues. The discussion facilitated by Louise Marie Hurel, Research Fellow at the Royal United Services Institute, United Kingdom, navigated the intricate interplay of innovation, security, and ethical responsibility in the digital age.

The discussion began with Carl Pei, CEO, Nothing, United Kingdom. He explained the present situation in the mobile operating system industry, pointing out how the emergence of the iOS and Android developer economies has built hard barriers to prevent other operating systems from entering the market with comparable influence. Nevertheless, Pei went on to elaborate on how, even though market entry barriers are present, developing technologies such as Artificial Intelligence (AI) can enable software development for everyone. When the conversation switched to data privacy

MODERATOR



Pranjal Sharma
Economic Analyst and Author, India

SPEAKERS



Athanasios Ntokos
National Security Adviser, Greece



Rajeev Chandrashekar
Former Union Minister of State for Electronics and Information Technology; Skill Development and Entrepreneurship; and Jal Shakti, India



Carl Pei
Chief Executive Officer, Nothing, United Kingdom



Erin Saltman
Senior Director of Membership & Programs, Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism, United Kingdom



and data usage legalities, Pei indicated the importance of business transparency in that openness over what kind of data is collected and what such data is used for would help customers be more accepting of data collection practices. “If you explain clearly what they’re going to get out of it and allow them granular access to delete their data if they no longer want to share it, you build trust,” Pei pointed out that this strategy would help businesses deal with privacy issues, which are becoming more significant in the current digital environment.

The conversation then turned to another panellist, Erin Saltman, Senior Director at the Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism, United Kingdom, who discussed how technology is already transforming the digital experience while exploring the implications of AI and data privacy. She discussed her ideas about the potential shift to an “App-less world,” where the ease of functionality extended beyond service-specific applications and single generative AI-driven virtual assistants would perform or at least mediate all tasks. Saltman’s comments pointed out how AI is increasingly being employed to personalise digital experiences.

With the comments made by the next panellist, Rajeev Chandrashekar, Former Union Minister of State for Electronics and Information Technology, India, the conversation took a more policy focused turned. He elaborated on the need for transparent and ethical practices in the technology industry. Chandrashekar highlighted global examples of frameworks that organisations and governments must recognise as the minimum conditions for human rights and transparency. One such framework he highlighted was the UN Guiding Principles, stating, “These guiding principles will apply to both large and small tech companies, setting a baseline for ethical conduct.” He argued that this principle provides a framework for companies to follow based on responsibility and ethical standards, regardless of their size or resources. Chandrashekar also

added that cooperation with international standards is of the highest importance for future regulation of emerging technologies, enabling different countries to attend to their particular cultural priorities while conforming to a world standard of ethical conduct.

Then panellist Athanasios Ntokos, Greek National Security Adviser, reiterated the challenges of data sovereignty and how different parts of the world, including the European Union, have different levels of standards in protecting data.

Panellist Vrinda Kapoor, CEO of 3rdiTech, India, shared her views on how technology companies can and have been rapidly adapting to a changing environment. Kapoor expanded on the fact that AI is increasingly influencing how companies approach software and services related to technology implementation. She was also optimistic that these technologies would change dynamics without drastically upending the impact of the traditional business model. She emphasised that while firms like hers are seeking to embrace AI developments, new legal frameworks are necessary to keep up with these developments.

The conversation opened to the audience, with each question furthering the discussion to a deeper level, highlighting the importance of digital frontiers as a facet of technology policy that will always warrant policy considerations. As the panel discussion concluded, the speakers agreed on the need to balance innovation with ethical responsibility. The panellists stressed that the future of technology will be determined by how well tech firms, regulators, and users collaborate to provide transparency, safeguard data privacy, and advance the ethical use of AI and digital technologies.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Lunch

Authoritarian AI: Understanding the Politburo of Innovation

Basu Chandola

Day 3: March 19, 2025

Debjani Ghosh, the moderator for the session, set up the context by noting that the basic rules of Artificial Intelligence (AI) competition changed with the DeepSeek moment. Drawing from the Paris AI Summit, she highlighted that countries no longer focus on achieving technological excellence but are positioning themselves to control the future of AI. This shift calls for a careful reevaluation of current strategies such as export controls, and raises important questions including if countries should follow China's approach, and the implications of AI for militarisation.

Marietje Schaake noted that the DeepSeek underscores the uncertainty surrounding the future of AI, leaving key questions on power and agency over AI open. She explained that the US wants to stay in a lead position, and is restricting the export of hardware rather than investing in shared rules of behavior. However, the restrictions are not having the desired effect. On President Trump's shift towards deregulation, she highlighted that the US hadn't really begun to develop regulations around AI companies. She also cautioned against the dangers of global fragmentation and highlighted the need to come together to develop shared principles.

MODERATOR



Debjani Ghosh

Distinguished Fellow, NITI Aayog, India

SPEAKERS



Smriti Irani

Former Minister of Women and Child Development and Minister of Minority Affairs, India



Amandeep Singh Gill

Under-Secretary-General and Secretary-General's Special Envoy for Digital and Emerging Technology, United Nations



Faheem Ahamed

Group Chief Marketing and Communication Officer, G42, United Arab Emirates



Marietje Schaake

International Policy Director, Cyber Policy Center, Stanford University, United States of America



Tehilla Shwartz Altshuler

Senior Fellow and Head of Tech Policy and Human Rights Program, Israel Democracy Institute, Israel



Smriti Irani highlighted that tech giants are writing the rules of governance today. She noted that technology was supposed to be a tool to enable equity and was considered a “global good”, but today, 86 percent of the world’s population does not have the agency to decide how the AI affects the various aspects of their lives. She highlighted how one part of the globe has become the epicenter of frugality and innovation, and serves those who are underserved, unserved and those who do not have a voice. Comparing today’s export control regime with the arms race, she pointed out how chips have been replaced with military tech. She also highlighted how the AI race is pushing countries to pick a side.

Tehilla Shwartz Altshuler noted that countries are facing a dilemma with AI regulation having to take a side between Brussels and Washington. She then explained the third way—the Beijing effect. Here, AI is classified as a national security issue similar to cybersecurity, biosecurity and natural disasters. China mandates strict AI governance requiring model regulations, safe registration, safety checks and pilot programs for AI development. While such safeguards are mandated domestically, China allows its models to circulate their models freely abroad. She also discussed the fourth front i.e. countries which have unique characteristics to present a new front of AI regulation owing to their unique social and cultural landscapes.

Amandeep Singh Gill noted that there is a tendency to look at powerful technologies to be shaped by national security considerations. He highlighted the need to distinguish between AI from nuclear or space technologies, as AI is being developed by millions of people unlike other technologies. He emphasised on resisting the urge to see AI from the lens of export controls and national security alone. AI is an important tool for promoting sustainable development especially for the Global South.

He noted the importance of Global Digital Compact and the need to ensure that the true potential of AI is realised. He underscored the importance of international cooperation and solidarity.

Faheem Ahamed optimistically noted that AI is going to have a net positive impact on humanity and society. He noted that the whole notion of DeepSeek is highly exaggerated, and there is going to be a lot more innovation in AI solutions. He emphasised that it is unlikely that one nation or company is going to control AI. He highlighted the fundamentals of AI and the various components that are required in the supply chain chips, computing power and data. He highlighted the need to build bridges as fragmentation is a major threat. There is a need to ensure governance and standardisation.

Overall, the session underscored the complexities and challenges in regulating AI at the global level, with divergent national strategies and concerns over security, equity, and innovation. It called for greater international collaboration and a balanced approach to ensure that AI benefits are maximised while minimising risks.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Lunch

Trends@Raisina: Timeline 2026

Nimisha Chadha

Day 3: March 19, 2025

As the international arena prepares for the future, leading experts discussed the trends that dominated in 2024 and predicted those that will shape global affairs in 2026. The discussion began by stressing on nurturing grassroots ecosystems, comprising education, economic empowerment and healthcare, to create a pipeline for empowering women, younger generations and communities, particularly in conflict-affected regions. With the fall in external aid, private sector participation for investing in infrastructure is important for local capacity building and long-term stability.

Among technological developments, breakthroughs in Artificial Intelligence (AI) have brought about the Fourth Industrial Revolution, set to reshape global structures. The two current leaders—the US with its capital-intensive model and China with its cost-effective approach—both face challenges, including uncertain returns on investment for the US model and issues of trust and bias within China's foundational frameworks. However, it's naive to assume that China's approach is simply low-cost—its apparent affordability is the result of investments over the years that have nurtured a generation of world-class engineers. There is a promising opportunity for an India-US collaboration, where the US's investment capacity can complement India's talent pool, growing market, and abundant data. Rather than viewing the Global South merely as

MODERATOR



Julia Ganter

Programme Director, Körber-Stiftung, Germany

SPEAKERS



Davit Karapetyan

Secretary General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Armenia



Romana Vlahutin

Visiting Distinguished Fellow, German Marshall Fund, Belgium



Manuel Muñiz

Provost, IE University, Spain



Nitin Seth

Co-Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Incedo, United States of America



Noella Coursaris Musunka

Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Malaika; Ambassador, The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, United States of America



an aid recipient, the European Union is also looking towards it for ideas and manufacturing, to build relationships on mutually-beneficial and market-driven terms.

Connectivity in Europe was another key theme. With the ongoing decoupling between the US and China, the EU must carve out its own foreign and security policies and adapt to new realities. The shifting transatlantic dynamics came under scrutiny as well. The changing posture of the United States has forced Europe to reassess its reliance on American security guarantees. Europe now finds itself compelled to develop an integrated and autonomous foreign and security policy. This “transatlantic divorce” is prompting Europe to look both inward and towards the global south as it redefines its strategic role, challenging long-standing assumptions about the transatlantic order.

The erosion of institutions like the United Nations and World Trade Organization has created a void in global governance, calling for a reform of multilateral institutions. Innovative regional and global frameworks are necessary for coordinated responses to security, economic, and humanitarian challenges. Initiatives like Armenia’s “crossroads of peace”—which aims to boost regional transit and trade potential based on reciprocity and integrated infrastructure—illustrate how trust and cooperation can be rebuilt.

How can public and private sectors join forces to build infrastructure that supports both regional development and global integration? How can we counter big tech’s dominance so that AI’s potential to democratise access to data and tools is fully realised? How can Europe design a truly autonomous foreign and security policy that capitalises on its economic strength and harnesses opportunities from the Global South? What reforms are needed in multilateral institutions to transform the current governance void into a framework that effectively coordinates responses across diverse challenges?

[Watch the full session here](#)

Dark Matters: The Geopolitics of Space

Chaitanya Giri

Day 3: March 19, 2025

Space is one of the most crucial contested realms of modern geopolitics. Although the 1967 Outer Space Treaty confined contestation for a long time, its efficacy in preventing mishaps, conflicts, and attacks on sovereignty in the future is now questionable, given the increasing geopolitical footprint in space. This session primarily focused on outer space matters where consensus between major superpowers is seemingly absent; the breaking of rules associated with the increasing role of the private sector appears imminent, creating a clear divide through the formation of astropolitical blocs.

The foremost problem emerging is the fast-rising role of the private sector in the global space domain. This is especially concerning for those entities capable of congesting Earth orbits with their rapid satellite manufacturing and launching capabilities. This major challenge becomes increasingly precarious without enforceable international legal frameworks to prevent space debris and collision cascades. India's private space ecosystem has been steadily rising over the past few years, and it must voluntarily ensure a safer, sustainable, and inclusive presence in Earth orbits and beyond. This voluntary effort must lead to the

MODERATOR



Corinna Hoyer

Co-Chief Executive Officer, WORLD. MINDS, Switzerland

SPEAKERS



Ritu Karidhal

Senior Scientist, Indian Space Research Organisation, India



Jessy Kate Schingler

Board Member, Open Lunar Foundation, United States of America



Sara Sabry

Astronaut, Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Deep Space Initiative, Egypt



next necessary update of the Outer Space Treaty, as many private sector companies are now moon-bound, raising many questions regarding the common heritage of humankind.

Although the Treaty was effective to a certain extent, it is no longer sufficient; there is a need to transcend multilateralism in favour of plurilateral and polycentric space partnerships. Such partnerships would involve newly space-capable nations that seek to engage in outer space activities with a certain degree of autonomy from more established space-capable countries. Space capabilities, regardless of the financial and technological prowess of nations, are tools of national interest and are being pursued with the understanding that the next-generation reshaping of economies, security, and technologies will be vital for the race to space.

The tangible goal for all kinds of space powers is to secure a larger share of the global space economy. This economy extends beyond Earth orbits, as the commercial lunar economy may reach US\$ 500 billion by 2040. Countries across the spectrum of space capabilities wish to have an equitable share of this space economy, and the crux of international lunar geopolitics lies there. Such economic aspirations cannot be realised as no country possesses the necessary talent to meet its goals. The movement and engagement of globally distributed talent is crucial, as the space economy of any country will not exist within its borders and will always be multinational if it is to succeed.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

In Conversation: When Economics is Political

Swati Prabhu

Day 3: March 19, 2025

M Economics and politics are two inseparable entities. What does it mean in contemporary times when increasing political objectives are weighing down on the way decisions are being made by governments across the globe? Moderated by Shamika Ravi, this session offered a fiery and sharp-witted conversation on the importance of economics and politics driving global governance.

Nouriel Roubini highlighted how hyper-globalisation and hyper capitalism resulted in financial crises both in emerging markets and advanced economies. Geopolitical rivalries between the United States (US) and China also aggravated the conversations on globalisation, resulting in derisking, decoupling, reshoring and friend-shoring. Currently in Washington, the burning question revolves around Trump's economic policy and its larger implications for the global community. As per Nouriel Roubini's nuanced analysis, Trump's policies are two-sided—one that may result in higher growth and lower inflation and others that are inclined towards lower growth and higher inflation. The trick lies in striking a balance between the two. Though his policy outlook is pro-business, encouraging more economic activities, deregulating the economy

MODERATOR



Shamika Ravi

Member, Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, India

SPEAKERS



Nouriel Roubini

Professor Emeritus, New York University, United States of America



Amitabh Kant

G20 Sherpa, India



to increase efficiency of the public sector, the downsides include increased tariffs and protectionism. On the other hand, America's technology prowess in multiple fields such as robotics and automation, space, fusion, green tech, fintech, quantum computing, etc., offers a positive growth potential by the end of the decade. In a sense, Trump's policies might be viewed as a threat, but technology is the optimistic side that will usher innovations. Roubini pertinently pointed out that tech, Trump and tariffs may appear dicey, but it is the bond vigilantes which will keep him in check.

However, given China's competitive forces hinging on unfair trading mechanisms, technology is visibly getting intermeshed with geopolitics. Considering the rise of pockets of excellence in India, Japan, Korea, and the Middle East, to name a few, Roubini further stated that the technology of the future is not limited to the United States or China. Chinese innovations will certainly drive ahead the tech innovations; however, their manufacturing dumping practice would no longer be accepted by the Global South. Roubini pointed out that Chinese manufacturing of high-tech goods and services is predicted to increase by 30 per cent. Yet this needs to be supplemented by domestic demands, otherwise Beijing will face massive protectionism from international markets, resulting in deflation and economic downturn.

Amitabh Kant contextualised India's growth story in terms of four critical factors that are crucial in contemporary times—global growth will be the slowest since the turn of the century; the three year-old ongoing conflict in the heart of Europe marks the end of stability; global supply chains are in disarray; and the emergence of new productive forces like Artificial Intelligence (AI) and quantum computing carry the potential to transform lives, enhance human productivity, and improve learning outcomes. These challenging factors have forced India to carve its own growth story when the global market is in disorder. In this sense, economics is political. Kant

emphasised the importance of political will to allow free enterprise to grow by scrapping rules, regulations and acts which inhibit their productivity. It is this free entrepreneurial spirit which will allow India to grow rapidly and export and penetrate global markets.

Given the tumultuous times encountered by the international community, the session highlighted key areas of optimism, technology being one of them. For India, this is an opportune moment to turn the tide by driving tech innovations and thus instilling growth not only for itself but also for the larger part of the global South.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Climate Action Without Currency: Politics & Reform of Multilateral Finance

Abhishree Pandey

Day 3: March 19, 2025

Focused on the urgent need for reforming multilateral development banks (MDBs), the panel discussion began with Christie Ulman acknowledging the uncertainty that has stemmed from the rapidly changing global political landscape. She noted that while the landscape has changed significantly, the need for finance to support green growth and development has remained constant. However, there is a financing gap of approximately US\$ 1.6 trillion for emerging and developing economies. With growing fiscal constraints on the multilateral system, she highlighted that the current pace of financial mobilisation remains inadequate, which necessitates a rethinking of MDB and financing strategies, and governance frameworks.

When asked whether current institutions can be restructured to address the challenges, N.K. Singh affirmed that they could. He stressed the importance of reforming MDBs to enhance their lending capacities and effectiveness in supporting climate finance needs. The key objectives of this reform include becoming "bigger, bolder, and better". MDBs can become better by reducing project processing times. They can become bolder by enhancing risk-taking capacity and bigger by expanding

MODERATOR



Christie Ulman

President, Sequoia Climate Foundation,
United States of America

SPEAKERS



N.K. Singh

Co-Convenor, G20 Independent Expert
Group on Strengthening MDBs; President,
Institute of Economic Growth; Chairperson,
Fifteenth Finance Commission;
Co-Convenor, Expert Group on MDB
Reforms, India



André Corrêa do Lago

President, COP30, Brazil



Angel Gurría

Former Secretary-General, Organisation
for Economic Co-operation and
Development; Honorary Member,
Club de Madrid



Pepukaye Bardouille

Director of the Bridgetown Initiative, Prime
Minister's Office, Barbados



financial capacity. He noted that while institutions must adapt, they should also be pragmatic. He also argued that more transactional and adaptable multilateralism should not be viewed negatively, as shareholders already exert influence over MDB operations.

André Corrêa do Lago, the President of COP30 in Brazil, shed light on the role of Brazil in enhancing the effectiveness of multilateral finance. He emphasised the importance of “thinking bigger” in climate finance and mainstreaming it into the broader economic system, rather than treating it as a separate funding mechanism. He stressed that traditional MDB instruments are insufficient for achieving the scaling up of funding from US\$300 billion to US\$1.3 trillion. He credited initiatives like Bridgetown for opening new pathways in climate finance and integrating climate considerations into financial and economic decisions.

The session transitioned to the Bridgetown Initiative, which has been pivotal in shaping global discussions on MDB reform and climate finance for vulnerable nations. Pepukaye Bardouille emphasised that while the Bridgetown Initiative is widely recognised, it operates along with a several initiatives that reinforce each other. It also benefits from not being an initiative with membership constraints. She agreed that the scale of financing required is immense, and current resources are very much insufficient. Development finance alone cannot drive progress, so trade policies and structural reforms are critical elements as well. The current trade system is extremely extractive and limits domestic value addition. Debt is another major challenge, especially for African countries. She highlighted the importance of changing the debt sustainability analysis framework to account for the economic benefits of investments in SDGs, climate adaptation, and resilience. To overcome these challenges, Bardouille stressed

the importance of domestic resource mobilisation, and private sector engagement. Debt swaps are also a viable solution, with Barbados aiming to generate US\$1 billion, or roughly 10 percent of its investment plan, by restructuring high-interest debt.

As the discussion pivoted to the adequacy of resources going to MDBs, Angel Gurría noted that the escalating climate finance needs have become more challenging due to certain policies that might constrain international financial institutions like the World Bank and the IMF. However, he proposed a solution which included increasing the capital of MDBs and leveraging it more effectively. By raising their leverage ratio closer to commercial banks, MDBs could bridge the funding gap. More broadly, he noted that practical MDB reforms could solve many challenges.

The central themes that emerged from the discussion were the urgent need for MDB reforms, greater engagement of the private sector, and innovative financial tools. The session concluded with reflections on the relationship between development and climate finance. The consensus was that they must go hand-in-hand, as sustainable development is not possible without climate investment.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

When the Centre Holds: India-EU Partnership and Global Stability

Shairee Malhotra

Day 3: March 19, 2025

This panel discussion, moderated by Amrita Narlikar explored the strategic significance of the India-EU partnership and prospects for collaboration in the context of European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen's visit to India with the full College of Commissioners in February 2025.

Anna Lührmann highlighted how the visit of the whole EU Collegium to India, as also its first trip outside Europe, is a testimony to the EU's commitment to deepen ties with India. Global developments, including the Russia-Ukraine war, issues relating to China, and the US retreat, make diversifying Europe's security, economic and political partnerships and the need to de-risk more important. The EU is stepping up its role as a global and defence actor, and India, as a value partner, can join the EU in multilateral fora to achieve a stable framework on climate and other issues so that the centre can really hold.

Jonatan Vseiov, reaffirmed the European Commission's visit to India as an important gesture. Europe and India are relatively big players and have an interest in an international system that is predictable and stable, but is currently under strain with basic

MODERATOR



Amrita Narlikar

Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

SPEAKERS



Anna Lührmann

Minister of State at the Federal Foreign Office, Germany



Jonatan Vseiov

Secretary General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Estonia



Tanmaya Lal

Secretary, West, Ministry of External Affairs, India



Kristina Kausch

Deputy Managing Director & Senior Fellow, German Marshall Fund South, United States of America



Garima Mohan

Senior Fellow, Indo-Pacific Program, German Marshall Fund, Germany



principles under attack. Despite differences in histories and geographies, Europe and India share a future and have stakes in the global order, which needs to be defended.

Tanmaya Lal highlighted that in today's transformational global context, the EU and India are the world's second and fifth largest economies, while being diverse democracies and market economies. There is immense interest and mutual benefit to deepen relations in trade, investment, technology, talent, innovation and research, and collaboration is ongoing in areas of digital transformation, green transition, supply resilience, defence and AI. India's engagement with the EU and bilaterally with member states has intensified over the last decade, and they have become strategic partners in a true sense.

Kristina Kausch alluded to the economic aspect of European strategic autonomy, which entails reaching out to a wide range of partners. Diversification is on the agenda not only for non-aligned middle powers but also for Europe, and systematic outreach to emerging global powers underlined the College of Commissioners' visit to India. Concerning connectivity projects, Kristina echoed Prime Minister Modi that the India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor (IMEEC) is a generational project rather than a short-term undertaking.

Garima Mohan, highlighted that China, as the biggest challenge for India in the Indo-Pacific, is the lens through which India views many of its partnerships. Therefore, ambiguities in Europe's approach to China were a key hindrance to the development of closer India-EU ties. This issue has now been eliminated as President von der Leyen during her visit highlighted the importance of both shared values and interests with India, the Draghi report on European competitiveness that mentions India, and

reducing dependence on China in critical sectors where India intends to move up the value chain. This has injected fresh enthusiasm into the relationship and also expanded opportunities, such as through the Trade and Technology Council.

Anna Lührmann supported the FTA negotiations and this year's ambition deadline set by both leaders, given the current geopolitical climate. She urged a look towards the future rather than the hurdles that characterised negotiations in the past and emphasised the need for a flexible approach. On disagreements on environmental and labour standards and market access for automobiles, Jonatan Vsevirov highlighted the complex and political nature of trade negotiations, particularly in democracies. Tanmaya Lal described how the wider geopolitical context is enabling a more pragmatic approach towards the FTA and injecting a new dynamism.

He reiterated the importance of multilateralism given the nature of interconnectedness and global challenges and advocated for a change to the status quo towards a more equitable system. Garima Mohan talked about the challenges that Europe and India face emanating from authoritarian regimes and the role of the State in emerging technology and digital domains on the one hand, and the newer challenge from the United States, where big tech is influencing legislation. She described how, rather than upending relations with the EU and member states, India's position on Ukraine and close ties with Russia have resulted in more conversations and an attempt on Europe's part to understand India's history and reasoning. Kristina Kausch referred to geopolitical instability in the Middle East, harmonisation of standards, and questions of financing as some of the key challenges confronting the implementation of the IMEC.

Overall, the panellists expressed optimism regarding the trajectory of India-EU ties, including the FTA negotiations that are being underpinned by strong political will and ambition as both Europe and India seek stable partnerships in today's volatile environment.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Made in Africa: The Continent that will shape our future

Samir Bhattacharya

Day 3: March 19, 2025

Africa has faced numerous challenges over the decades. With the recent onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, there have been discussions about how the continent can confront these challenges and seize the opportunities, leveraging its greater agency. Session Chair Elizabeth Sidiropoulos highlighted how the instability caused by different conflicts in various parts of Africa, Sudan, South Sudan, Congo and the Horn of Africa, as well as the pressing issue of economic debt, is hindering the growth of the continent. She opined that South Africa's G20 Presidency presents a significant opportunity for the continent to address some of its most pressing concerns.

Gwendoline Abunaw, drawing from her experience in the banking sector, emphasised the crucial role that the private sector can play in fostering the economic development of the African continent. She highlighted three key areas of focus: first, the financial inclusion of the unbanked population and women working in the informal sector; second, the development of infrastructure and connectivity; and third, the promotion of intra-regional trade to enhance economic integration within Africa.

MODERATOR



Elizabeth Sidiropoulos

Chief Executive, South African Institute of International Affairs, South Africa

SPEAKERS



Mehdi Jomaa

Former Prime Minister, Tunisia



Moussa Mara

Former Prime Minister, Mali;
Member, Club de Madrid



Sarah Agbor Anyang

Vice President, Forum for African Women Educationalist, Kenya; Former Commissioner, African Union



Gwendoline Abunaw

Managing Director, Ecobank, Cameroon



Karim El Aynaoui

Executive President, Policy Centre for the New South, Morocco



Sarah Agbor Anyang, with her extensive background in education, emphasised the critical importance of aligning skills development with industry needs. She highlighted the disconnect between the skills required by industries and the courses currently offered at universities. Referring to the African Union Agenda 2063, she underscored its vision for an integrated and prosperous Africa driven by a skilled citizenry. Additionally, she stressed the vital role of governments in Africa in facilitating collaboration between industry and academia, noting that the motivation of teachers could be a key factor in effectively imparting skills to the continent's youth, who constitute 70 percent of the population.

Moussa Mara, representing the conflict-affected region of Mali, shared his perspectives on how the instability in various regions could be effectively addressed. He highlighted that internal actors are often the root cause of many of these issues, particularly concerning economic challenges. While acknowledging the potential role of external actors in addressing some of these concerns, he emphasised the importance of prioritising the region's interests. He called for a concerted effort to organise the region, which, he argued, would enable African regions to engage with external actors more rationally and strategically, aligning with those genuinely interested in supporting the continent's development.

In the context of critical minerals, he underscored the significance of Mali as the third-largest gold producer in Africa. However, he pointed out the need to strengthen internal actors within these sectors, which are often poorly organised, underfunded, and insufficiently supported by the government. This lack of support hinders the ability to retain value in the raw materials extracted.

Mehdi Jomaa, emphasising the strategic location of his country and the benefits derived from it, discussed Tunisia's significant contributions over the years in sectors

such as education, health, and others. He expressed a bold vision of transforming Tunisia into a leading hub for technology, healthcare, and education in the region. Furthermore, he addressed the immigration issue, suggesting that Africa's youthful demographic could play a pivotal role in addressing the demographic challenges faced by the European subcontinent.

Karim El Aynaoui concluded by highlighting the significant challenges facing Africa, including the complex geopolitical environment, limited fiscal space, increasing social demands from the population, and ongoing structural issues. At the same time, he emphasised potential solutions to these challenges, advocating for a greater focus on agriculture and labour-intensive sectors to employ individuals with low skills. He also stressed the importance of improving policy areas with greater transparency and incentivising skill development as essential strategies for overcoming these obstacles, alongside substantial investment in human capital.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Valedictory Address by Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman, ORF

Rajoli Siddharth Jayaprakash

Day 3: March 19, 2025

Sunjoy Joshi thanked all the guests and speakers who joined and participated in the three-day Raisina Dialogue 2025 and promised to have a more exciting agenda next year, taking forward the ethos of Kalachakra. He shared some of the learning and lessons from this year's Raisina Dialogue.

He started by emphasising the importance of having a free-flowing conversation instead of a siloed discussion at a time when the world needs more of these. In this context, he highlighted the criticality of a platform such as Raisina Dialogue 2025, held in New Delhi, where difficult conversations with people from different geographies and perspectives occurred. Following this thought, he asked the audience why India has become a place to have such conversations as the Raisina Dialogue. Answering the question, he highlighted the role of Indian Epics, like the Mahabharata, a story consisting of multiple narratives connecting the past, present,



and future, a complex tale representing a complex world, reflecting today's time where complexity is mainstream. He said that, like today's time, the Mahabharata reflects a time of conflict, ambiguity, shades of grey, contradictory and flawed characters, and a world full of dilemmas and difficult choices.

Joshi shared that through the Raisina Dialogue 2025, the attempt was to bring forth to the audience this fundamental issue, the existence of complexity, and the difficulty of having ethical and moral choices in today's world, similar to what existed during Mahabharata and in today's world, emphasising the Kalachakra, the cycle of time. Bringing forth this aspect and highlighting the futility of war and fragile peace as a linear progression does not benefit anyone. He concluded that having battles over issues at tables rather than on the battlefield is the need of the hour and ended the address by proposing a Kurukshetra of ideas, Kalachakra.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

The Big Picture: The World in 50 Minutes

Vivek Mishra

Day 3: March 19, 2025

The world today finds itself at the intersection of great economic uncertainty, technological disruptions, and geopolitical changes. Moderated by Samir Saran, this session brought together a distinguished panel to discuss the major challenges and factors influencing political volatility, security challenges, and the evolving global order. While the risks ahead are substantial, the conversation also sheds light on emerging opportunities for cooperation and resilience.

The international landscape is increasingly marked by instability, with conflicts escalating on multiple fronts and traditional diplomatic mechanisms struggling to keep pace. Multilateral institutions, once the foundation of global governance, are now facing a legitimacy crisis as new power centres rise and challenge the established order. Carl Bildt pointed out that regional alliances are gaining more importance, sometimes even superseding broader international frameworks, raising concerns about a fragmented approach to global leadership. While there is an urgent need to reinvigorate multilateralism, he cautioned that reforms must acknowledge shifting geopolitical realities rather than attempt to restore outdated structures.

MODERATOR



Samir Saran

President, Observer Research Foundation, India

SPEAKERS



Carl Bildt

Former Prime Minister, Sweden



Anna Lührmann

Minister of State at the Federal Foreign Office, Germany



Mark Suzman

Chief Executive Officer and Board Member, Gates Foundation, United States of America



Marietje Schaake

International Policy Director, Cyber Policy Center, Stanford University, United States of America



Vikram Misri

Foreign Secretary, India



At the same time, the issue of democratic backsliding is becoming increasingly urgent. There is a rise in authoritarian tendencies, disinformation campaigns, and economic inequalities that are all eroding trust in our institutions. Anna Lührmann emphasised that political polarisation, especially in long-standing democracies, is making governance more precarious. The erosion of trust in democratic processes, driven by social media manipulation and populist rhetoric, is deepening the rifts within our societies. To combat these worrying trends, she believes that countries need to reaffirm their dedication to democratic principles and work together to uphold human rights and ensure transparency in governance.

As the world grapples with these governance challenges, the rapid pace of technological advancement brings both remarkable opportunities and significant risks. Innovations in digital technology, especially in artificial intelligence and cybersecurity, are moving faster than our regulatory systems can keep up, creating vulnerabilities that adversaries can exploit. Marietje Schaake underscored the perils of an unregulated digital landscape, noting how the weaponisation of information and cyber threats have the potential to jeopardise economies and national security. While technological innovation has transformed industries, she cautions that unchecked corporate influence in the digital space could threaten democratic accountability. A global framework for responsible technology governance is therefore urgently needed to ensure that digital progress benefits societies rather than exacerbates divides.

Beyond security concerns, technology is also crucial in addressing economic and health disparities. The post-pandemic recovery has been uneven and has been anything but smooth, especially for many developing countries that are still trying to rebuild their essential infrastructure and healthcare systems. Mark Suzman focused on the importance of investing in health, education, and innovation over the long haul to close these gaps. He emphasised that global development initiatives need to focus

on inclusivity, making sure that marginalised communities aren't left behind. In his view, public-private partnerships will be instrumental in achieving sustainable progress, particularly in areas where government resources are limited.

As global power dynamics shift, emerging economies are stepping up to take a more significant role in shaping international policy. India, one of the fastest-growing major economies, is right at the centre of this change. Vikram Misri noted that while traditional Western powers still hold sway over global governance, there's a growing call to make these institutions more representative of the Global South. India's involvement in forums like the G20 and BRICS reflects its dedication to promoting a more multipolar world, where leadership is shared rather than concentrated. However, finding the right balance between strategic partnerships and navigating great-power competition is no easy feat. India's diplomatic strategy thus needs to be both practical and forward-thinking, ensuring that its rising influence leads to genuine global leadership.

While the global order is under strain, it is not beyond repair. Geopolitical rivalries, democratic fragility, technological disruptions, along economic inequality pose serious risks, but they also present opportunities for innovation and collaboration. Reinventing multilateralism, strengthening governance frameworks, and ensuring equitable economic growth will be key to building a more stable and resilient future.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

The Curtain Call

Srijan Shukla

Day 3: March 19, 2025

Matthew Kaminski commenced the discussion by taking stock of the evolution of the global mediascape. In his view, there is more great journalism taking place at the moment than at any time before in the news media's history. In this era, the most successful media organisations are the ones that have a close relationship with their audiences and the societies they report on. In this regard, traditional media houses need to learn from their newer contemporaries if they want to continue being relevant in this age. The most successful organisations are the ones that are able to capture their desired audiences and build business models around them.

Speaking about the skills required to do good journalism, Kaminski contends that while breaking new stories continues to be an important aspect of the trade, the best journalists are the ones who look for the story behind a breaking or major news. He also breaks down the media's crisis of credibility. While citizens might have an unfavourable opinion of the larger media landscape, they continue to be deeply engaged with individual organisations and do not view them in such a poor light, he contends.

MODERATOR



Samir Saran

President, Observer Research Foundation, India

IN CONVERSATION WITH:



Palki Sharma

Managing Editor, Firstpost, India



Matthew Kaminski

Editor at Large, POLITICO, United States of America



Yalda Hakim

Lead World News Presenter, Sky News, United Kingdom



Palki Sharma echoes Kaminski's view on the ideal business model for news organisations, but adds that it is also time for the audiences to evolve, and they need to pay for their news. In the absence of audiences paying for their news consumption, media organisations will be forced to cater to their sources of income, such as sponsors. On the skills required to be a good journalist, she thinks that the prime prerequisite is having a hunger for new news stories and relentlessly chasing them. Young journalists need to accept that news is a full-time job, which often might come at the cost of an ideal work-life balance.

Yalda Hakim situates the current debate regarding the crisis of news credibility in a longer tradition of elite apprehension of new media sources, such as the Telegram. Moreover, with the rapid proliferation of news outlets, the premium on doing skilled journalism has also grown. Hakim voices Sharma's idea of journalism being a 24/7 job, and adds that in a globalised world, reporters need to constantly try and capture the same news from the perspective of different countries and stakeholders.

Reflecting on the prospect of peace in the Gaza-Israel war, Hakim takes a wider view of the developments in the larger Middle East. According to her, there are currently three overlapping trends underway. The Israeli leadership aims to decimate Hamas in its entirety; there is a lingering risk of Israeli strikes on Iran and the prospect of the US being pulled into it; rapid normalisation of Israel and Saudi Arabia's ties. Sharma agrees with Hakim's view and thinks that the odds of peace in Gaza are relatively slim.

Meanwhile, Kaminski has a dim view regarding the prospect of peace in the Russia-Ukraine war. According to him, through the course of the war, Russian President Vladimir Putin is using the war to stimulate his war economy and suppress internal opposition. This personal political stake in the continuity of war renders the likelihood of peace rather low.

On the question of how the US President Donald Trump's presidency is likely to play out through the course of the next four years, Kaminski thinks that what is essentially underway is a domestic political tussle in the US, especially within the Republican party. This battle for political domination will spill over into US's domestic and foreign policies. While responding to Trump remains a challenge for the rest of the world, countries should analyse his administration's actions on a case-by-case basis and separate the substance from the noise.

Sharma notes the Trump administration is more reckless and vengeful than the previous term, and is aiming to swiftly change both the domestic American system and the world order that it built in the post-war era. However, Hakim reckons that the US is a sprawling and complex polity, and just four years might not be sufficient to completely turn it around. However, she contends that the major shifts within the global order are underway, and the return to spheres of influence is imminent.

[Watch the full session here](#) 



kālachakra

PEOPLE PEACE PLANET

DPI CONCLAVE

Welcome Address - Vikram Misri, Foreign Secretary, India

Tanusha Tyagi

Day 3: March 19, 2025

In his welcome address, Vikram Misri, Foreign Secretary of India, highlighted India's pioneering approach to Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI). He emphasised how the Indian DPI framework has been a significant departure from the Western model, where digital infrastructure was facilitated by private corporations. In contrast, India has positioned DPI as a public good, providing a robust foundation for the private sector to innovate, build, and expand services across society.

While touching upon the history of India's DPI movement, he highlighted the country's consistent efforts to build inclusive digital systems that benefit citizens at all levels. Misri highlighted the potential of DPI for financial inclusion using JAM Trinity (Jan Dhan bank accounts, Aadhaar biometric identification, and Mobile connectivity) as an example. He also highlighted that Unified Payments Interface (UPI) processes 16 billion transactions monthly, representing over half of global electronic payments.

He noted the transformative impact Direct Benefit Transfers (DBT) have brought in streamlining welfare delivery. Since 2016, nearly a billion beneficiaries have received US\$450 billion, reducing leakages and enhancing transparency. He further highlighted how, during the COVID-19 pandemic, US\$9.3 billion was directly transferred to 420 million beneficiaries.

The Foreign Secretary also emphasised how India has emerged as a global leader in Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI). He mentioned how the India Stack solutions have gained international recognition through agreements with 19 countries, while UPI enables cross-border payments across seven nations, including Namibia, Peru, and Trinidad and Tobago.

CONCLAVE



The Foreign Secretary emphasised global collaboration as a fundamental requirement in his address. He stressed the necessity of creating standard systems which provide safe and inclusive solutions that build trust between users. He considers the G20 New Delhi Leaders' Declaration a major advancement in international DPI cooperation.

In conclusion, he reaffirmed India's commitment to supporting countries in adopting DPI by offering technological expertise, financial resources, and capacity-building support. He expressed optimism that the transformative potential witnessed in India could be replicated worldwide, making digital infrastructure a catalyst for inclusive growth and resilient governance.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

In conversation with Amandeep Singh Gill, Under-Secretary-General and Secretary-General's Envoy for Digital and Emerging Technology, United Nations

Tanusha Tyagi

Day 3: March 19, 2025

This conversation between Amandeep Singh Gill and Rudra Chaudhuri explored the evolving landscape of digital public infrastructure (DPI), its global implications, and the challenges of implementation.

He highlighted the growing global consensus on DPI, particularly following the adoption of the Global Digital Compact (GDC). This milestone has elevated DPI from a regional success story to a globally recognised development model. He noted that the GDC has universalised the G20's consensus on DPI, reinforcing its role as a transformative tool for economic and social progress. However, Gill underscored that implementation remains a key challenge, urging countries to move beyond conceptual understanding to actual application. The DPI Safeguards Framework, co-developed with UNDP, was emphasised as a critical resource to ensure responsible and inclusive DPI deployment.

He underscored the need to break down digital silos by promoting interoperability and cross-border collaboration. He advocated for continuous innovation in DPI, emphasising that systems must evolve through ongoing knowledge exchange and stakeholder engagement. According to him, fostering public-private partnerships is essential to pool resources, expertise, and insights. This collaborative approach, supported by regional institutions and global partners like the UN and multilateral banks, can unlock the full potential of DPI.

Recognising the transformative potential of Artificial Intelligence (AI), Gill called for global cooperation to ensure AI benefits are equitably distributed. He encouraged collaborative innovation, particularly in sectors like climate resilience and agriculture, where AI can provide transformative solutions. He emphasised the importance of preventing the monopolisation of AI resources, particularly in regions lacking access to essential computing infrastructure.



Trust and transparency were central to his remarks. He stressed the importance of the DPI Safeguards Framework in establishing trust among citizens and stakeholders. Collaborations with institutions such as the World Bank and Asian Development Bank (ADB) were highlighted as pathways to ensure these safeguards are effectively implemented. He also urged policymakers to prioritise citizen-centric approaches when designing DPIs, emphasising data privacy and security.

In his concluding remarks, Gill emphasised that DPI is not a one-size-fits-all solution. Each implementation must be adapted to local contexts, drawing inspiration from India's experience with the India Stack. By fostering inclusive, responsible, and collaborative approaches, he asserted that DPI could serve as a transformative force for equitable development globally.

Finally, Gill discussed the role of the UN in fostering global cooperation. He highlighted the organisation's strengths, including its ability to convene nations and uphold international values. He also emphasised the importance of balancing multilateral, bilateral, and regional initiatives to achieve inclusive digital development.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

DPI Accelerating Innovation

Tanusha Tyagi

Day 3: March 19, 2025

This panel explored digital public infrastructure (DPI) fostering innovation, supporting public-private collaboration, and navigating challenges related to interoperability and security. The conversation reflected on practical applications from around the world, lessons learned, and potential pathways for enhancing DPI to benefit societies and economies.

Innar Liiv highlighted Estonia's approach to DPI, focusing on how the public sector must play a central role in driving digital transformation. He noted that Estonia's digital identity and secure data exchange systems have enabled significant innovation, offering a strong foundation for private sector growth. Instead of creating technology, Estonia focused on implementing practical use cases that directly benefit citizens and businesses.

Liiv also addressed the economic implications of DPI, challenging the notion that public infrastructure cannot generate financial returns. He argued that streamlined digital services lead to cost savings, increased efficiency, and enhanced public trust. Additionally, the availability of reliable data from DPI systems fosters new business opportunities, encouraging further private sector investment.

MODERATOR



Pranjal Sharma

Economic Analyst and Author, India

SPEAKERS



Innar Liiv

Professor of Big Data, Tallinn University of Technology, Estonia



Shriyanka Hore

Managing Director, Global Head of Industry Engagement, Swift



Tshering Cigay Dorji

Former Chief Executive Officer, Thimphu TechPark, Bhutan



During the discussion, a comparison was drawn between SWIFT and UPI, prompting Shriyanka Hore to offer a clarifying perspective. She explained that while UPI has emerged as a robust retail payment system, SWIFT functions primarily as a financial information exchange network. Unlike UPI, SWIFT does not handle payment settlements but facilitates the secure exchange of information between financial institutions. Founded over 50 years ago, long before the concept of DPI existed, SWIFT was a pioneer in the digitisation of financial communication. Hore emphasised the importance of interoperability across financial systems, noting SWIFT's pivotal role in standardising global financial messaging through ISO 20022 standards. She also highlighted SWIFT's cooperative structure, operating on a not-for-profit basis, which reinvests its profits into maintaining the security and resilience of the global financial system.

Tshering Cigay Dorji shared Bhutan's digital journey, reflecting on the challenges faced in achieving interoperability. He described how fragmented IT systems initially led to inefficiencies and emphasised the importance of establishing a unified e-governance framework. Bhutan's successful implementation of a National Digital ID system based on self-sovereign identity principles was highlighted as a crucial step in creating secure, seamless services. Dorji praised India's leadership in promoting DPI as a model for other nations, particularly in the Global South.

The conversation then shifted to data security and privacy concerns. Innar advocated for Estonia's "once-only" principle, ensuring that data is only collected once and shared securely across systems, minimising redundancy and enhancing privacy. He also suggested the concept of individuals monetising their data through regulated data marketplaces, which could empower users and create economic opportunities.

Hore echoed the importance of maintaining trust in digital systems. She emphasised that fragmentation and interoperability are interconnected challenges. While smaller ecosystems may innovate rapidly, larger systems require standardised frameworks to ensure seamless data exchange. She pointed out the increasing complexity of managing digital identities globally, with over 236 digital identity systems in existence. Standardisation, she argued, is key to scaling DPI and ensuring resilience in cross-border financial systems.

The panel also touched upon the growing role of digital currencies and tokenised deposits. Hore explained the nuances of central bank digital currencies (CBDCs) and stablecoins, highlighting how regulations and technological advancements are shaping this space. She emphasised the need for balanced regulation to foster innovation while ensuring financial stability.

Dorji reiterated the need for regional collaboration in the Global South to exchange best practices and develop interoperable systems. He emphasised that India's commitment to knowledge sharing and technology transfer has created opportunities for countries like Bhutan to leapfrog traditional development pathways.

Concluding the session, the panellists agreed that the evolving landscape of DPI presents both opportunities and challenges. Effective implementation, enhanced interoperability, and robust security frameworks are essential for realising the full potential of DPI. They also underscored the importance of fostering trust and ensuring inclusive participation in the digital economy.

The discussion provided valuable insights into how governments, private sector entities, and international organisations can work together to accelerate innovation through DPI, paving the way for inclusive and resilient digital ecosystems.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Ministerial Address
E. P. Chet Greene,
Minister of Foreign
Affairs, Antigua &
Barbuda

Tanusha Tyagi

Day 3: March 19, 2025

Minister E. P. Chet Greene of Antigua and Barbuda in his ministerial address, expressed gratitude for the opportunity to discuss the transformative potential of Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) and Artificial Intelligence (AI) in shaping sustainable development, economic growth, and public service delivery, especially for small island developing states such as Antigua and Barbuda.

Greene outlined the challenges faced by small island developing states (SIDS), including limited financial resources, scarcity of skilled professionals, and difficulties in achieving economies of scale. Despite these challenges, he emphasised the determination of these nations to leverage DPI and AI for inclusive growth, climate resilience, and public service improvement.



He praised India's success in implementing DPI solutions and proposed a deeper collaboration between Antigua and Barbuda, the wider Caribbean, and India. His first proposal involved using Antigua and Barbuda as a test site for scalable AI and DPI solutions in three key areas: public service delivery, climate adaptation and disaster management, and sustainable development. He stressed the importance of AI-driven analytics for early warning systems and disaster response.

In his second proposal, he called for Indian technological leaders and academic institutions to conduct a detailed joint study on how best to transfer India's expertise to Antigua and Barbuda and other Caribbean stakeholders. This would include capacity-building initiatives in collaboration with the University of the West Indies and the establishment of public-private partnerships to ensure financial sustainability.

Greene invited Indian private sector participation in these initiatives, emphasising the importance of South-South cooperation. He hoped that these partnerships would drive inclusive progress and demonstrate the leadership of the Global South in technological innovation.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

DPI Diplomacy: Building Bridges, Benefiting Nations

Tanusha Tyagi

Day 3: March 19, 2025

This panel explored how digital public infrastructure is fostering international cooperation and addressing developmental challenges. With India leading the way through its cost-effective and scalable DPI solutions, panellists highlighted the global relevance of these systems in enhancing financial inclusion, public service delivery, and government efficiency.

Rohit Rathish emphasised India's approach to tailoring DPI solutions to meet the diverse needs of partner countries, particularly in the Global South. He highlighted how India has signed numerous Memorandums of Understanding (MoUs) and initiated pilot projects to deploy customised digital systems, ranging from digital identity platforms to payment systems. Capacity-building was also a core component, with India supporting partner countries in strengthening digital literacy and institutional capabilities. Rathish stressed that demonstrating the impact of DPI would naturally attract funding and support, especially in resource-constrained regions.

CV Madhukar underscored the importance of moving away from a technology-first approach to a use-case-driven model for DPI

MODERATOR



Anirban Sarma

Director, Center for Digital Societies,
Observer Research Foundation, India

SPEAKERS



Rohit Rathish

Joint Secretary [DPA-III], Minister of
External Affairs, India



C V Madhukar

Chief Executive Officer,
Co- Develop, India



Erin Watson

Managing Director, Baker & York,
Australia



Sarah Agbor Anyang

Vice President, Forum for African Women
Educationalists (FAWE), Kenya; Former
Commissioner, African Union



Sanjay Jain

Director, DPI, Gates Foundation, India



implementation. He noted that identifying the specific challenges a country aims to address is crucial for successful adoption. Drawing from his experience at Co-Develop, which supports DPI implementation in 22 countries, Madhukar explained that clearly defining the intended beneficiary experience often reveals deeper issues that require tailored solutions. He also highlighted the need for balanced implementation, combining technological deployment with robust safeguards to ensure inclusion and data security. Madhukar further challenged the notion of DPI as solely a Global South concept, asserting that all countries, including those in the Global North, could benefit from foundational DPI systems. He pointed out that mature economies currently account for a disproportionate share of global technology spending, leaving developing countries with limited resources. In this context, DPI presents a financially sustainable pathway for governments to achieve digital maturity and improve public service delivery.

Sanjay Jain elaborated on India's DPI journey, emphasising how the country's adoption of privacy-by-design principles and interoperability has created a resilient and efficient system. The Aadhaar system, UPI, and other digital platforms have generated significant government savings, estimated at US\$42 billion. India's experience also demonstrated the role of DPI in crisis response, particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic, when the infrastructure facilitated swift vaccine distribution and financial aid transfers.

Jain also pointed to the growing international recognition of DPI's benefits, with many countries adopting open-source technologies based on India's models. He emphasised the importance of knowledge-sharing and DPI diplomacy in fostering collaboration between governments, multilateral institutions, and private sector players. Through cooperative efforts, countries can reduce implementation costs, ensure interoperability, and strengthen digital resilience.

Sara Agbor Anyang focused on the need for digital literacy and local capacity-building in African countries to fully harness DPI's potential. She called for alignment with the African Union's Agenda 2063, which envisions a digitally empowered and integrated continent. Agbor emphasised the importance of training local software developers, engineers, and entrepreneurs to build and maintain DPI systems, reducing reliance on foreign tech firms and ensuring data sovereignty. By promoting inclusive digital participation, particularly among marginalised groups, DPI can drive socioeconomic progress across Africa.

Erin Watson highlighted the essential role of the private sector in facilitating DPI adoption and cross-border interoperability. Reflecting on her experience in Australia, she expressed concerns about the country's lack of progress in establishing a universal digital ID and interoperable payment systems. Watson called for Australian financial institutions to take the lead, drawing inspiration from successful collaborations like Singapore's DBS Bank, which facilitated UPI interoperability. She stressed that by engaging with India's DPI model, countries in the Global North could modernise their financial systems and strengthen economic ties.

The panel concluded with a consensus on the transformative potential of DPI in promoting inclusive growth, resilience, and international collaboration. By focusing on local needs, ensuring data security, and fostering public-private partnerships, countries can maximise the benefits of DPI. India's experience serves as a valuable blueprint for nations seeking to build their digital ecosystems, paving the way for a more connected and equitable digital future.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Navigating the DPI-AI Nexus: Balancing Data, Privacy, and Progress

Tanusha Tyagi

Day 3: March 19, 2025

Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) operates at a population scale, offering simplified services to vast populations, however, personalisation remains a challenge. By integrating Artificial Intelligence (AI) with DPI, it becomes possible to deliver personalised, adaptive services while maintaining scale. This transformative synergy enhances DPI's capabilities, unlocking new opportunities while also presenting challenges that warrant thoughtful discussion.

Sharad Sharma highlighted how AI can supercharge Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) by making large-scale services more personalised and responsive. While DPI ensures broad access, AI's ability to analyse vast datasets means citizens can receive tailored services that meet their individual needs. From improving public service delivery to unlocking economic opportunities, the AI-DPI synergy has immense potential.

However, Sharma emphasised that responsible AI adoption would be the key. Ethical considerations, data protection, and algorithmic

MODERATOR



Rahul Matthan
Partner, Trilegal, India

SPEAKERS



Sanket S. Bhondve
Joint Secretary, Ministry of Electronics & Information Technology, India



Dushni Weerakoon
Executive Director, Institute of Policy Studies of Sri Lanka, Sri Lanka



Nitin Seth
Co-founder and Chief Executive Officer, Incedo, United States of America



Sabeen Malik
Vice President, Global Government Affairs and Public Policy, Rapid7, United States of America



Sharad Sharma
Co-Founder, iSPIRT, India



transparency must be prioritised to build and maintain public trust. He called for AI systems that serve the public good, ensuring fairness and accountability.

He also praised India's leadership in promoting inclusive digital ecosystems globally. Through initiatives like the India Stack Global and G20 partnerships, India is helping other nations adopt DPI models. By fostering cross-border collaboration and knowledge sharing, Sharma highlighted how India's experiences can contribute to building resilient and inclusive digital systems worldwide.

Nitin Seth noted that while discussions around AI often focus on GPUs and foundation models, the real opportunity lies in developing industry-specific applications. India has the potential to dominate this application layer, fostering a wave of AI-driven entrepreneurship. He made a point on how the threat of job losses due to AI implementation across multiple sectors is a very big concern, predicting that up to 50 percent of global jobs could be affected within 15 years. For India, with its large, young workforce, the only viable solution is entrepreneurship. DPI serves as a "secret weapon" in this regard, providing the necessary infrastructure to support AI startups.

He stressed the need to build sector-specific data ecosystems, layered with accessible AI models. He believes this would reduce the burden on startups, which currently face high compute costs and fragmented data landscapes. He called for a shift in the DPI's focus from just citizen services to actively enabling the startup ecosystem. Establishing DPI 2.0 would require a more integrated approach, creating AI and data products that interconnect seamlessly across sectors. For Nitin, making this a national priority is essential to both mitigate job losses and unlock India's entrepreneurial potential.

Sabeen Malik underscored the urgent need to prioritise security within DPI, especially as AI integrates further. While India has established robust safeguards, challenges like biometric data protection, deepfakes, and financial fraud persist. She called for stronger data integrity measures, national-level risk assessments, and adversarial testing to uncover vulnerabilities. Emphasising the role of public-private partnerships, Malik advocated for collaborative efforts to develop best practices and voluntary certifications. Ultimately, she stressed that trust in DPI comes from transparent governance and proactive security, ensuring these systems remain resilient while unlocking AI's transformative potential.

Dushni Weerakoon approached the DPI and AI conversation from an economist's perspective, focusing on their potential to drive government objectives like reducing poverty, reducing inequality, and promoting long-term economic growth. She emphasised that DPI collects large-scale, standardised, and high-quality data, often free from the biases present in internet-sourced data. This makes DPI-generated data a valuable resource for AI applications in public services.

Weerakoon called for greater regional collaboration, suggesting that countries like Sri Lanka could benefit more from India's experiences rather than relying solely on distant models from Singapore or the United Kingdom. Facilitating knowledge exchange, investing in regulatory capacity, and promoting cross-border dialogue can help ensure that both DPI and AI fulfil their potential in advancing inclusive development.

Sanket S. Bhondve highlighted the significant strides India has made with the AI Mission and the establishment of DPI as a dedicated focus under MEITY. He emphasised that DPI goes beyond technology, impacting social, economic, and cultural spheres. Additionally, he underscored the importance of real-time, high-quality datasets as the backbone of AI systems. The upcoming standards framework, developed collaboratively, will promote cross-border interoperability and benefit both public and private sectors, empowering individuals, like farmers, with accessible data for informed decision-making.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Keynote Address

**S. Krishnan, Secretary,
Ministry of Electronics
and Information
Technology, India**

Tanusha Tyagi

Day 3: March 19, 2025

In his keynote address, S. Krishnan emphasised how digital public infrastructure (DPI) can drive democratisation and inclusion. For DPI to truly serve everyone, he said that it must tackle challenges like limited connectivity, digital literacy gaps, and device accessibility. India's mobile-first strategy and substantial investments in connectivity infrastructure have been key in reducing these barriers.

Krishnan underscored the importance of creating user-friendly digital systems, advocating for intuitive design that passes the "mom test"—meaning even those less familiar with technology can navigate it with ease. This principle, he noted, ensures that technological innovations remain accessible to people of all ages and backgrounds.



Discussing the transformative role of Artificial Intelligence (AI), Krishnan explained how AI can enhance accessibility, especially through voice-based technologies that help individuals with limited literacy engage with digital platforms. He stressed the need to prioritise data privacy and security, referencing India's Digital Personal Data Protection Act as a framework that safeguards user data while encouraging responsible data use.

He also spoke about the India AI Mission, which champions collaboration between the private sector, academia, and startups. By fostering innovation and partnerships, the initiative aims to unlock AI's potential across sectors like agriculture, healthcare, and small businesses. Krishnan highlighted AI's potential to augment human capabilities rather than replace them, emphasising the opportunity to upskill and redeploy workers, ensuring AI's benefits are shared across society.

Concluding his remarks, Krishnan reaffirmed India's commitment to using technology as a force for inclusive development and equitable growth. With its proactive approach to DPI and AI, he expressed confidence that India can lead by example in addressing societal challenges and boosting economic productivity. His address reflected a vision where technology empowers individuals, strengthens communities, and fosters shared progress.

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Ministerial Address
Arzu Rana Deuba,
Minister for Foreign
Affairs, Nepal

Tanusha Tyagi

Day 3: March 19, 2025

Minister Arzu Rana Deuba's address at the DPI Conclave emphasised Nepal's commitment to inclusive digital transformation. She noted how the digital economy has been a key driver of growth and social inclusion, making discussions around digital infrastructure particularly significant.

She presented Nepal's digital trajectory and outlined Nepal's progress in establishing digital public infrastructure, similar to India's Aadhaar and UPI systems. She noted how Nepal's National Identity Card initiative, launched in 2008, aims to provide citizens with secure digital identities, while the Nepal Rastra Bank's digital payment initiatives have reached 78 percent of adults in 2024.

Despite this progress, Deuba acknowledged the challenges Nepal faces in implementing Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI), such as the country's rugged terrain and resource constraints have created significant connectivity gaps, particularly in remote areas. Additionally, the public sector struggles to attract and retain skilled IT professionals due to competitive private sector opportunities. Cybersecurity remains another concern, with emerging threats requiring more robust protection mechanisms.

Under the Digital Nepal Framework, she noted that Nepal remains committed to expanding digital connectivity and fortifying cybersecurity. She pointed to the forthcoming Personal Data Protection Act as a reflection of the government's commitment to safeguarding citizens' privacy.

On the international front, Deuba underscored the potential of DPI diplomacy to enhance regional cooperation. She told how Initiatives like the Nepal-India MOU for cross-border digital payments serve as examples of how DPI can facilitate trade and tourism. She pressed for further regional collaborations through frameworks like BIMSTEC, fostering digital integration and shared prosperity.



Discussing the transformative impact of AI, she highlighted its applications in agriculture, healthcare, and education. However, she warned of ethical challenges, algorithmic biases, and data privacy concerns, calling for global standards, such as those proposed by UNESCO, to ensure responsible AI development.

In her concluding remarks, Arzu expressed Nepal's commitment to leveraging DPI for inclusive development and resilience. By working together, she believes both countries can create equitable digital ecosystems to harness technology as a force for good, ensuring no one is left behind in the digital age.

[Watch the full session here](#) 



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PEOPLE PEACE PLANET

AGENDA



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PEOPLE PEACE PLANET

PROGRAMME

Please note that the agenda is subject to change. Kindly refer to the online version for the most up-to-date schedule.

DAY ONE: MONDAY, MARCH 17, 2025

1100-1150

Mumtaz

Curtain Raisers

Stress Test: Treaties Face Moment of Truth

Globalisation fatigue and populist politics have reduced the space available for long-term engagement. Treaties, agreements, and relationships of the past are being recast, revised, and reinterpreted. This panel will explore how old partnerships can be made for contemporary realities.

- Which aspects of past partnerships need to be shed and what imperatives added?
- How should we understand security guarantees, trade agreements, and development assistance in the era of short-term commitments?
- Are leaders willing to be straightforward with their citizens about political and economic sacrifices that might be required in this new world? What emerging opportunities could they highlight?

Szu-Chien Hsu, Advisor, Taiwan Foundation for Democracy

Władysław Teofil Bartoszewski, Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland

Stephen Biegun, Senior Vice President, Global Public Policy, Boeing & Former Deputy Secretary of State, United States of America

Carolin Albrecht, Managing Director, Berlin Global Dialogue, Germany

Valbona Zeneli, Non-Resident Senior Fellow, Europe Center, Atlantic Council, United States of America

Moderator: Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India

1100-1215

Roshanara

Curtain Raisers

Churning the Indo-Pacific: Investment, Innovation and Energy

Nations across the Indo-Pacific are expanding clean energy and green growth ambitions. This roundtable will examine clean energy collaborations in India, the Indo-Pacific, and beyond, focusing on innovations in renewable energy, battery capacity, and hydrogen use. It will deepen strategic engagement on these sectors in India, Japan, and other countries, and explore how key partnerships can accelerate clean energy transition in the Indo-Pacific by leveraging regional supply chains and innovative financial mechanisms.

- How can like-minded nations leverage existing partnerships to create a stronger financial ecosystem for clean energy investments?
- Which regions and sectors offer the most attractive investment opportunities for battery innovation and manufacturing?
- What de-risking mechanisms are needed to attract large-scale private investments in clean energy and decarbonisation technologies?
- What role can joint ventures and technology transfer play in strengthening clean energy infrastructure in emerging economies? What is the role of government policies and regulatory frameworks?

Chaired by: *Ajay Tyagi*, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

Initiators

- Karan Bilimoria**, Member, House of Lords, United Kingdom
Maggie Sprenger, Co-Founder and General Partner, Audere Capital, United States of America
Osamu Yamamoto, Chief Executive Officer, Unison Capital Management Pte. Ltd., Japan
Ruchira Shukla, Co-Founder & Managing Partner, Synapses, India
Sara Ahmadian, Founder, Anar Ventures, United States of America

1230-1320

Mumtaz

Curtain Raisers at *Mumtaz*

Guardians and Angels: Preventing Disinvestment from Development

Geopolitics is increasingly diverting global attention and resources away from the development needs of the Global South. Accessing funds for food, health, and education has become more difficult. Multilateralism has been undermined by the exceptionalism of major powers, hindering global cooperation on sustainable development. Most of the world desires a return to prioritising development over conflict and geo-economic one-upmanship. This panel will discuss how to refocus global efforts on cooperation for sustainable development.

- How have recent geopolitical crises led to a de-prioritisation of development goals?
- How can development financing be ring-fenced as security-focused economic policies become a global priority?
- Who can assume leadership to ensure that the emerging world puts its development agenda at the centre of future crisis management?
- What are the sectors most at risk from this de-prioritisation of development?

- Andreas Schaal**, Director, Global Relations and Co-operation and Sherpa to the G7, G20 and APEC, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
Susan Ferguson, Country Representative India, UN Women
Pamla Gopaul, Senior Programme Officer, Data Analyst, African Union Development Agency
Sonam Yangchen, Health Policy and Systems Researcher, Institute of Health Partners, Bhutan
Vanita Sharma, Advisor, Strategic Initiatives, Reliance Foundation, India
Moderator: **Louise van Schaik**, Head of Unit EU & Global Affairs, Clingendael, Netherlands

Curtain Raisers

Crisis Coordination: New Economic Order Imperatives

With the West retreating from its role as the maker and keeper of rules, there is increasing instability in the global economic order. The rules of economic engagement will, from now on, have to be framed in association with the Global South, to ensure hard-won gains in growth do not fall victim to policy caprice. This panel will examine how the global macroeconomic environment interacts with geopolitical and geoeconomic currents, and how the international financial architecture must respond to new challenges.

- How do policymakers perceive globalisation in an age of geopolitical turbulence and polarisation?
- How are geopolitical tensions reshaping fiscal and monetary strategies, trade, and investment flows?
- How can developing nations respond to the fiscal and growth challenges posed by increasing uncertainty?
- Can they redefine their role in the G20, International Monetary Fund, and World Bank to better align global governance with economic realities?
-

Markus Brunnermeier, Edwards S. Sanford Professor, Economics Department; Director, Bendheim Center for Finance, Princeton University, United States of America

Poonam Gupta, Director General, National Council of Applied Economic Research, India

Pravin Krishna, Chung Ju Yung Distinguished Professor of International Economics and Business, Johns Hopkins University, United States of America

Riatu Mariatul Qibthiyah, Senior Researcher, Institute for Economic and Social Research, Faculty of Economics and Business, University of Indonesia; Special staff to Minister of Planning Agency, Indonesia

Udaibir Das, Distinguished Fellow, ORFAmerica, United States of America

Moderator: Radhicka Kapoor, Senior Employment Specialist, Decent Work Team for South Asia, International Labour Organization

DAY ONE: MONDAY, MARCH 17, 2025

1800-1900	Durbar
	Inaugural Session
1900-1945	Transition
1945-2145	Shahjehan

Inaugural Dinners
(By Invite Only)

Welcome Remarks: Vikram Misri, Foreign Secretary, India

Featured Address: India's Tech Journey: Innovation, Transformation, and the Road Ahead
Nandan Nilekani, Co-Founder and Chairman, Infosys, India

Panel Discussion: Compete and Cooperate: Securing the Future

Globalisation is being reshaped by a triad of factors: security concerns and sanctions; economic nationalism; and the search for resilience and trust. The structure of re-globalisation emerging under these conditions will impact trade, connectivity, and investment. This panel will examine the contours of the emerging geo-economic order and discuss how investments—including in connectivity—affect growth and national security. It will also address the various ways in which nations respond to demands to choose between geo-economic poles.

- How can re-globalisation balance national security concerns with the need for open, inclusive, and sustainable economic networks? How are security concerns being communicated to enterprise and industry?
- How are countries that serve as hubs of trade and finance responding to the forces that pressure them to take sides? Will it give them greater or lesser agency?
- Can existing trade networks remain viable? How will new infrastructure be designed and financed amidst this global churn?
- What role does trust play in economic decisions today? How can countries and companies build trust in and with each other?

Tanja Fajon, Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Slovenia

Hassan El Khatib, Minister of Investment and Foreign Trade, Egypt

Maka Botchorishvili, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Georgia

Jonathan Powell, National Security Adviser, United Kingdom

Rizwan Soomar, Chief Executive Officer and Managing Director, Middle East, North Africa and India Subcontinent, DP World, United Arab Emirates

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

DAY ONE: MONDAY, MARCH 17, 2025

1945-2145	Mumtaz
Inaugural Dinners (By Invite Only)	<p>Concert of Oceans: Towards A Digital Indo-Pacific</p> <p>The Indo-Pacific region will increasingly be shaped by technology partnerships on cybersecurity and the digital economy, particularly in payments, data flows, and supply chains. As QUAD, ASEAN, BIMSTEC, and other regional stakeholders develop their policies, it may have now become possible to create an interconnected ecosystem—a 'Digital Ocean'. This panel will explore how countries across the region can enhance cooperation on governance, as well as develop a vision that promotes economic security, innovation, and resilience.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How can the Indo-Pacific region balance digital innovation with user privacy and data sovereignty across diverse regulatory landscapes? • What are the threats and vulnerabilities that confront this sector? What is the response to them? How can like-minded countries partner to respond to cyber threats and make the digital space safe and secure? • What are the innovative models for public-private partnerships that Indo-Pacific countries can embrace to accelerate fintech adoption, especially in underserved markets? • How can regional stakeholders in the Indo-Pacific create a unified framework that secures cross-border data flows, ensures that digital trade and investment thrive, and does not compromise cybersecurity? • <p>Liew Chin Tong, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Investment, Trade, and Industry, Malaysia Amit Shukla, Joint Secretary, Cyber Diplomacy Division, Ministry of External Affairs, India Marcus Bartley Johns, Senior Director, Asia Government Affairs and Regulatory Lead, Microsoft, Japan Melissa Conley Tyler, Executive Director, Asia-Pacific Development, Diplomacy & Defence Dialogue, Australia Sabeen Malik, Vice President, Global Government Affairs and Public Policy, Rapid7, United States of America Moderator: Sharon Stirling, Chief Operating Officer, ORF America, United States of America</p>
1945-2145	Roshanara
Inaugural Dinners (By Invite Only)	<p>Resilience and Diversification: The Trade Recast</p> <p>Conversation with Piyush Goyal, Minister for Commerce and Industry, India Moderator: Ashok Malik, Partner and Chair, India Practice, The Asia Group, India</p>

DAY ONE: MONDAY, MARCH 17, 2025

1945-2145	Jehangir
Inaugural Dinners (By Invite Only)	<p>Making Money Meet Mitigation: Green Finance and Nativist Risks</p> <p>Finance is central to the fight against climate change. Directing capital towards sustainable projects reduces greenhouse gas emissions and promotes resilient green growth. However, traditional financing may not be designed for the unique challenges faced by the Global South, and innovative financing instruments such as hedging mechanisms, guarantees, and green bonds are essential. Integrating climate considerations with development finance and aligning investments with the Paris Agreement goals are imperatives for a sustainable and equitable future. This panel will explore innovative financing for a resilient future.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How can governments and global regulatory bodies promote responsible and sustainable financial practices? • What innovative financing mechanisms and de-risking instruments can help make green transitions more affordable in the Global South? • What are the social and ecological consequences of financial practices that prioritise short-term profits over long-term environmental health? • Is the Conference of the Parties (COP) still effective in addressing climate change, or has it outlived its benefits? Should new forums be established to tackle the issues of green financing and equity between the Global North and Global South? <p>Angel Gurría, Former Secretary-General, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development; Honorary Member, Club de Madrid Amitabh Kant, G20 Sherpa, India Ornela Cuci, Former Vice Minister of Environment and Tourism, Albania Osamu Yamamoto, Chief Executive Officer, Unison Capital Management Pte. Ltd., Japan Yasmine Moezinia, Program Director, Climate Finance, Sequoia Climate Foundation, United States of America Moderator: Mannat Jaspal, Director and Fellow, Climate and Energy, ORF Middle East, United Arab Emirates</p>
2145-2220	Break

DAY ONE: MONDAY, MARCH 17, 2025

2220-2310	Mumtaz
<p>Conversations Over Kahwa</p> <p>(For Speakers and Delegates only)</p>	<p>Secret City: Agents, Aid, Agenda</p> <p>In today's world, aid, trade, and influence operations are perceived as being readily interchangeable tools of foreign policy. Given the growth of concerns about development agencies and their weaponisation, possible political agendas underlying such cross-border mechanisms is the subject of domestic and international discussion. This panel explores the games states play and how aid agencies and the private sector further their strategic interests.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are the revelations about USAID just the tip of the iceberg? Will this result in irreparable damage to development agencies or will it make this sector more transparent? • How can we protect the SDGs from the subversive agendas of nations and corporations? What will rebuild trust? • Will domestic social sector organisations dither from partnering with foreign nations? Will countries now demand full transparency and accountability from donor agencies like India and some others do? • What can be done to prevent international organisations from being hijacked by nations and non-state actors to further their own interests? <p>Sanjeev Sanyal, Member, Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council, India Jürgen Stock, Former Secretary General, INTERPOL Ayoade Alakija, Chair, Board of Directors, FIND; Co-Chair, G7 Impact Investment Initiative on Global Health Bonnie Glick, Adjunct Senior Fellow, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, United States of America Kaush Arha, President, Free & Open Indo-Pacific Forum, United States of America Moderator: Padmaja Joshi, Senior Executive Editor, TV9 Group, India</p>
2220-2310	Roshanara
<p>Conversations Over Kahwa</p> <p>(For Speakers and Delegates only)</p>	<p>As Atlantis Sinks, Does China Rise?</p> <p>The transatlantic relationship, keystone of the global order since 1945, is now under intense pressure. Sharpening divisions over trade, technology, culture, and climate change, compounded by the looming question of the future of America's security guarantee to Europe, threaten a head-on collision. This panel will deliberate on the winners and losers in this emerging confrontation.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is Europe the new frontline in America's culture wars? Does it face the choice of either aligning with the current US administration's cultural agenda or enduring a transatlantic decoupling that pushes it towards a China that does not share its values? • Is the US salami-slicing Europe by selectively engaging with its EU partners? What implications does this have for the future of European unity? • Has Europe been excessively dependent on US guarantees and become incapable of surviving as an industrial or security actor on its own? • Can Europe wean itself off from economic interdependence with China? Will it even feel the need to do so if the transatlantic alliance frays beyond repair? Who will win the battle for the soul and treasury of Europe: Washington DC, or Beijing? <p>Kishore Mahbubani, Distinguished Fellow, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore Theresa Fallon, Founder and Director, Centre for Russia, Europe and Asia Studies, Bruegel, Belgium Benedikt Franke, Vice-Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Munich Security Conference, Germany Peter Grk, Secretary General, Bled Strategic Forum, Slovenia James Carafano, Senior Counselor to the President and E.W. Richardson Fellow, The Heritage Foundation, United States of America Moderator: Tara Varma, Visiting Fellow, Brookings Institution, United States of America</p>

DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

0730-0845

Shahjehan

Conversations
Over Breakfast

Multipolar Disorder: No Takers for a G2

Rising concerns about a world dominated by Sino-American rivalry have led many countries, particularly in the Global South, to opt for strategic autonomy. Rather than aligning with either power, they are focusing on flexible trade partnerships, technology transfer, and alternative financing mechanisms. Countries are strengthening cross-regional partnerships and South-South cooperation to counterbalance great-power competition. A G2-dominated world, in this view, would undermine global cooperation and limit developing nations' ability to negotiate on critical issues like climate finance, debt restructuring, and digital infrastructure. This panel will discuss how countries are navigating this evolving geopolitical landscape to preserve their interests and protect their autonomy.

- What role do regional alliances play in shaping the responses of countries to the Sino-American rivalry?
- What implications does jostling between two great powers have for the future of multilateralism and international institutions?
- What strategies can countries adopt to avoid being drawn into a tussle between two great powers?
- What are the potential consequences for global stability if countries are compelled to choose sides in their foreign policies?

Saeed Khatibzadeh, President, Institute for Political and International Studies, Iran

Dino Patti Djalal, Founder, Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia, Indonesia

Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India

Nada Al Hajjri, President, Yemen Information Center, Yemen

Almut Möller, Director for European and Global Affairs; Head of the Europe in the World Programme, European Policy Centre, Germany

Moderator: Steve Clemons, Editor-At-Large, National Interest, United States of America

0730-0845

Mumtaz

Conversations
Over Breakfast

Climate-Proofing the Indo-Pacific: Food, Water, Economic Resilience

The Indo-Pacific is the frontline of the climate crisis. The need for food and water security, alongside economic resilience, is paramount for this region; countries are prioritising stronger supply chains and disaster risk management. This panel will explore strategies, partnerships, and networks for financing climate adaptation, expanding access to critical resources and addressing regional vulnerabilities through cross-sector collaboration.

- How can the Indo-Pacific region build resilient food and water systems that can withstand the increasing pressures of climate change?
- In what ways can climate-smart agriculture contribute to building more resilient food systems in the region?
- What innovative financing models and partnerships are needed to support climate adaptation efforts, particularly for vulnerable communities?
- How can regional governments, businesses, and civil society strengthen collaborative networks to enhance supply chain and economic stability and mitigate disaster risk?

Silvia Bender, State Secretary, Federal Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Germany

Nilanjan Ghosh, Vice President, Development Studies, Observer Research Foundation, India

Claire Alembik, Investment Specialist, Asian Development Bank

Lise Breuil, Country Director, Agence Française de Développement, India

Robert Kaan, President, Asia Pacific, Corteva Agriscience

Moderator: Erin Watson, Founder and Managing Director, Baker & York, Australia

DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

0730-0845

Jehangir

Conversations
Over Breakfast

The Iran Factor: Crisis, Convergence, Competition

The attack by Hamas on Israel in October 2023 and the muscular response that followed is reshaping what was already a fast-changing extended Middle East. The foreign policy aims of many countries, including Iran and global powers with a footprint in the region, have been re-oriented. Tehran has re-engaged the Arab world and sought new political and diplomatic ties within the region and with the Global South. Dramatic changes in Syria have further complicated matters and raised Turkey's stakes. The US and Europe are back as players in the region's fractious politics. This panel will examine the multiple agendas at play today and ask whether a 'new' Middle East can emerge from the ruins of the 'old'.

- How important is a rapprochement between Iran and influential Arab states when it comes to the success of a ceasefire in Gaza?
- Are the US's new suggestions for a resolution to the Gaza crisis a challenge for the region, or is it an opportunity to forge a regional counter-response?
- What is the future of China-led mediation in the Middle East? Can Beijing outmanoeuvre Washington DC?
- How will great-power competition and influence play out in the Middle East? Could it lead to the region working together to insulate itself?

Vahan Kostanyan, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Armenia

Seyed Mohammad-Kazem Sajjadpour, Distinguished Senior Fellow, Institute for Political and International Studies and Advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Iran

Manish Tewari, Member of Parliament, Lok Sabha, India

Hind Kabawat, Director, Interfaith Peacebuilding, George Mason University Center for World Religions, Diplomacy, & Conflict Resolution, United States of America

Maha Yahya, Director, Malcolm H. Kerr Carnegie Middle East Center, Lebanon

Moderator: Mohamad Ali Harisi, Foreign Editor, The National, United Arab Emirates

0730-0845

Roshanara

Conversations
Over Breakfast

Digital Divide to Digital Solution: Tech-First Path to SDGs

With only 17% of the targets of the SDGs on track, the use of tech-driven development solutions needs to be accelerated. The challenges are foundational – including unequal opportunities to access tech, uneven levels of digital transformation, and a shortage of investment in proven technological needs. This panel will explore how leveraging technology can bridge digital divides and boost progress on the SDGs and decarbonisation.

- How can we ensure equitable access to digital infrastructure in the Global South?
- How can the rollout of tech solutions and access to development finance be ring-fenced from geopolitical volatility?
- How can government and private sector work together on scaling technology innovation and adoption to advance the development and decarbonisation agenda?
- How can the economic gains from digital growth made by private capital be re-invested into bridging the digital divide and advancing the SDGs? Can impact funds play this role?

Abhishek Singh, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology, India

Andreas Urschitz, Chief Marketing Officer and Member of the Management Board, Infineon Technologies AG, Germany

Del Titus Bawuah, Chief Executive Officer, Web3 Africa Group, Ghana

Marianne Demarchi, Chief Executive Officer, Europe Middle East and Africa, Swift

Stephanie Diepeveen, Senior Research Fellow, Digital Societies, ODI Global, United Kingdom

Moderator: Mohamed Alsharhan, Managing Director, World Governments Summit; Director of Government Leaders and Talents Department, Ministry of Cabinet Affairs; United Arab Emirates

0845-0900

Transition

DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025	
0900-0910	Durbar
	<p>Ministerial Remarks</p> <p>Towards a 'Green Future' for Sustainable Development: India's Climate Initiatives for Environmental Cooperation</p> <p>Kirti Vardhan Singh, Minister of State, Ministry of External Affairs, India</p>
DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025	
0910-1000	Durbar
	<p>Thrones and Thorns: Defending the Integrity of Nations</p> <p>As global power dynamics shift, national sovereignty is being constantly challenged. The UN Charter clearly articulates the principle of non-interference, but recent global events show that this foundational norm is honoured more in the breach than in practice. Territorial borders are being violated, and digital interference in political processes and offensive cyber-operations have increased manifold. This panel will examine the modern manifestations of foreign interference in domestic politics, and explore whether countries can agree to respect each other's varying conceptions of political systems and sovereignty.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can we discover methods to credibly enforce the principle of political non-interference that underlies Article 2(4), or will powerful nations manage to exempt themselves? • Are we all guilty of assuming that only certain political systems deserve protection from external manipulation, not others? • How can we effectively protect the agency of domestic decision-making from external influence operations—and where do we draw the line between the protection of sovereignty and the restriction of political expression? • If borders are merely a manifestation of sovereignty, but political independence can be compromised through digital means, what constitutes true sovereignty in the modern age, and how can it be meaningfully protected? <p>Carl Bildt, Former Prime Minister, Sweden Dominique Hasler, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Education and Sport, Liechtenstein Juraj Blanár, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Slovak Republic Dubai Abulhoul, Founder, Fiker Institute, United Arab Emirates S. Jaishankar, Minister of External Affairs, India Moderator: Ashok Malik, Partner and Chair of the India Practice, The Asia Group, India</p>
1000-1030	Durbar
	<p>In Focus</p> <p>Keynote Address by and Conversation with Tulsi Gabbard, Director of National Intelligence, United States of America</p> <p>Moderator: Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1030-1100	Durbar
	<p>In Focus</p> <p>Conversation with Anwar Mohammed Gargash, Diplomatic Advisor to the President, United Arab Emirates</p> <p>Moderator: Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1100-1120	Break

DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

1120-1220

Durbar

Waging Peace: Looking Back to Look Ahead

Scene Setter: **Dag Nylander**, Director, Norwegian Centre for Conflict Resolution, Norway

Despite calls across the world against re-entering an 'era of war', long-standing grievances continue to threaten collective peace. Indeed, recent years have seen war and chaos overshadow peace efforts. However, 2025 presents a potential inflection point—an opportunity to steer a course towards peace. This panel will examine the old and new frameworks that nations and multilateral institutions must adopt to invest in peace, exploring the roles of stakeholders, the importance of investment and finance, and the need for platforms that enable dialogue for progress.

- What are the lessons from successful and failed peace efforts in recent decades? What are the peculiar attributes and underlying drivers of success?
- What type of actors are necessary to conclude a successful peace process? What is the role of a mediator? Who is a 'neutral' mediator?
- What terms are essential for a successful and sustainable peace agreement?
- What types of investment and financing mechanisms are crucial for a sustainable peace process?

Moussa Mara, Former Prime Minister of Mali; Member, Club de Madrid

Stephen Harper, Former Prime Minister, Canada

Espen Barth Eide, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Norway

Shashi Tharoor, Member of Parliament, Lok Sabha;

Chairperson, Parliamentary Standing Committee on External Affairs, India

Comfort Ero, President and Chief Executive Officer, International Crisis Group, United Kingdom

Moderator: Yalda Hakim, Lead World News Presenter, Sky News, United Kingdom

1120-1220

Mumtaz

(Parallel Session)

Blue Economy: Balancing Prosperity, Sustainability and Resilience

The ocean economy is valued at US\$3-6 trillion annually. Its governance impacts connectivity, renewable energy, fisheries, transport, and tourism. However, challenges abound for coastal communities and island states: climate change, debt pileups, and the loss of livelihoods. Growth in the blue economy must come with minimal harm to the ecology—particularly for coastal communities and fisheries facing climate impacts and overexploitation. This panel will discuss strategies to balance prosperity and sustainability, ensuring economic growth aligns with environmental preservation and long-term viability.

- What innovative financial mechanisms can incentivise sustainable practices in the ocean economy, particularly for vulnerable coastal and fishing communities?
- How can we balance growing demand for marine resources with urgent need to conserve biodiversity and protect vulnerable habitats?
- How can international cooperation and North-South partnerships be strengthened to address transboundary ocean challenges and shared responsibilities?
- What are the policy interventions needed to promote a sustainable blue economy that addresses the interconnected crises of debt, climate change, and livelihoods?

Axel Berger, Deputy Director (Interim), German Institute of Development and Sustainability, Germany

Kekeli Ahiable, Trade and Infrastructure Advisor, Tony Blair Institute for Global Change, United Kingdom

Teenah Jutton, Former Member of Parliament, Mauritius

Thilan Wijesinghe, Chairman & Managing Director, TW Corp (Pvt) Ltd, Sri Lanka

Suthikorn Kingkaew, Advisor, Hydrogen Economy Project, Energy Policy and Planning Office, Thailand

Moderator: Ambika Vishwanath, Director, Kubernein Initiative, India

DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

1220-1310

Durbar

The Peace Tableau: Actions and Aspirations

In the three years since February 2022, traditional assumptions about diplomacy, military deterrence, and regional stability have been upended. Pathways toward peace might involve complex compromises and strategic recalibrations. Uncertainty surrounding any potential deal is compounded by shifting global alignments, particularly the impact of the changed US political landscape and developments within the European Union. This panel will explore the evolving dynamics of the peace efforts and the roles of various global players in shaping the future of this conflict.

- What is the new vision for Ukrainian, and therefore European security? Who can contribute, and how will Europe become a security actor?
- What should be the contours of any peace agreement, and which actors must play a pivotal role if peace is to last?
- Is the redrawing of maps inevitable—and if so, how can we ensure that any newly-drawn lines hold?
- Is it possible to reconstruct Ukraine without the US? Can Europe do this by itself?

Mihai Popșoi, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Moldova

Andrii Sybiha, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ukraine

Baiba Braže, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Latvia

Péter Szijjártó, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Hungary

Hanna Notte, Director, Eurasia Nonproliferation Program, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, United States of America

Moderator: DB Venkatesh Varma, Former Ambassador of India to Russia, India

1310-1510

Shahjehan

Lunch
Conversations
(By Invite Only)

Uninterrupted Peaks: Rethinking Energy Access, Affordability, and Security

The politics and economics of energy have shifted in 2025, prompting countries to redesign strategies for access and economic security. Emerging economies and the cradles of future growth fear volatility in energy prices; advanced economies must contend with the political fallouts of energy policy. New and alternative fuels—from hydrogen to nuclear power—are attracting attention. This panel will explore how the energy pathways available to the world have shifted, and how technological and financial innovation can help fuel nations' aspirations.

- How can global energy policies be rebalanced to support emerging market energy needs while still advancing renewables?
- How can we integrate hydropower and nuclear energy into a diversified, future-proof energy portfolio?
- Can sustainable biofuels become a viable and profitable alternative, and what innovations are needed to realise their potential? What role do international partnerships play in this effort?
- Are the financial markets ready to invest in nuclear energy and newer forms of energy?
- With peak oil still on the horizon, what role can investments in carbon energy storage and science play in commercialising traditional energy sources? Which technological innovations can help us re-think energy?

Stephen Harper, Former Prime Minister, Canada

Rafael Mariano Grossi, Director General, International Atomic Energy Agency

Bjørn Lomborg, President, Copenhagen Consensus Center, Denmark

Pramod Chaudhari, Founder and Chairman, Praj Industries, India

Divyata Ashiya, Managing Director, Fortescue Capital, United Kingdom

Moderator: Kelly Gallagher, Dean and Professor of Energy & Environmental Policy, The Fletcher School, Tufts University, United States of America

DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

1310-1510

Mumtaz

Lunch
Conversations
(By Invite Only)

Policy Perch: Technology, Industry, Individuals

Opening Remarks: Ricky Gill, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; National Security Council Senior Director for South and Central Asia, United States of America

Grand strategists face a complex web of actors and issues. They must deal with transnational tech platforms and industries that have quasi-sovereign capabilities. Issues like climate change and the SDGs, once the subjects of global consensus, are today embroiled in zero-sum games. This panel will bring together policymakers, thought leaders, and industry experts to debate the key drivers of contemporary national strategies and examine how technology, industry, and global institutions are reshaping global priorities.

- How are non-state actors, such as multinational corporations and tech giants, influencing national strategies and global decision-making in ways that traditional state-to-state relations cannot?
- In what ways is the evolving role of technology reshaping global policy priorities, particularly in areas like climate change and the SDGs?
- How can governments balance industry interests with public welfare in an increasingly tech-driven and competitive global landscape?
- What role do individuals, particularly thought leaders and activists, play in shaping national strategies and challenging global power structures?

Benedetta Berti, Director, Policy Planning, Office of the Secretary General, NATO

Muath Alwari, Director, Policy Planning Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Arab Emirates

Raghuram S, Joint Secretary, Policy Planning & Research, Ministry of External Affairs, India

Tristan Aureau, Head of the Policy Planning Department, Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, France

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

Moderator: Elena Lazarou, Senior Research Fellow, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy; Associate Fellow, US and the Americas Programme, Chatham House, United Kingdom

1310-1510

Jehangir

Lunch
Conversations
(By Invite Only)

Interaction with Raisina Young Fellows

Shaping Sustainable Cities

This session will explore how sustainable urban development is shaped by international cooperation. The creation of new hubs for industry and innovation lies at the intersection of diplomacy and urbanism. Expo City Dubai is a starting point for a discussion about the future of sustainable cities.

John McGinnis, Senior Manager, Programme and Events, Expo City Dubai, United Arab Emirates

Misha Mittal, Senior Manager, City Advisory, Expo City Dubai, United Arab Emirates

DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

1310-1510

Roshanara

Lunch
Conversations
(By Invite Only)

Demographic Deficits: Migration, Education, Economic Growth

Presentation: Sanjeev Krishan, Chairman, PwC, India

A paradox underlies current approaches to skilling and migration. Developed countries, facing demographic deficits, require skilled labour to re-energise growth but face populist pressure to restrict immigration. Meanwhile, developing countries are struggling to upgrade human capital and educational systems to meet new demands, driven in part by technological innovation. There are new opportunities for productivity and income growth through upskilling and labour migration—but a re-evaluation of facilitative approaches beckons. This panel will explore solutions to align skilling, migration, and employment strategies for the common good.

- How can countries effectively bridge gaps in aspirations, skills, and capabilities to cultivate a future-ready workforce?
- Can digital innovation and automation reshape education and skilling to meet the demands of a changing labour market?
- Can we create a more global workforce that increases incentives to invest in education and human capital in emerging economies, while also meeting political demands and economic needs in the developed world?
- Are primary, secondary, and tertiary education systems effectively imparting the skills required by a globalised workforce?

James Lawless, Minister for Further and Higher Education, Research, Innovation and Science, Ireland

Ila Patnaik, Chief Economist, Aditya Birla Group, India

Karthik Muralidharan, Tata Chancellor’s Professor of Economics, University of California San Diego, United States of America

Maitreyi Das, Director, Trust Funds and Partner Relations, Development Finance, World Bank

Manish Sabharwal, Executive Vice Chairman, TeamLease Services, India

Moderator: Terri Chapman, Research Fellow, George Washington University Institute of Public Policy, United States of America

1310-1510

Sheesh Mahal

Lunch
Conversations
(By Invite Only)

Interaction with the US-India AI Fellows

This discussion will address key challenges and opportunities in AI development, governance, and cross-cultural cooperation between India and the US.

Abhishek Singh, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology, India

Moderator: Andreas Kuehn, Senior Fellow, ORF America, United States of America

DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

1510-1600

Durbar

The Continent Debates: Europe's Role in the World

Europe's role on the global stage is being redefined. As a 'new America' emerges, focused on its domestic priorities and armed with unilateral strategies, Europe is reconsidering its own path—investing in security, technology, and infrastructure development to assert its influence. This panel will explore the strategic shifts necessary for Europe to lead in a multipolar world.

- How can Europe redefine its strategic role to form a balanced partnership with a 'new America' in today's multipolar order? What key challenges must be addressed within Europe for the transatlantic alliance to endure?
- How can the nations of Europe reinvigorate the continent's economy, particularly given the vast amounts of state aid being poured into frontier sectors in the US and China? How does the European Union view its economic security today, given its commitment to openness?
- In what ways can Europe leverage its technological innovation and digital expertise to enhance its global influence alongside the US?

Xavier Bettel, Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade; Minister for Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Affairs, Luxembourg

Maria Malmer Stenergard, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sweden

Ruben Brekelmans, Minister of Defence, Netherlands

Diego Martinez Belío, State Secretary for Foreign and Global Affairs, Spain

Florence Gaub, Director of the Research Division, NATO Defense College, Italy

Moderator: Vanessa Ghanem, Arab Affairs Editor, The National, United Arab Emirates

1600-1650

Durbar

Avenues for the Americas: Deciphering the Latin Beat

The nations in the American continents must navigate a newly assertive US and persistent economic courtship from China. Across the region, ideological affinities are intersecting with international relations and economic pragmatism. This panel will examine how policymakers in the region are balancing the practical imperatives of development with this complex geopolitical environment and highlight the opportunities and choices for an increasingly multipolar hemisphere.

- How is domestic politics across the hemisphere responding to shifts in its largest economy, the US? What does this churn mean for China's increasing economic influence?
- Are there any signs that a cohesive regional policy on issues such as trade and biodiversity is emerging?
- What strategic partnerships are essential for Latin America to maintain autonomy while navigating divergent great-power interests? What role does an enhanced economic relationship with the EU play?

Elmer Schialer Salcedo, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Peru

E. P. Chet Greene, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Antigua & Barbuda

Héctor Cárdenas, President, Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales, Mexico

Keiti da Rocha Gomes, Director, International Studies, Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, Brazil

Aude Darnal, Research Analyst and Project Manager, The Stimson Center, United States of America

Moderator: Carolina Chimoy, Political Correspondent and News Presenter, Deutsche Welle, United States of America

DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

1600-1650	Shahjehan
(Parallel Session)	<p>Rescripting the Liberal Order: Can Tariffs Trump China?</p> <p>The increasing use of tariffs, barriers, and sanctions marks the abandonment of the liberal global order that created wealth and prosperity across the world. As nations turn to mercantilism, protectionism, and industrial policy to shield and nurture domestic industry, patterns of trade and investment are shifting as well. This panel will analyse the impact of economic nationalism on global growth, innovation, and trade.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is the use of tariffs and controls effective in controlling the path of investment and trade? Have they managed to reshape the technological destiny of nations, or will China’s tech sector and others shake them off in time? • Is the golden age of the multilateral trading system over, and must we rely on plurilateral or bilateral deals? Does that not advantage large trading powers like China? • How can nations deal with the excess productive capacity that has been built up in China, and how can we restore our competitiveness? • Can countries that are raising tariffs and other barriers offer the emerging world an economic proposition that competes effectively with China’s, or will they cede global economic leadership to Beijing? <p>Tony Abbott, Former Prime Minister of Australia Takehiko Matsuo, Vice Minister for International Affairs, Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, Japan Jane Holl Lute, President and Chief Executive Officer, SICPA, United States of America Carla Sands, Vice Chair, Centre for Energy and Environment, America First Policy Institute, United States of America Alicia Garcia Herrero, Chief Economist, Asia Pacific, Natixis; Senior Fellow, Bruegel Hong Kong Moderator: Palki Sharma, Managing Editor, Firstpost, India</p>
1600-1650	Roshanara
(Parallel Session)	<p>Checkmate or Comeback? EMDEs in the Great Global Macroeconomic Rebalancing (Raisina Economic Forum)</p> <p>Countries across the world are seeking to secure their growth paths while faced with regulatory and geopolitical uncertainty. Great-power rivalry and shifting domestic politics threaten to fragment the global economic architecture; multilateral institutions and constraints increasingly appear moribund. Leaders are in search of agile policy responses to shifting circumstances: from debt sustainability and new fiscal challenges to concerns about capital flight and currency stability.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What does this mean for EMDEs? • How can they adapt, compete, and secure financial stability in a world where multipolarity is not just a trend but a new reality? • How can EMDEs sustain growth amid tighter global liquidity and capital outflows? • Can regional alliances mitigate supply chain disruptions, climate shocks, and debt vulnerabilities? <p>Chair: N.K. Singh, Co-Convenor, G20 Independent Expert Group on Strengthening MDBs; President, Institute of Economic Growth; Chairman, 15th Finance Commission, India</p> <p>Initiators: Hannah Wanjie Ryder, Chief Executive Officer, Development Reimagined, Kenya Heungchong Kim, Distinguished Professor, College of International Relations, Korea University, South Korea Kate O’Shaughnessy, Research Director, Perth USAsia Centre, Australia Karim El Aynaoui, Executive President, Policy Center for the New South, Morocco Rahul Bajoria, Managing Director, Head of India and ASEAN Economic Research, Bank of America, India Moderator: Poonam Gupta, Director General, National Council of Applied Economic Research, India</p>
1650-1710	Break

DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

1710-1800

Durbar

Climate Cataclysm: The Adaptation Agenda is Gasping

While climate change poses a grave risk for all countries, for the nations of the Vulnerable Twenty (V20) Group, it is an existential question. The V20's vulnerability is further compounded by a growing debt crisis and fragile balance sheets as climate-fuelled impacts permeate national economies, affecting infrastructure, supply chains, social protection, and small businesses. Collaborative efforts to mobilise resources and enhance climate resilience are not merely political but essential for their continued survival. This panel will discuss actionable strategies to strengthen climate resilience and financial stability for V20 nations.

- Given that current adaptation efforts may not be keeping pace with the increasing frequency and intensity of extreme weather events, how do we dramatically accelerate adaptation and minimise future economic losses in the V20?
- Why have China and the Paris Club not managed to construct a unified approach to debt restructuring?
- Does the Global South need a climate Marshall Plan? If so, who will lead the effort?
- Do debt-for-nature swaps provide a possible answer to the problems of financing adaptation and development, or do they ignore the basic needs of vulnerable nations?

Eduardo Martínez Díaz, Deputy Prime Minister, Cuba

Abdulla Khaleel, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Maldives

Arzu Rana Deuba, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Nepal

D.N. Dhungyel, Minister for Foreign Affairs and External Trade, Bhutan

Wangari Muchiri, Director of Africa, Global Wind Energy Council, Kenya

Moderator: Kira Vinke, Head, Center for Climate and Foreign Policy, German Council on Foreign Relations, Germany

1710-1800

Shahjehan

(Parallel Session)

Overtures from Penn Avenue: Will Kremlin Respond?

The world watches as Russia and the US seem poised on the brink of yet another 'reset'. Can new talks with fewer presumptions resolve long-standing conflicts and usher a new era of cooperation? The impact on these dynamics of Russia's growing ties with China and the evolution of the transatlantic alliance will also be watched. This panel will discuss the potential for cooperation, the implications for international diplomacy in a multipolar world, and the future of great-power alignment.

- Can dialogue between the US and Russia prove the path to peace, or is it merely political posturing to pause a conflict without addressing the underlying issues?
- Can the deep distrust and suspicions that have marred US-Russia relations be overcome, or should we at best expect a Cold War-style thaw that maintains the balance of power?
- How will Russia manage its increasingly complex relationship with China, and what role will this dynamic play in shaping the US's ability to balance Europe?
- How will other major and middle powers respond to a potential shift in US-Russia relations, and which are the likely supporters or spoilers?

Vyacheslav Nikonov, Member of the State Duma, Federal Assembly, Russia

Anastasia Likhacheva, Dean, Faculty of World Economy and International Affairs, HSE University, Russia

Georgette Mosbacher, Co-Chair, Three Seas Programming, Europe Center, Atlantic Council, United States of America

Paul Saunders, President, Centre for the National Interest, United States of America

Rachel Rizzo, Senior Fellow, Europe Centre, Atlantic Council, United States of America

Moderator: Dhruva Jaishankar, Executive Director, ORF America, United States of America

DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

1710-1800

Roshanara

(Parallel Session)

The Southern Handover: Sustaining G20 Solidarity Agenda

Scene Setter: Abhishek Singh, Joint Secretary, Multilateral Economic Relations; Sous-Sherpa for G20, BRICS, IBSA, Ministry of External Affairs, India

The G20 has had four successive developing-country presidencies which have reframed the grouping before it is handed over back to presidencies from the Global North. Indonesia, India, Brazil, and South Africa have risen to the challenges posed by COVID-19 and the tortuous path to economic recovery, moving the G20 agenda forward on economic cooperation and giving it new momentum. As a multilateral platform that is a bridge between the Global North and Global South, enhancing the G20's capacity is a global good.

- What are the South African presidency's priorities, and how should these ideas be framed so that they carry over into the next year and beyond?
- What are the ways in which the developing country presidencies have shifted the nature of economic governance, and what role does the G20 now play in mainstreaming questions of economic development?
- What are the prospects for G20 collaboration and action at a time when multilateralism is under pressure from all sides?

Initiators

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, Chief Executive, South African Institute of International Affairs, South Africa

Héctor Cárdenas Suárez, President, Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales, Mexico

Keiti da Rocha Gomes, Director, Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, Brazil

Markus Brunnermeier, Edwards S. Sanford Professor of Economics, Princeton University, United States of America

Riatu Mariatul Qibthiyah, Director, Institute for Economic and Social Research, University of Indonesia, Indonesia

In the Chair: Harsh V. Pant, Vice President, Studies and Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India

1800-1840

Durbar

Winning the AI Marathon: India in the Global AI Race

Is the AI race, like the space race of old, merely between big powers? If not, where does India stand, and what advantages will it bring to the table? This conversation will reveal India's plans for the AI age.

- Progress in AI requires big startup investments – including in compute infrastructure. Can countries like India compete with wealthier economies here? Do emerging economies have access to the leading-edge chips that many consider necessary for AI advancement?
- Countries with a diverse linguistic heritage, like India, face special challenges in developing widely used and accurate large language models. How are we overcoming that? And, reversing that, are the efficiency benefits of AI greater in countries that have language diversity?
- How do you see the US vs China race on AI developing in the next few years? Does the US have an insurmountable lead, or are new Chinese advancements, like DeepSeek, demonstrating an ability to catch up by crunching costs and resources?
- How can policy in India help address the need for AI software engineers? How skill-intensive is AI development, and are we keeping up with the sector's skilling requirements?
- What specific advantages will countries like India – with a large workforce and a history of cost-conscious implementation – bring to the AI contest?
- What partnerships will define the age of AI? Is it inevitable that countries like the US, India, and the UAE will collaborate, or will their domestic AI strategies take them in different directions?

Ashwini Vaishnaw, Minister for Railways; Information & Broadcasting; Electronics & Information Technology, India

Ronnie Chatterji, Chief Economist, OpenAI, United States of America

Vinod K. Dham, Founder and Executive Managing Partner, Indo-US Venture Partners, United States of America

Moderator: Shereen Bhan, Managing Editor, CNBC-TV18, India

1840-1900

Break

DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025	
1900-1950	Durbar
	<p>Secure Waters: ASEAN, Quad, and the Indo-Pacific</p> <p>The Indo-Pacific region is characterised by a complex interplay of alliances and strategic partnerships. Its evolving geometry of partnerships—ASEAN and the Quad among them—reflects a shift from traditional bilateral alliances to more dynamic frameworks. The future of regional peace and stability, and of a free and open Indo-Pacific, depends on how these groupings evolve and engage with shifting global dynamics. This panel will examine the chances of success for these emerging geopolitical and geo-economic collaborations.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How can Indo-Pacific nations strategically reconcile their individual national interests with the imperative for cohesive multilateral cooperation to foster enduring regional stability? • What impacts could the new administration in Washington DC have on the US's role in the Indo-Pacific, and on the strategic commitments and geopolitical alignments of states in the region? • What impact does the rise of non-state actors and transnational threats have on traditional state-centric security paradigms? <p>Enrique Manalo, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Philippines Maris Sangiampongsa, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thailand Brent Sadler, Senior Research Fellow, Naval Warfare and Advanced Technology, Allison Center for National Security, The Heritage Foundation, United States of America Hiroyuki Akita, Foreign Affairs and International Security Commentator, Nikkei, Japan Ji Yeon-Jung, Assistant Professor, Department of Military History and Strategy, Republic of Korea Naval Academy, South Korea Moderator: Lisa Singh, Chief Executive Officer, Australia India Institute, Australia</p>
1950-2010	Transition
2010-2210	Shahjehan
Dinner Conversations (By Invite Only)	<p>Rethinking Partnerships: Minerals, Materials and Monopolies</p> <p>Scene Setter: Dammu Ravi, Secretary, Economic Relations, Ministry of External Affairs, India</p> <p>The global race for rare-earth minerals has accelerated, driven by advances in battery tech, renewable energy, sustainable mobility, and quantum computing. Nations are forging novel partnerships across the value chain—from rare-earth processing to materials innovation. These are shifting from traditional buyer-seller relationships to deeper strategic alliances involving joint investments, technology sharing, and coordinated infrastructure development that could de-risk rare-earth dependencies. This panel will deliberate on how we can ensure supply chain resilience in a volatile world.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How can geopolitical risks be minimised through the diversification of supply chains? What incentives would motivate potential partners including the private sector, to join in? • How can international partnerships in the critical minerals and materials ecosystem be structured to share both risks and rewards? How can private capital be a part of this relationship? • How can nations develop supply chain resilience for sectors vital to future growth and employment, such as electric vehicles and transportation? What role do public-private partnerships and transnational collaborations have? • How do we promote responsible mining practices, including recycling and urban mining, to reduce reliance on primary extraction of rare-earth minerals? <p>Tadashi Maeda, Chairman of the Board, Japan Bank for International Cooperation, Japan Brendan Nelson, President, Boeing Global, United Kingdom Gopala Krishnan CS, Chief Manufacturing Officer, Hyundai Motor India Ltd Agatha Kratz, Partner, Rhodium Group, France Kate O'Shaughnessy, Research Director, Perth USAsia Centre, Australia Moderator: Xenia Wickett, Director, Wickett Advisory, United Kingdom</p>
2010-2210	Mumtaz
Dinner Conversations (By Invite Only)	<p>Policy & Palate</p>

DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

2010-2210	Jehangir
Dinner Conversations (By Invite Only)	<p>Capital's Gender Bias: Making Money Flow to Women Entrepreneurs</p> <p>A stark dichotomy exists between the entrepreneurship possibilities open to men and women. Despite a growing number of women-led start-ups, significant barriers remain in securing funding, limiting their potential for growth. Is this funding gap merely a matter of economics or a result of deeper cultural issues? The structural underrepresentation of women in investment decision-making roles may amplify these cultural problems. This panel will discuss how the start-up world can be made truly gender inclusive.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the key challenges preventing women-led companies from receiving the same level of funding as those led by men? • How do societal biases and gender stereotypes contribute to the perception of women entrepreneurs as 'risky investments', and how can this be changed? • What specific policy reforms and industry actions are needed to close this funding gap and promote sustainable growth of women-led businesses? • Does politics influence financial decisions when it comes to funding women-led start-ups, and how can we shift this dynamic to catalyze growth? <p>Priyanka Chaturvedi, Member of Parliament, Rajya Sabha, Government of India, India Cecilia Oldne, Chief India Representative, Sweden-India Business Council; Founding Partner, Visceral Capital, India Kiyoto Matsuda, Co-Founder and Chairman, Topaz Capital, Japan Aakanksha Tangri, Founder, Re:Set, United Arab Emirates Thanuja Jayawardhane, Head, Women Go Beyond, MAS Holdings, Sri Lanka Moderator: Lara Setrakian, President, Applied Policy Research Institute, Armenia</p>
2010-2210	Roshanara
Dinner Conversations (By Invite Only)	<p>The India Opportunity: Growth with Stability</p> <p>Conversation: Nirmala Sitharaman, Minister of Finance and Minister of Corporate Affairs, India</p> <p>with N.K. Singh, Co-Convenor, G20 Independent Expert Group on Strengthening MDBs; President, Institute of Economic Growth; Chairman, 15th Finance Commission, India</p> <p>Welcome Remarks: Ashok Malik, Partner and Chair of the India Practice, The Asia Group, India</p>
2010-2210	Sheesh Mahal
Dinner Conversations (By Invite Only)	<p>Interaction with the US-India AI Fellows</p> <p>This discussion will address key challenges and opportunities in AI development, governance, and cross-cultural cooperation between India and the US.</p> <p>Arvind Gupta, Co-Founder, Digital India Foundation, India Moderator: Anulekha Nandi, Fellow, Technology, Economy, and Society, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
2210-2240	Break

DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

2240-2330

Mumtaz

Conversations Over Kahwa (For Speakers and Delegates only)

End of Christendom: Whose European Values Are They Anyway?

Christianity offered a cultural, linguistic, philosophical mooring that united a continent. Its contemporary, cosmopolitan avatars have instead emphasised divergence and difference. The lack of a singular moral structure may have contributed to shifts in social cohesion, the rise of individualism, and the inability to address complex challenges. The historical alignment of Europe and North America with ecclesiastical values provided a framework that, though asynchronous with other belief systems, might have been more understood and even accepted by the rest of the world.

- How has the historical alignment of Christianity with Western values influenced international relations, and what implications does this have for current geopolitical conflicts?
- How can the erosion of a unifying moral framework, as seen in contemporary society, affect the stability and predictability of international alliances? Has globalism replaced religion as a supranational ideology?

Angelika Niebler, Member of the European Parliament; Chair of the Delegation for Relations with India

Attila Demkó, Head of the Strategic Foresight Program, John Lukacs Institute, Ludovika University of Public Service, Hungary

Gladden Pappin, President, Hungarian Institute of International Affairs, United States of America

Patrick Deneen, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Notre Dame, United States of America

Stefania Benaglia, Foreign Policy Expert, European Union

Moderator: Velina Tchakarova, Founder and Geopolitical Strategist, FACE, Austria

2240-2330

Roshanara

Conversations Over Kahwa (For Speakers and Delegates only)

Importing Dissent: Immigration and National Cohesion

Immigration is an increasingly polarising topic across the world. As nativism reasserts itself, questions about cultural integration, social fragmentation, and the perceived economic strain imposed by newcomers have become politically salient. Policymakers are seeking a balance between welcoming migrants who can contribute economically, and ensuring social cohesion. This panel will discuss the complexities of immigration, national identity, and the need for policies that foster integration while addressing societal concerns.

- How can states with liberal founding principles balance respect, tolerance, and national solidarity? Is there an emerging consensus about how immigrants should be treated?
- Are nations that host expansive diasporas prepared to deal with the impact that extremism and political divisions might have on their own domestic politics, or on their international partnerships?
- Are there regions or countries that have successfully integrated immigrants while maintaining social cohesion which can serve as examples for the world?

Karoline Sophie Czychon, State Chairwoman, Junge Union, Niedersachsen for Junge Union, Germany

Nathan A. Sales, Nonresident Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council; Former U.S. Acting Under Secretary of State, United States of America

Stefan Mair, Director, German Institute for International and Security Affairs; Executive Chairman, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Germany

Sushant Sareen, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

Nathalie Tocci, Director, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Italy

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

DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

0730-0845

Shahjehan

Conversations
Over Breakfast

Shahjehan **Pole Vaults: The Revanchist West and a Rising South**

As the United States seeks to redefine its global engagement through assertive unilateralism and exceptionalism, this panel will examine the tensions between American revanchism, the expectations of its transatlantic partners, and the aspirations of an increasingly confident Global South. With the American G20 presidency as backdrop, we will explore how American impulses would work in a multipolar world and whether traditional transatlantic partnerships can adapt, while also accommodating emerging voices and powers.

- How might assertive and unilateral actions under a second Trump presidency impact the cohesion and effectiveness of traditional transatlantic alliances in a multipolar global order?
- What are the potential ramifications of the American weaponisation of geography—such as annexing Greenland or renaming strategic regions—on US credibility and leadership? How will it affect global governance?
- In an increasingly multipolar world, how can transatlantic partnerships evolve to integrate the aspirations of the Global South while dealing with American unilateralism?
- How can other nations navigate US exceptionalism in collaborative global governance and ensure that emerging players have a seat at the table in shaping a future global order?

Alexander Dynkin, President, Primakov National Research Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia

Ebtesam Al-Ketbi, Founder & President, Emirates Policy Center, United Arab Emirates

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

Manjeet Kripalani, Executive Director, Gateway House, India

Paolo Magri, Managing Director and President of the Advisory Board, Italian Institute for International Political Studies, Italy

Moderator: Ken Jimbo, Head, Institute of Geoeconomics, Japan

0730-0845

Mumtaz

Conversations
Over Breakfast

Beyond the Crises: Prospects for Peace and Progress in the Middle East

In the Middle East, economic transformation and persistent conflicts create a stark study in contrasts. The region showcases remarkable economic vitality and ambitious initiatives like Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030 and the UAE's economic diversification programmes. However, this progress exists alongside humanitarian and security crises in Gaza, Yemen, and Syria. The October 2023 escalation of conflict between Israel and Hamas, ongoing tensions with Iran, and broader regional rivalries have created a complex web of challenges that demand both immediate conflict resolution and long-term strategic solutions.

- Are economic reconciliation and political reconciliation both possible in the region? Will such reconciliations be sequential, or simultaneous? What will such a balancing act entail?
- Do we need a neutral global commission to look into what happened in the Israel-Palestine conflict? Can we move ahead without looking back at all, or is some form of closure and accountability necessary?
- How will the US's new attempts to bring peace in the region change minds, incentives and actions? What sort of buy-in from other actors will be necessary, and is such support visible?
- What is the significance of Beijing's role in facilitating the rapprochement between Iran and Saudi Arabia, and is this a harbinger of more such agreements?

David Petraeus, Partner, KKR & Chairman, KKR Global Institute, United States of America

Eden Bar Tal, Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Israel

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

Rainer Rudolph, Vice-Chairman, Munich Security Conference, Germany

Oana Popescu Zamfir, Director, GlobalFocus Center, Romania

Moderator: Leslie Vinjamuri, Director, US and Americas Programme; Chair of the Faculty, Queen Elizabeth II Academy, Chatham House, United Kingdom

DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025	
0730-0845	Jehangir
Conversations Over Breakfast	<p>A Bridge Between Continents: Development, Adaptation and Food Security</p> <p>Scene Setter: Jaideep Mazumdar, Secretary, East, Ministry of External Affairs, India</p> <p>The Asian and the African continents are the two greatest hopes for global growth in the coming decade. Collaboration on agriculture and food security can serve as the bedrock for their future development; but this also needs the creation of new and better infrastructure and connectivity, as well as the promotion of hubs for trade and innovation on their coastlines. The panel will discuss the role of technological innovation and climate adaptation finance, and evolving governance frameworks in boosting food security and creating resilient communities.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How can we create land and sea bridges between African and Asian growth centres? What are the partnerships and projects that make this possible? • The elimination of food insecurity is a priority for governments in both the regions. What role do new networks of trade and innovation play in this effort? • How can countries in the region collaborate to direct finance towards climate adaptation strategies, including in agriculture and in infrastructure—and what partners can they find in this effort internationally? <p>Sarah Agbor Anyang, Vice President, Forum for African Women Educationalists, Kenya; Former Commissioner, African Union Chevaan Daniel, Executive Group Director, Capital Maharaja Group, Sri Lanka Rob Hewett, Chairman, Silver Fern Farms, New Zealand Chitkala Kalidas, Senior Vice President and Global Head of Environment, Social & Governance, Bayer, United States of America Sara Roversi, Founder and President, Future Food Institute, Italy Moderator: Sunaina Kumar, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
0730-0845	Roshanara
Conversations Over Breakfast (By Invite Only)	<p>From Zero-Sum to Tech for Good: Securing Innovation</p> <p>Technological change and geopolitical contestation have radically altered the framework for innovation and its dissemination. There are concerns that innovation is less globalised and democratic than it has been in the recent past, and that we are hurtling towards a zero-sum game. There are fears that security-related pressures could deprioritise human-centric development as a desired goal for research and innovation. Meanwhile, the scramble for minerals, materials and components critical for technological and green transition is as intense as that for hydrocarbons was in the past century. Choices policymakers make today will determine whether the ongoing tech revolution will leave us safer and better off – or the opposite.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How will countries navigate the space between different models of technological ownership and regulation? If the US and China dominate AI, for one, how can other nations and groupings ensure they are at the table and not on the menu? • Is there a way to ensure like-minded countries, which believe in open markets and open societies, remain competitive in the race for critical minerals? • Is economic and national security the main driver of innovation-related policy? What are the overlaps and co-benefits between security and development? • Which actors, enterprises and partnerships drive innovation for peace and war? What role do the private sector and the defence-industrial complex play? Can trust be built across national and regional frontiers to enable an equitable spread of innovation? <p>Keynote Address: Air Chief Marshal Amar Preet Singh, Chief of the Air Staff, India</p> <p>In the Chair: Pavan Kapoor, Deputy National Security Adviser, India</p>
0730-0845	Sheesh Mahal
Conversations Over Breakfast (By Invite Only)	Breakfast Meeting: India-US AI Task Force
0845-0900	Transition

DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

0900-0910

Durbar

Ministerial Remarks

India's Outreach to Latin America: New Vistas for Untapped Potential

Pabitra Margherita, Minister of State, Ministry of External Affairs, India

0910-0950

Durbar

Destiny or Destination: Culture, Connectivity and Tourism

As the world becomes more interconnected, countries compete on culture, commerce, and connectivity; tourism has been turned into a complex chessboard for geopolitics and economics. The rise of experiential tourism demands a balance between preserving cultural and ecological heritage and fostering growth. Nations must invest in infrastructure that connects remote areas to hubs while respecting indigenous cultures and ecosystems. This panel will explore how cities and nations can navigate these challenges to create sustainable, culturally respectful tourism.

- How can cities effectively monetise heritage and ecological assets while maintaining sustainable tourism practices?
- What infrastructure investments are essential to connect remote regions to global tourism hubs? How can such infrastructure support the growth of the 'experience' economy?
- How can we balance heritage commercialisation with preserving indigenous traditions and ecological ecosystems?
- How do the politics of tourism influence global competition, and how can tourism offerings be differentiated at time when authenticity is prized?

Mohamed Nasheed, Former President; Secretary-General, Climate Vulnerable Forum and V20, Maldives

James Lawless, Minister for Further and Higher Education, Research, Innovation and Science, Ireland

Noura bint Mohammed Al Kaabi, Minister of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Arab Emirates

Amitabh Kant, G20 Sherpa, India

Moderator: Ashok Malik, Partner and Chair of the India Practice, The Asia Group, India

0950-1040

Durbar

Verses and Wars: Navigating Hybrid Theatres

The landscape of modern conflict is shaped by hybrid warfare—an amalgamation of traditional military power, cyber operations, disinformation, economic coercion, and non-state actors. Digital warfare has emerged as a critical front, with recent conflicts highlighting the increasing role of cyber capabilities. As threats evolve across both physical and digital realms—from the streets to cyberspace—nations must navigate a new world of fluid, unpredictable, and multifaceted confrontations. This panel will explore how countries are adapting to these emerging threats, strengthening defence partnerships and collaborating to enhance resilience in an interconnected, digitally driven world.

- How can nations effectively distinguish between traditional and hybrid warfare? What frameworks may be adopted to address the blurred boundaries? How are security doctrines adapting to digital arenas of conflicts?
- In an era where non-state actors, cyber threats, and disinformation play a central role, how can states strengthen national security, particularly in the digital domain?
- As hybrid warfare increasingly involves economic tools like sanctions and trade disruptions, how can countries balance their economic interests with national security priorities?
- How can international partnerships strengthen intelligence sharing, address software-driven threats, and build collaborative strategies to counter digital and cyber warfare effectively?

General Anil Chauhan, Chief of Defence Staff, India

David Petraeus, Partner, KKR & Chairman, KKR Global Institute, United States of America

Vivek Lall, Chief Executive, General Atomics Global Corporation, United States of America

Maggie Sprenger, Co-Founder and General Partner, Audere Capital, United States of America

Pavlina Pavlova, Fellow, New America, United States of America

Moderator: Róbert Vass, Founder and President, GLOBSEC, Slovakia

DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

0950-1040

Roshanara

(Parallel Session)

The Decade Ahead: Ideas for BRICS Presidencies

Scene Setter: **Abhishek Singh**, Joint Secretary, Multilateral Economic Relations; Sous-Sherpa for G20, BRICS, IBSA, Ministry of External Affairs, India

For many countries in the Global South, the freshly expanded BRICS grouping is a useful location to discuss issues of mutual concern involving growth and development. Despite strategic competition between some of the members, the need to keep human-centred development on track drives BRICS cooperation. Issues from supply chain disruptions to financial stability and infrastructure deficits have led to calls to redefine global governance structures; this panel will explore the role that the BRICS could play in this effort.

- With political upheaval in the West, is it up to BRICS to keep the flag of development and growth flying?
- What pitfalls does the BRICS group need to avoid if it is not to repeat the mistakes of the current multilateral order?
- How can BRICS foster greater collaboration in areas such as climate change and digital innovation?
- How can BRICS foster greater connectivity and logistical resilience to move on the shared objective of trade facilitation?
-

Initiators:

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

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

Xie Chao, Associate Professor, Institute of International Studies, Fudan University, China

Alireza Gholipour, Deputy Director General of IPIS & Director, Unit for European Studies; Unit for Asian Studies, Coordinator & Chair of Iran Delegation at BRICS Think-Tank Council, Institute for Political and International Studies, Iran

Walter Desidera, Researcher and Coordinator of Studies in Economic Relations, Institute for Applied Economic Research, Brazil

In the Chair: **Sunaina Kumar**, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

1040-1100

Break

1100-1110

Durbar

Report Launch

Combined Skies: Unlocking the Benefits of UAE-India Aviation Liberalisation for Indian Travellers
Presentation by: **Abdulnasser Jamal Alshaali**, Ambassador of the United Arab Emirates to India

DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

1110-1150

Durbar

Commisars and Capitalists: Politics, Business, and New World Order

Business and geopolitical imperatives are reshaping global trade, finance, and digital landscapes. Like-minded governments, along with their partners in finance and the private sector, are cobbling together means to respond to increasing influence of non-compatible forces: China builds half the world's ships, controls 70 percent of cargo cranes and dominates dry cargo shipping containers. Digital trade and tech sectors in most nations are shaped by CCP's strategic interests. Meanwhile, governments of advanced economies have not been loath to weaponise economic, financial, and trade instruments either. This panel will explore how political decisions are shaping businesses and are being implicated by them.

- How are governments and diplomacy responding, and how is foreign policy evolving amidst shifting global dynamics of trade and finance, and digital weaponisation?
- How are companies exerting their power and how are they responding to increasing ability to determine social, economic, and political outcomes across the world? Are boardrooms cognisant of the responsibility that comes with this new power?
- How is the government-private enterprise relationship evolving in this age of declared and undeclared national champions? What does it mean for trade, finance, and technology?
- How can emerging markets and global supply chains adapt to shifting geopolitical realities in both the physical and cyber domains, ensuring that innovation and free trade are maintained?

Joel Kaplan, Chief Global Affairs Officer, Meta, United States of America

Pierroberto Folgiero, Chief Executive Officer & Managing Director, Fincantieri, Italy

Marianne Demarchi, Chief Executive Officer, Europe, Middle East, Africa, Swift

S. Jaishankar, Minister of External Affairs, India

Moderator: Palki Sharma, Managing Editor, Firstpost, India

DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

1150-1250

Durbar

Deepwater Perils: Securing Trade Through Red Zones

Scene Setter: Mara Motherway, Vice-President, Strategy and Business Development, Lockheed Martin, United States of America

Threats emanating from state and non-state actors are increasingly conflated, with both employing similar tactics and strategies. This shift raises critical questions about the preparedness of armed forces, the evolution of defence architectures, and the adaptation of military doctrines. Nations must determine how to respond to sub-sovereign provocations without escalating conflicts beyond their control. This panel will examine the shifting nature of maritime threats, risks for global security and trade, and the evolving responses required to safeguard vital trade routes.

- With non-state and quasi-state actors often employing asymmetric tactics, are current naval doctrines and technologies truly adequate to counter these unconventional threats?
- With the emergence of 'dark fleets' operating outside regulatory frameworks, what collaborative measures can nations take to improve transparency and accountability in maritime trade?
- With the rapid advancement of defence technologies, how are combat forces integrating innovations such as artificial intelligence, unmanned systems, and cyber capabilities into military preparedness?
- Are current alliances and force deployments sufficient to guarantee freedom of navigation and trade?

Admiral Dinesh K. Tripathi, Chief of the Naval Staff, India

Admiral Justin Jones, Chief of Joint Operations, Australia

Admiral Samuel Paparo, Commander, US Indo-Pacific Command, United States of America

General Romeo S. Brawner, Chief of Staff, Armed Forces of the Philippines

General Yoshihide Yoshida, Chief of Staff of the Joint Staff, Japan

Moderator: Yalda Hakim, Lead World News Presenter, Sky News, United Kingdom

DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

1250-1500

Shahjehan

Conversations
Over Lunch
(By Invite Only)

Virtual Rubicon: Governing Digital Frontiers

Digital spaces are increasingly turning into battlegrounds, yet policymakers must ensure a secure, open, and prosperous online ecosystem. They recognise that the spread of extremist ideologies and the weaponisation of platforms threaten societal stability and national security. Policymakers must address threats to networks and infrastructure, while promoting innovation and maintaining a secure, global digital environment. This panel explore ways to explore effectively regulate digital ecosystems, and balance innovation, stability, and sovereignty.

- How can nations assert sovereignty in cyberspace, particularly regarding telecom networks and information ecosystems, without compromising the open and global nature of digital platforms?
- What regulatory frameworks can curb the spread of extremism and prevent the incitement of violence online, particularly within digital ecosystems and information networks?
- How can tech companies and consumer-facing brands work with governments, regulators, and multi-stakeholder groups to collaborate to support digital ecosystems that balance security, free speech, and innovation in an era of rising cyber threats?
- What role should international cooperation play in establishing global standards for digital governance, ensuring both security and the protection of democratic values across borders?

Athanasios Ntokos, National Security Adviser, Greece

Rajeev Chandrashekar, Former Union Minister of State for Electronics and Information Technology; Skill Development and Entrepreneurship; and Jal Shakti, India

Carl Pei, Chief Executive Officer, Nothing, United Kingdom

Vrinda Kapoor, Chief Executive Officer, 3rdiTech, India

Erin Saltman, Senior Director of Membership & Programs, Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism, United Kingdom

Moderator: Pranjal Sharma, Economic Analyst and Author, India is now the moderator for the session

1250-1500

Mumtaz

Conversations
Over Lunch
(By Invite Only)

Authoritarian AI: Understanding the Politburo of Innovation

Traditional arms races are now being replicated in the digital domain—and AI is the new space race, at the forefront of a growing technological competition. Chinese tech has beaten the odds, producing innovations like DeepSeek that operate at lower costs and with fewer resources. This panel will discuss the implications of China's AI advancements, how authoritarian governance shapes technological progress, and the global impact of this emerging 'Politburo of Innovation'.

- How has China's AI surge dealt with US exports controls? Can these be altered or improved to maintain the West's tech edge?
- As tech hubs and the state grow closer in the US as well as in China, is it still possible to build leadership in AI and frontier tech without replicating China's state-driven model?
- As both the US and China invest heavily in military applications of AI, what risks does this pose for global security? Could an arms race in autonomous weapons lead to new forms of conflict or destabilisation?
- As countries in Africa, Southeast Asia, and Latin America adopt differing AI platforms, models, and regulations, will those choices impact their geopolitical positions? Will the AI revolution reduce their bargaining power, or will it instead allow them to challenge traditional powers?

Smriti Irani, Former Minister of Women and Child Development and Minister of Minority Affairs, India

Amandeep Singh Gill, Under-Secretary-General and Secretary-General's Special Envoy for Digital and Emerging Technology, United Nations

Faheem Ahamed, Group Chief Marketing and Communication Officer, G42, United Arab Emirates

Marietje Schaaake, International Policy Director, Cyber Policy Center, Stanford University, United States of America

Tehilla Shwartz Altshuler, Senior Fellow and Head of Tech Policy and Human Rights Program, Israel Democracy Institute, Israel

Moderator: Debjani Ghosh, Distinguished Fellow, NITI Aayog, India

DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

1250-1500

Roshanara

Conversations
Over Lunch
(By Invite Only)

Trends@Raisina: Timeline 2026

A thought-provoking luncheon symposium, which will feature business leaders, policy experts, and practitioners delving into trends that have dominated the past year and predicting those that will emerge in the next.

Davit Karapetyan, Secretary General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Armenia

- As geopolitical contestation intensifies, what does 2025 have in store for the nature and effectiveness of multilateralism?

Romana Vlahutin, Visiting Distinguished Fellow, German Marshall Fund, Belgium

- How can the EU's connectivity strategy leverage partnerships with like-minded nations to promote sustainable infrastructure development, digital connectivity, and human exchange, while countering the influence of competing global initiatives?

Manuel Muñiz, Provost & Professor of Practice of International Relations, IE University, Spain

- Can the transatlantic relationship maintain its relevance and strength, address shared security concerns, and promote economic cooperation?

Nitin Seth, Co-Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Incedo, United States of America

- Can emerging AI technologies like DeepSeek, with its advanced architecture and cost-effectiveness, serve as a model for other countries to develop similar tools?

Noella Coursaris Musunka, Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Malaika; Ambassador, The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, United States of America

- How can the convergence of education, economic empowerment, and health programmes influence the future of women's leadership globally?

Moderator: Julia Ganter, Programme Director, Körber-Stiftung, Germany

1250-1500

Jehangir

Conversations
Over Lunch
(By Invite Only)

Ministerial Interactions | Fractured Order: Rewriting the Rules or Rebalancing the High-Table?

Northern Lights:

Espen Barth Eide, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Norway

A View from the Caucasus:

Maka Botchorishvili, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Georgia

1250-1500

Sheesh Mahal

Conversations
Over Lunch
(By Invite Only)

Mayoral Roundtable with Dubai Expo

The roundtable will involve discussions and interactive exchanges prompted by the experiences of participants in responding to urban governance challenges and opportunities. It will bring together a kaleidoscope of innovative solutions implemented by the participants who have led their communities in urban settings and seek to put forth some common threads at the end of the exercise. The mayors will also share insights on how their cities are plugged into international networks of cities and how it is assisting in the dispensing of their responsibilities.

Nadia Verjee, Executive Director, Global Initiatives and Advisory, Expo City Dubai, United Arab Emirates

Misha Mittal, Senior Manager, City Advisory, Expo City Dubai, United Arab Emirates

DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

1500-1540	Durbar
	<p>Dark Matters: The Geopolitics of Space</p> <p>Space used to be the domain of superpowers; today 80 nations and multiple big corporations have staked a claim to Earth's final frontier. In 2023, governments spent US\$117 billion on space exploration, yet the future seems poised to belong to the private sector. With untapped natural resources, the technological capacity required to open new pathways to orbit, and valuable near-earth real estate, privatisation by stealth is occurring, raising concerns about the creation of monopolies and restricted access. Privatised R&D, resource extraction, and orbit control create challenges for excluded nations by creating a new and perverse architecture undermining global cooperation. This panel will explore the implications of the privatisation of space.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Earth's near-space was previously perceived to be part of the global commons; how can we prevent the creeping capture through privatisation? Is the same fate equally likely for other celestial domains?• How will emerging economies access space, given the privatisation of R&D, resource extraction, and infrastructure that directly prevents them from being able to do so?• How does the dominance of private capital in space challenge state sovereignty? <p>Ritu Karidhal, Senior Scientist, Indian Space Research Organisation, India Jessy Kate Schingler, Board Member, Open Lunar Foundation, United States of America Sara Sabry, Astronaut, Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Deep Space Initiative, Egypt Moderator: Corinna Hoyer, Co-Chief Executive Officer, WORLD.MINDS, Switzerland</p>
1540 - 1610	Durbar
	<p>When Economics is Political</p> <p>Uncertainty abides about the path of growth over the next few years: Tariff wars, capital flight and the weaponisation of finance and trade complicate any prognosis. India is an island of stability and development; but what of its emerging-economy peers?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Will China meet its ambitious growth targets or is it underestimating the costs of geo-economic conflict?• Will the United States continue to beat the economic odds, or will decades of spending and debt finally catch up? <p>Nouriel Roubini, Professor Emeritus, New York University, United States of America Amitabh Kant, G20 Sherpa, India Moderator: Shamika Ravi, Member, Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, India</p>
1610-1630	Break

DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

1630-1710

Durbar

Climate Action Without Currency: Politics and Reform of Multilateral Finance

How can multilateral finance respond to the climate crisis? Some advocate green priorities for the existing framework, including multilateral development banks; while others argue that this would dilute these institutions' existing mandate to mobilise resources and facilitate financial flows to developing countries. Current lending models for multilateral finance are largely misaligned with the complexities of climate finance or the demands of the private sector. New or radically recast institutions prioritising innovative strategies may be needed to accelerate climate action. This panel will examine the potential for reforming multilateral finance to address the climate crisis.

- What role does perceived risk play in delaying green investment, and how can that be effectively addressed by the multilateral framework? Are MDBs set up to properly hedge currency risk, or are new processes and institutions needed?
- What progress has been made on enhancing the resources available to MDBs? Are alternative routes available for catalytic finance in relevant sectors?
- What mechanisms can be established for MDBs to collaborate with national and local governments to ensure that finance addresses local needs and priorities? How can more effective pipelines for relevant, green projects be constructed?
- Is the traditional role of multilateral finance—poverty alleviation and infrastructure development—being lost or ignored in a rush to find new directions for the existing architecture?

N.K. Singh, Co-Convenor, G20 Independent Expert Group on Strengthening MDBs; President, Institute of Economic Growth; Chairman, 15th Finance Commission, India

André Corrêa do Lago, President, COP30, Brazil

Angel Gurría, Former Secretary-General, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development; Honorary Member, Club de Madrid

Pepukaye Bardouille, Director of the Bridgetown Initiative, Prime Minister's Office, Barbados

Moderator: Christie Ulman, President, Sequoia Climate Foundation, United States of America

1630-1720

Mumtaz

(Parallel Session)

When the Centre Holds: India-EU Partnership and Global Stability

In February 2025, European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen's visit to India with the full College of Commissioners underscored the EU's deepening relationship with India. As a new geopolitical moment unfolds, the India-EU partnership may play a central role in serving the international order and addressing the imperatives of climate change, digital transformation, connectivity, and security. This panel will explore the strategic significance of the India-EU partnership and the prospects for their expanding collaboration.

- Can India and the EU design a unified and impactful proposition that shapes how multilateral institutions respond to key planetary and human challenges?
- What is the potential for an India-EU FTA by the end of this year—and what are other ways to enhance trade and investments in crucial connectivity, infrastructure, and industrial projects?
- In an era where political power is increasingly intertwined with technological and economic influence, how can India and the EU safeguard common interests and values in emerging technology and digital domains?
- How can both actors catalyse implementation of connectivity projects that link the Indo-Pacific with the Mediterranean, and how can Global Gateway be rendered more effective and influential?

Anna Lührmann, Minister of State at the Federal Foreign Office, Germany

Jonatan Vseviõv, Secretary General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Estonia

Tanmaya Lal, Secretary, West, Ministry of External Affairs, India

Kristina Kausch, Deputy Managing Director & Senior Fellow, German Marshall Fund South, United States of America

Garima Mohan, Senior Fellow, Indo-Pacific Program, German Marshall Fund, Germany

Moderator: Amrita Narlikar, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025	
1710-1800	Durbar
	<p>Made in Africa: The Continent that will Shape our Future</p> <p>The people of the African continent will not be spectators but architects of the 21st century's global order. From sustainable energy and climate action to peace, security, trade, and connectivity, perspectives crafted by the nations of Africa will increasingly shape the global agenda. The continent's abundant natural resources and its vibrant demography offer a blend of strengths and opportunities. This panel will examine African countries' evolving roles in global affairs and their contributions to shaping the rest of the century.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What strategies are being devised in African capitals to connect the continent's diverse economic zones to international hubs, and to convert economic growth to last-mile development? • Given Africa's mineral wealth and enviable resources, can we prevent extractive economics from defining the continent's future and invest in Africa-first value addition? • How should African nations select and adopt emerging technologies that are both sustainable and economically viable? What type of partners should they prioritise? • As political polarisation intensifies in the world, with divergent agendas and ideological divides, how can the countries of the continent navigate turbulent geopolitical currents? <p>Mehdi Jomaa, Former Prime Minister, Tunisia Moussa Mara, Former Prime Minister, Mali; Member, Club de Madrid Sarah Agbor Anyang, Vice President, Forum for African Women Educationalists, Kenya; Former Commissioner, African Union Gwendoline Abunaw, Managing Director, Ecobank, Cameroon Karim El Aynaoui, Executive President, Policy Center for the New South, Morocco Moderator: Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, Chief Executive, South African Institute of International Affairs, South Africa</p>
1800-1830	Break
1830-1840	Durbar
	<p>Valedictory Address Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1840-1930	Durbar
	<p>The Big Picture: The World in 50 Minutes</p> <p>This session invites a diverse and eclectic group of leaders, thinkers, and trailblazers to offer their perspectives on the world of tomorrow. With bold questions and candid insights, this session will explore the challenges, opportunities, and transformative forces shaping our global future across politics.</p> <p>Carl Bildt, Former Prime Minister, Sweden Anna Lührmann, Minister of State at the Federal Foreign Office, Germany Mark Suzman, Chief Executive Officer and Board Member, Gates Foundation, United States of America Marietje Schaake, International Policy Director, Cyber Policy Center, Stanford University, United States of America Vikram Misri, Foreign Secretary, India Moderator: Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1930-2000	Transition
2000 - 2130	Shahjehan
Dinner Conversation (By-invite Only)	<p>Raisina Young Fellows Alumni Dinner S. Jaishankar, Minister of External Affairs, India</p>

DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

2000 - 2130	Roshanara
Dinner Conversation (By-invite Only)	<p>Technical Workshop on Peace-making</p> <p>An in-depth discussion on conflicts in West Asia, Africa, and Europe. Each session will feature experts on the region and the specific conflict being studied.</p> <p>Co-Chairs: Dag Nylander, Director, Norwegian Centre for Conflict Resolution, Norway Ajay Bisaria, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p> <p>Initiators: Volker Perthes, Senior Distinguished Fellow, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Germany Charles Petrie, Former Assistant Secretary General, United Nations Itonde Kakoma, President, Interpeace, Switzerland Yair Hirschfeld, Senior Lecturer, Department of Middle East History, University of Haifa, Israel Almut Wieland-Karimi, Advisory Board Member, Stiftung Mercator, Germany Danielle Alakija, Founder & Chief Executive Officer, The SOLI Group, Nigeria</p>
2000-2130	Mumtaz
Dinner Conversation (By-invite Only)	<p>Mumtaz Urban Innovators Lab: Shaping Solutions for Cities with Expo City Dubai</p> <p>This session will be an engaging townhall where students will collaborate, ideate and engage the most pressing challenges cities around the world are confronted with. Their ideas and inputs would form part of the discussions at the Asia Pacific Cities Summit & Mayors' Forum 2025.</p> <p>John McGinnis, Senior Manager, Programme and Events, Expo City Dubai, United Arab Emirates Misha Mittal, Senior Manager, City Advisory, Expo City Dubai, United Arab Emirates</p>
2130-2145	Transition
2145-2215	Durbar
(For Speakers and Delegates only)	Sahakriya: A Musical Performance
2215-2245	Durbar
(For Speakers and Delegates only)	<p>The Curtain Call</p> <p>Join three leading journalists as they share unique takes on the most pressing global events shaping our world today. With insights from India, Australia, and the US, this conversation promises to offer a dynamic view of the challenges and transformations across continents. This session reverses the gaze, with interrogators becoming instead the subjects of inquiry.</p> <p>In Conversation with: Palki Sharma, Managing Editor, Firstpost, India Matthew Kaminski, Editor at Large, POLITICO, United States of America Yalda Hakim, Lead World News Presenter, Sky News, United Kingdom Moderator: Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>

DPI CONCLAVE

MARCH 20, 2025

0900	Arrival at Sushma Swaraj Bhawan
0900-0950	Breakfast
0950-1000	Welcome Address Vikram Misri , Foreign Secretary, India
1000-1030	In conversation with Amandeep Singh Gill , Under-Secretary-General and Secretary-General's Envoy for Digital and Emerging Technology, United Nations The DPI ecosystem has evolved rapidly in the last few years. While the initial efforts on DPI were undertaken by the governments to support digital transformation, this new phase of DPI is characterised by joint efforts of the markets, national governments, DPG asset holders, international organisations and philanthropies. Accordingly, the role of international organisations becomes increasingly important as witnessed in the Universal DPI Safeguards process and the Global Digital Compact. <ul style="list-style-type: none">• How are UN and other international organisations responding to the growth of DPI globally?• How can DPI support the aspirations of the Global South?• How can we develop a consensus on the regulation and safeguards for the DPI?• How important is the UN when it comes to the future of global DPI? Moderator: Rudra Chaudhuri , Director, Carnegie India
1030-1115	DPI: Accelerating Innovation? DPIs have emerged as powerful enablers of entrepreneurship by providing the foundational layers on which enterprises can build innovative solutions. By offering open technology standards and interoperable frameworks, DPIs lower entry barriers, reduce business costs, and create an environment conducive to experimentation and innovation. However, there are concerns that DPIs may inadvertently hinder certain aspects of innovation due to challenges like over-regulation, the risk of market concentration, and the potential for market lock-ins. <ul style="list-style-type: none">• How can DPIs be designed to minimise innovation while ensuring robust security and privacy protections?• What strategies can be employed to minimise risks like over-regulation and market concentration?• Additionally, what role does the private sector play in harnessing DPIs for innovation, and how can public-private collaborations be leveraged to enhance entrepreneurial outcomes? Innar Liiv , Professor of Big Data, Tallinn University of Technology, Estonia Jainaba Sowe , Public Relations Officer, Open Gambia Network and Human Resources Assistant National Water and Electricity Company Ltd, Gambia Shriyanka Hore , Managing Director, Global Head of Industry Engagement, Swift Tshering Cigay Dorji , Former Chief Executive Officer, Thimphu TechPark, Bhutan Moderator: Pranjal Sharma , Economic Analyst and Author, India
1115-1135	Break

MARCH 20, 2025

1135-1225	<p>DPI Diplomacy: Building Bridges, Benefiting Nations</p> <p>DPIs' transformative success in India, and their demonstrated replicability across diverse country contexts, has led to their emergence as a new tool for international cooperation and diplomacy. For instance, a host of countries in the Indo-Pacific have begun to adopt and adapt the DPI model; multilaterals like the Quad and the SCO are keen to utilise DPIs for regional development; the US and the EU have expressed interest in partnering with India to provide global leadership around DPI and support third countries; and the EU and India are working towards making their digital infrastructures more interoperable. These collaborations could enable national and cross-border digital transformation, and open up new avenues for innovation using frontier and emerging technologies.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Is DPI helping inaugurate a new era of international cooperation and diplomacy?• Which elements and attributes of the Indian DPI model hold the greatest appeal for the world?• How might businesses better leverage the opportunities for public-private cooperation and innovation that DPIs offer?• Are there any major instances of foreign ministries working with the private sector on DPI initiatives that could act as operating models? <p>Rohit Rathish, Joint Secretary [DPA-III], Minister of External Affairs, India C V Madhukar, Chief Executive Officer, Co- Develop, India Erin Watson, Managing Director, Baker & York, Australia Sarah Agbor Anyang, Vice President, Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE), Kenya; Former Commissioner, African Union Sanjay Jain, Director, DPI, Gates Foundation, India Moderator: Anirban Sarma, Director, Center for Digital Societies, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1225-1315	<p>Navigating the DPI-AI Nexus: Balancing Data, Privacy, and Progress</p> <p>The integration of Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) with Artificial Intelligence (AI) presents a powerful opportunity to create widespread societal benefits. Data housed within DPI systems—spanning critical sectors such as healthcare, education, transportation, and governance—can fuel AI solutions that are not only transformative but also inclusive. By unlocking this data, AI can enhance capabilities, boost efficiencies, and deliver data-driven solutions to complex challenges that benefit diverse communities.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• What are the primary challenges in integrating AI with DPI systems, particularly in terms of technical, ethical, and regulatory hurdles?• How can the need for data be balanced with the right to privacy?• How can data sharing be facilitated across sectors while maintaining transparency, trust, and accountability? <p>Sanket S. Bhondve, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Electronics & Information Technology, India Dushni Weerakoon, Executive Director, Institute of Policy Studies of Sri Lanka, Sri Lanka Nitin Seth, Co-founder and Chief Executive Officer, Incedo, United States of America Sabeen Malik, Vice President, Global Government Affairs and Public Policy, Rapid7, United States of America Sharad Sharma, Co-Founder, iSPIRT, India Moderator: Rahul Matthan, Partner, Trilegal, India</p>
1315-1330	<p>Keynote Address: S. Krishnan, Secretary, Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology, India</p>
1330-1340	<p>Vote of Thanks: Raghuram S, Joint Secretary (Policy Planning & Research), Ministry of External Affairs, India</p> <p>Closing Remarks: Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1340 onwards	<p>Lunch</p>



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Raisina Ideas Pod

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In Conversation

Christopher Luxon, Prime Minister, New Zealand

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

AU in the G20

This session will examine the evolving role of the African Union within the G20 framework and its implications for Africa's global influence, especially as the continent aligns its aspirations with the AU's Agenda 2063.

Samuel Okudzeto Ablakwa, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ghana Sarah Agbor Anyang, Vice President, Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE), Kenya; Former Commissioner, African Union

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

In Conversation

Ruben Brekelmans, Minister of Defense, The Netherlands

Moderator: Harsh V. Pant, Vice President, Observer Research Foundation, India

In Conversation

Hassan El Khatib, Minister of Investment and Foreign Trade, Egypt

Moderator: Mihir Swarup Sharma, Director, Centre for Economy and Growth Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India

Crypto Bros or Cons

This session will explore the ongoing debate over crypto currency's role in the financial world, scrutinising whether it is a legitimate asset or just a speculative gamble, and how regulators should respond at the national and global level.

Hoda Al Khzaimi, Assistant Professor and Director, Center for Cyber Security, NYU, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates

Del Titus Bawuah, Chief Executive Officer, Web3 Africa Group, Ghana

Moderator: Lydia Kostopoulos, Senior Strategy and Emerging Technologies Advisor, Abundance Studio, United States of America

In Conversation

Andrii Sybiha, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ukraine

Moderator: Palki Sharma, Managing Editor, Firstpost, India

Europe's East Asia Conundrum

As Europe re-examines its strategic capabilities and its future in a polarised world, questions will be asked about its relationship with the great powers, including China. This session will examine Europe's economic dependencies and strategic interests in the immediate future and how Europe can reassert its values and agency in response to the assertive powers.

Baiba Braže, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Latvia

Marco Perestrello, President of NATO Parliamentary Assembly; Member of Parliament, Portugal

Moderator: Palki Sharma, Managing Editor, Firstpost, India

In Conversation

Dominique Hasler, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Education and Sport, Liechtenstein

Moderator: Shairee Malhotra, Deputy Director, Strategic Studies Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India

Conflicts Less Spoken About

While the Western gaze might be turned towards Ukraine or Gaza, there are frozen and active conflicts in the African continent that deserve greater global attention. This session will explore how the broader geopolitical landscape impacts the choices of African capitals and peace-making prospects in the continent.

Moussa Mara, Former Prime Minister, Mali

Comfort Ero, President and Chief Executive Officer, International Crisis Group, United Kingdom

Moderator: Lukhanyo Neer, Chief Operating Officer, Thabo Mbeki Foundation, South Africa

Taking Stock of the Asian Century

This session will explore the evolving dynamics of the 'Asian Century' examining the complex interplay between collaboration and contestation in the region, particularly as influenced by a new Trump presidency. The discussion will delve into how China is likely to react to developments in Europe and across the Atlantic, and how East Asian countries, including South Korea and Japan, are positioning themselves in this shifting geopolitical landscape.

Kishore Mahbubani, Distinguished Fellow, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore

Moderator: Harsh V. Pant, Vice President, Observer Research Foundation, India

In Conversation

Péter Szijjártó, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Hungary

Moderator: Kanchan Gupta, Senior Advisor, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India

An Age for Partnerships, not Alliances?

Unlike the security in the Atlantic, which was based on alliances, security in the Indo-Pacific will be based on partnerships. This session will delve into how countries in the Indo-Pacific region are navigating these partnerships and will analyse the benefits, challenges, and future trajectories of such partnerships in an increasingly tense Indo-Pacific region.

Abraham Denmark, Director, Asia Program, The Asia Group, United States of America

Bernard Philip, First Assistant Secretary, International Policy Division, Australia

Moderator: Dhruva Jaishankar, Executive Director, ORF America, United States of America

Distressed Democracy

This session will discuss how the US has been grappling with deepening divisions and is now mired in internal crises and discord. The current discourse is marked by hostility rather than constructive dialogue; economic inequality; racial injustice; and generational disconnect.

Jane Holl Lute, President and Chief Executive Officer, SICPA, United States of America

Max Abrahms, Associate Professor of Political Science, Northeastern University, United States of America

Moderator: Gautam Chikermane, Vice President, Observer Research Foundation, India

ASEAN in a Polarised World

Southeast Asia is at the centre of growth and trade in the 21st century, but it must also deal with a shifting security landscape in the Indo-Pacific. This session will explore how Thailand and the Philippines view their strategic interests and their future.

Maris Sangiampongsa, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thailand

Enrique Manalo, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Philippines

Moderator: Palki Sharma, Managing Editor, Firstpost, India

In Conversation

Rafael Mariano Grossi, Director General, International Atomic Energy Agency

Moderator: Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India

In Conversation

Xavier Bettel, Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade; and Minister for Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Affairs, Luxembourg

Moderator: Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India

Strategic Actor or Woke Continent?

With the recent elections, is the European consensus further frayed? In the fight between centripetal forces and centrifugal forces, who is winning? This panel will explore Europe's ability to rise beyond this discord and rebuild its role on the global stage as a strategic actor and a key geopolitical influencer.

Gladden Pappin, President, Hungarian Institute of International Affairs, United States of America

Attila Demkó, Head of the Strategic Foresight Program, John Lukacs Institute, Ludovika University of Public Service, Hungary

Moderator: Kanchan Gupta, Senior Advisor, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, India

In Conversation

Noura bint Mohammed Al Kaabi, Minister of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Arab Emirates

Moderator: Navdeep Suri, Visiting Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

What Does the South Want?

This session will discuss the growing influence of the Global South in international forums, and how its diverse aspirations can be constructively channelled to modernise traditional power structures.

Arzu Rana Deuba, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nepal

Julia Ganter, Programme Director, Körber-Stiftung, Germany

Moderator: Prathik S Vinod, Associate Producer, Firstpost, India

In Conversation

Elmer Schialer Salcedo, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Peru

Moderator: Dhruva Jaishankar, Executive Director, ORF America, United States of America

Japan's Strategic Investments

This session will explore Japan's strategies for investing in a strategic future, focusing on its role in global supply chains, securing access to critical minerals, and maintaining relevance in an evolving global landscape.

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

Osamu Yamamoto, Chief Executive Officer, Unison Capital Management Pte. Ltd., Japan

Moderator: Jhanvi Tripathi, Associate Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

DEI Disrupted

This session will explore how the evolving US stance on DEI is impacting global policies, corporate practices, and international governance, and whether it signals the beginning of a broader rethinking of diversity efforts around the world.

James Carafano, Senior Counselor to the President and E.W. Richardson Fellow, The Heritage Foundation, United States of America

Bonnie Glick, Adjunct Senior Fellow, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, United States of America

Moderator: Gurshheen Gahlen, Senior Associate Producer, Firstpost, India

Why Can't Europe Agree on China?

Across the European continent, divergent positions on China have created a patchwork of policies and incoherent politics. This fragmentation has complicated the EU's ability to develop a unified and strategic approach toward Beijing.

Laimonas Talat-Kelpša, Political Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lithuania

Małgorzata Bonikowska, President, Centre for International Relations, Poland

Moderator: Gautam Chikermane, Vice President, Observer Research Foundation, India

What's Next for Energy and the Green Deal?

The global green transition requires new energy supply chains to be robust, resilient, and well financed. Scaling up new energy ecosystems and achieving green growth will require international collaboration: with finance, technology, and production capabilities from different geographies being brought together. This session examines the prospects of a global green deal, exploring the challenges and opportunities for countries to collaborate on green energy and decarbonisation.

Jayant Sinha, Former Minister of State for Civil Aviation, India

Alok Sharma, Former President, COP26, 26th United Nations Climate Change Conference

Moderator: Mannat Jaspal, Director & Fellow, Climate and Energy, ORF Middle East, United Arab Emirates

China Down Under

This session will examine the shifting security dynamics in the Indo-Pacific region, with a focus on China's growing influence and its implications for regional stability.

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

Masafumi Ishii, Special Adjunct Professor, Faculty of Law, Gakushuin University, Japan

Moderator: Lisa Singh, Chief Executive Officer, Australia India Institute, Australia

In Conversation

Admiral Samuel Paparo, USN, Commander, U.S. Indo-Pacific Command

Moderator: Harsh V. Pant, Vice President, Observer Research Foundation, India

Leadership in a Crisis

This session will delve into the critical role of leadership during a crisis, whether in political or business contexts. Jemma King will discuss how effective leaders navigate uncertainties, make tough decisions, and inspire confidence in turbulent times. The conversation will explore the traits and strategies that define strong leadership when the stakes are high.

Jemma King, Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Queensland School of Psychology; Specialist External Advisor to McKinsey & Co., Australia

Moderator: Lavanya Mani, Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

Trilateral North-South Connectivity

The International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC) envisioned a new bridge for trade, connecting the fast-growing economic dynamo of the Global South with markets to their north. Built into the concept was the centrality of the Caucasus as a bridge between north and south. In April 2023, India, Armenia and Iran jointly took responsibility for reinvigorating the work on the corridor and overcoming the challenges in an era of disruption and uncertainty.

Vahan Kostanyan, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Armenia

Saeed Khatibzadeh, President, Institute for Political and International Studies, Iran

Moderator: Harsh V. Pant, Vice President, Observer Research Foundation, India

From Cape Town to Capitol Hill

The G20 presidency is due to shift from South Africa to the US, which will create a new dynamic in global governance. This discussion explores the impact of US leadership on the G20's agenda and its ability to address global issues such as economic inequality, climate change, and security. With an emphasis on America's influence, the session looks ahead to how the G20 will evolve under this transition.

Keiti da Rocha Gomes, Director, Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, Brazil

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

Moderator: Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, Chief Executive, South African Institute of International Affairs, South Africa

Connectivity Blueprint from the Indo-Pacific to the Mediterranean

The maritime landscape from the Indo-Pacific to the Mediterranean is witnessing a transformation through enhanced shipbuilding capabilities, new shipping routes and port modernisation initiatives. This session will discuss the opportunities that this evolving seascape presents for technology sharing, green shipping corridors and coordinated port infrastructure development across this vital maritime expanse.

Tristan Aureau, Head, Policy Planning Department, Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, France

Symeon Tsomokos, Founder and President, Delphi Economic Forum, Greece

Moderator: Palki Sharma, Managing Editor, Firstpost, India

Europe in the Concert of Waters

As the Arctic and Indo-Pacific regions become key areas of geopolitical competition, this session will examine the security challenges posed by the growing influence of China and Russia in these regions, and how the West, particularly Europe, can respond.

Nicolai Ruge, Ambassador, Special Representatives for Maritime Security, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Denmark

Hans-Christian Hagman, Deputy National Security Adviser for Strategy, Head of the Office for Strategic Analysis and National Security Coordination, National Security Council, Prime Minister's Office, Sweden

Moderator: Kabir Taneja, Deputy Director and Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

Calm over the Taiwan Strait

This session will explore the many issues that centre on Taiwan examining its relationship with the mainland, its extraordinary geo-economic importance, and its evolving role on the global stage amidst rising geopolitical tensions.

I-Chung Lai, President, The Prospect Foundation

Hiroyuki Akita, Foreign & International Security Commentator, Nikkei Asia, Japan

Moderator: Gursheen Gahlen, Senior Associate Producer, Firstpost, India

Rewriting Germany's Limits

Germany's political landscape is undergoing a significant shift as the country moves to loosen its constitutional debt restrictions to enable €1 trillion in defence and infrastructure spending. This strategic shift challenges long-standing fiscal policies, aiming to bolster national security and economic growth and promises major implications for both the domestic economy and Europe's security landscape.

Bastian Schneider, Judge, Karlsruhe Administrative Court, Germany

Adrian Haack, Director, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, India

Moderator: Prathik S Vinod, Associate Producer, Firstpost, India

Opportunities Connect

This session will examine how the India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor (IMEC) can reshape global connectivity, foster economic growth, and enhance geopolitical stability through enhanced cooperation between India, the Middle East, and Europe.

Pierroberto Folgiero, Chief Executive Officer & Managing Director, Fincantieri, Italy

Francesco Parisi, Chief Executive Officer, Parisi Group of Companies, Italy

Romana Vlahutin, Visiting Distinguished Fellow, German Marshall Fund, Belgium

Moderator: Kaush Arha, President, Free & Open Indo-Pacific Forum, United States of America

The Need to Invest in Liberal Fleets

This session will examine the geopolitical implications of China's dominance in shipping and maritime infrastructure, exploring how global trade dynamics are shifting and what policies may be necessary to ensure a more diversified and secure maritime future.

Sanjeev Sanyal, Member, Economic Advisory Council of the Prime Minister, India

Brent Sadler, Senior Research Fellow, Naval Warfare and Advanced Technology, Allison Center for National Security, The Heritage Foundation, United States of America

Moderator: Rachel Rizzo, Senior Fellow, Europe Center, Atlantic Council, United States of America

Financing Climate Resilience

This session will explore how climate finance can be restructured to address the unique needs of vulnerable nations, focusing on debt sustainability and scalable solutions. It will examine how global initiatives can foster climate resilience and sustainable development in at-risk countries

Pepukaye Bardouille, Director of Bridgetown Initiative, Special Adviser on Climate Resilience, Prime Minister's Office, Barbados

Nilanjan Ghosh, Vice President, Development Studies, Observer Research Foundation, India

Moderator: Mannat Jaspal, Director & Fellow, Climate and Energy, Observer Research Foundation Middle East, United Arab Emirates

In Conversation

Athanasios Ntokos, National Security Adviser, Greece

Moderator: Palki Sharma, Managing Editor, Firstpost, India



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PEOPLE PEACE PLANET

**ASSOCIATED
EVENTS**

MARCH 17, 2025

ORF Conference Room **India-France Track 1.5 Dialogue**

Jehangir **Raisina IE Global Students Challenge**

Roshanara **The Asia Bridge: Shaping the Future of EU-India Economic Opportunities**

MARCH 18, 2025

Jehangir **Raisina IE Global Student Challenge**

MARCH 19, 2025

Jehangir **Raisina IE Global Student Challenge**

MARCH 20, 2025

Sushma Swaraj Bhawan **DPI Conclave**

Oberoï **India-US-Russia Trilateral**

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OBSERVER
RESEARCH
FOUNDATION

20 Rouse Avenue
New Delhi-110002
Ph: +91-11-35332000 | Fax: +91-11-35332005
www.orfonline.org | contactus@orfonline.org