



RAISINA

DIALOGUE 2024

21-23 February, 2024 | New Delhi

CHATURANGA

CONFLICT, CONTEST, COOPERATE, CREATE

Conference Report



CHATURANGA

CONFLICT, CONTEST, COOPERATE, CREATE

Conference Report

The Raisina Dialogue is India's flagship conference on geopolitics and geoeconomics, held annually since 2016. It is co-hosted by the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) and the Ministry of External Affairs, India. The ninth edition of the Raisina Dialogue was held from 21–23 February 2024.

The theme of Raisina Dialogue 2024 was “**Chaturanga: Conflict, Contest, Cooperate, Create**”. Over three days, the Dialogue had panel discussions and conversations across multiple formats on six thematic pillars:

- (i) Tech Frontiers: Regulations and Realities;
- (ii) Peace with the Planet: Invest and Innovate;
- (iii) War and Peace: Armouries and Asymmetries;
- (iv) Decolonising Multilateralism: Institutions and Inclusion;
- (v) The Post-2030 Agenda: People and Progress;
- (vi) Defending Democracy: Society and Sovereignty.

The QUAD edition of the Raisina Young Fellows programme also took place on the sidelines of the Dialogue.

Contents

6

Hosts of the Raisina Dialogue 2024

7

Team Raisina

10

Outcome Statement

15

Messages

Sessions

25

Conference Opener:
India-Armenia Dialogue

29

Conference Opener: UNSC First: Re-
forming Multilateralism

31

Inaugural Dinners: Looking Back,
Looking Ahead: The Long Decade

34

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

37

Inaugural Dinners: Navigating Health
Futures: Equity and Inclusion in a
Dynamic World

39

Inaugural Dinners: South Rising:
Institutionalising a South-First
Approach at G20

42

Conversations Over Kahwa: The State,
the Non-state and the Quasi-State:
Responding to 3D Terror

44

Conversations Over Kahwa: Woke
Politics? Mobilisations vs Money

47

Conversations Over Breakfast:
Deterrence and Decoupling: Decoding
the West's China Stance

49

Conversations Over Breakfast: New
Value Chains: Electronics, Ecosystems
and Prosperity

51

Conversations Over Breakfast: Digital
Utopia: Seeking Light at the End of the
Tunnel

53

Conversations Over Breakfast: The
BIMSTEC Parley: Inclusive Growth and
Sustainable Development

56

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

59

Panel Discussion: A Tapestry of Truths:
Can the Two Hemispheres Agree?

- 62 Panel Discussion: Solving the Energy Trilemma: Access, Affordability, Availability
- 65 In Conversation: Ashwini Vaishnaw, Minister for Communications, Electronics & Information Technology and Railways, India
- 67 Lunch Conversations: From the Indo-Pacific to the Med-Atlantic: Geometries of Growth
- 70 Lunch Conversations: Whose AI is it Anyway?
- 73 Lunch Conversations: Europe in the Indo-Pacific
- 76 Lunch Conversations: Trends @ Raisina
- 78 Panel Discussion: As the Ice Melts: The New Arctic Chessboard
- 80 Ministerial Remarks: Meenakashi Lekhi, Minister of State for External Affairs, India
- 82 Panel Discussion: Promethean Puzzle: Will Science Secure – or Upend – the World Order?
- 84 Panel Discussion: People, Planet, and Prosperity: Invest, Finance and Grow
- 86 Panel Discussion: Fractured Politics: Is Development a Casualty of War?
- 88 Panel Discussion: Emerging Technologies: A Panacea for the SDGs?
- 91 Dinner Conversations: Code, Court & Constitution: Challenging Tech's Monopoly on Influence
- 93 Dinner Conversations: The Russia Files
- 96 Dinner Conversations: Angry Planet: Investing in the Age of Resilience and Adaptation
- 99 Conversations Over Kahwa: The Democracy Divide: Universal Norms & Local Practices
- 101 Conversations Over Kahwa: The America Files
- 104 Conversations Over Breakfast: Asymmetric Governance: How can Multilateralism work with Multipolarity?
- 106 Conversations Over Breakfast: The Europe Files
- 109 Conversations Over Breakfast: Desecuritising Development: Resilience in the Indo-Pacific
- 112 Conversations Over Breakfast: Inclusive Vistas: BRICS, G20 and the Global South
- 115 Panel Discussion: Back to the Future: A New Era of Conflict in Europe?
- 117 Panel Discussion: The Wonk Tank: Where Expertise Meets Authority
- 119 Panel Discussion: The New Wars: Policies, Practices, and Preparation

- 121 In Conversation: Piyush Goyal, Minister of Commerce and Industry, Consumer Affairs, Food and Public Distribution, Textiles; and Leader of the House, Rajya Sabha, India
- 124 Lunch Conversations: Democratic Dollars: Can the Planet Reclaim the Bretton Woods?
- 127 Lunch Conversations: Fragile Dividend: Addressing the 'Old' versus the 'New' in West Asia
- 130 Lunch Conversations: Quad Tech Alliance: Innovate, Integrate, Inspire
- 133 Lunch Conversations: The Africa Files
- 136 Panel Discussion: Red Haze: The 'Derisking' Question
- 139 Panel Discussion: Development Deficit: Towards a Post 2030 Agenda
- 142 Ministerial Remarks: Rajkumar Ranjan Singh, Minister of State for External Affairs, India
- 144 Panel Discussion: Her Road from India: From Boardrooms to Global Institutions
- 146 Panel Discussion: Talking Heads: Solutions from the South
- 149 Panel Discussion: From the Aegean Sea to the South China Sea: Responding to Maritime Sieges
- 152 Raisina QUAD Think Tank Forum
- 163 Associated Events: Raisina Global Student Challenge
- 167 Associated Events: Asia Bridge: Economic Partnerships for the 21st Century—Closed door Indo-German Business Breakfast
- 169 Associated Events: India-Nigeria Community Bridge

172

Raisina Dialogue 2024 Agenda

216

Raisina 2024 Partners

HOSTS



**VINAY MOHAN
KWATRA**

Foreign Secretary,
Ministry of External
Affairs



SUNJOY JOSHI

Chairman,
Observer Research
Foundation



RAGHURAM S.

Joint Secretary, Policy
Planning and Research
Ministry of External
Affairs

CURATOR



SAMIR SARAN

President,
Observer Research
Foundation

TEAM RAISINA



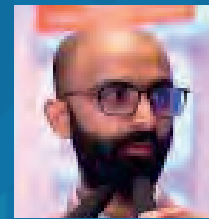
Tanoubi Ngangom
Chief of Staff & Head of Programming



Laetitia Bruce Warjri
Head of Communications



Pulkit Mohan
Head of Forums



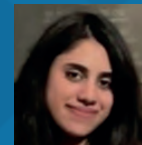
Shubh Soni
Head of Partnerships



Aamir Rabbani
Multimedia Lead



Devjyoti Saha
Former Intern



Inayat Rai
Research Assistant



Abhishek Sharma
Manager, Visual Media



Fiza Jain
Research Assistant,
Media and Publications



Karun Sagar
Multi-Media Creator



Asad Abdul Samad
Administration Manager



Goitseone Sebalo
Executive Assistant
to the CEO, Thabo Mbeki Foundation



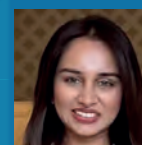
Komal Badodekar
Multi-Media Lead (Hindi)



Basu Chandola
Associate Fellow



Harsh Suri
Former Intern



Megha Choubey
Associate Fellow



Natalie Boyse

Program Manager,
Global Programs



Sanjay Verma

Web Manager



**Sukhmani
Sharma**

Programme
Coordinator



Noyontara Gupta

Junior Fellow,
Programmes,
Appraisal and
Management



Sanjith Srikanth

Manager, Projects



Vijay Seth

Manager



Phindile Ndlovu

Project Officer,
Thabo Mbeki
Foundation



Sankalita Dey

Manager, Web &
Production



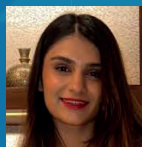
Vinia Mukherjee

Publisher



**Preeti Lourdes
John**

Former Deputy
Editor



Sarah Sawhney

Research Assistant,
Media and
Publications



Vivek Kumar

Research Assistant,
Centre for New
Economic
Diplomacy



**Rahil Miya
Shaikh**

Lead, Graphics
and Design



**Shubhanjay
Varma**

Digital & Analytics
Manager



Yash Tyagi

Former Intern



Rishith Sinha

Former Research
Assistant,
President's Office



Sonali Sharma

Deputy Manager
Administration



Roshani Jain

Research Assistant,
South Asia



Stelin Paul

Associate Fellow,
Media and
Publications

RAISINA RAPPORTEURS

Aditya Gowdara Shivamurthy,

Associate Fellow

Mannat Jaspal,

Associate Fellow

Sanjith Srikanth,

Manager, Projects

Amoha Basrur,

Research Assistant

Prateek Tripathi,

Research Assistant

Sauradeep Bag,

Associate Fellow

Basu Chandola,

Associate Fellow

Pratnashree Basu,

Associate Fellow

Shailee Malhotra,

Associate Fellow

Debosmita Sarkar,

Junior Fellow

Prithvi Gupta,

Junior Fellow

Shivam Shekhawat,

Junior Fellow

Gopalika Arora,

Associate Fellow

Prithvi Gupta,

Junior Fellow

Shoba Suri,

Senior Fellow

Inayat Rai,

Research Assistant

Rajoli Siddharth,

Research Assistant

Shravishtha Ajaykumar,

Associate Fellow

Jhanvi Tripathi,

Associate Fellow

Rishith Sinha,

Former Research Assistant

Soumya Bhowmick,

Associate Fellow

Kabir Taneja,

Fellow

Roshani Jain,

Research Assistant, South Asia

Vivek Kumar,

Research Assistant

Kalpiti Mankikar,

Fellow

Sameer Patil,

Senior Fellow

Vivek Mishra,

Fellow

Malancha Chakrabarty,

Senior Fellow and Deputy
Director (Research)

Samir Bhattacharya,

Associate Fellow



RAISINA

DIALOGUE 2024

CHATURANGA

CONFLICT, CONTEST, COOPERATE, CREATE

OUTCOME STATEMENT





SINA

OGU 2024

U ANI

OPERAN

Inaugural Session

The **Raisina Dialogue** was inaugurated by Shri Narendra Modi, Prime Minister of India, and Chief Guest, H.E. Kyriakos Mitsotakis, Prime Minister of Greece. Explaining the theme of the ninth edition of the Dialogue, “Chaturanga: Conflict, Contest, Cooperate, Create,” Dr Samir Saran, President of the Observer Research Foundation, stated that the Dialogue engages with these four most visible contemporary trends. Despite living in a century defined by conflicts and contests, India’s G20 Presidency demonstrated that consensus can be achieved.

In his inaugural address, Prime Minister Mitsotakis commended Indian democracy and noted that it needs to be celebrated as an example of a democracy that delivers strong economic growth and social cohesion. He underlined the importance of the Greece-India partnership, tying together both the world’s oldest and largest democracies. He elaborated on the commonalities between the two countries, highlighting their shared pursuit of sustainable growth and prosperity. Additionally, he emphasised how both nations have demonstrated the power of innovative approaches to development and have



leveraged digital technologies. Despite all this, Mitsotakis cautioned that as democracies, they are vulnerable, and therefore, must be cautious of the emerging challenges.

Noting India's importance in contributing to global peace and prosperity, Prime Minister Mitsotakis asserted that strengthening its partnership with India should be the cornerstone of the European Union's foreign policy. He observed that India is rightly perceived as a 'consensus builder' and declared Greece's support for the reform and expansion of the United Nations Security Council, which includes countries like India, strengthening the world body.

The Prime Minister also underscored Greece's strategic geographical position, positioning it as a crucial gateway to Europe for Indian businesses, proposing initiatives to bolster connectivity such as the India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor (IMEC). Amidst escalating global geopolitical tensions, both nations reiterated their commitment to fostering peace and stability, showcasing their joint efforts in addressing pressing issues such as climate change. He outlined Greece's substantial investments in renewable energy and digital economies, highlighting the potential for collaboration between the two nations in these sectors. Furthermore, he discussed

ambitious plans to double bilateral trade by 2030, emphasising the growth opportunities, particularly in the tourism sector. Concluding his address, the Prime Minister emphasised the importance of safeguarding democracy against contemporary threats, including the misuse of artificial intelligence, urging Greece and India to collaborate in promoting public discourse and upholding democratic principles on the global stage.

While concluding his remarks, Mitsotakis described the Raisina Dialogue as an “Agora,” where competing ideas can be tested against each other and elaborated on how this best captured the democracies’ commitment to promoting dialogue and debate.

Echoing Prime Minister Mitsotakis’ remarks, Dr S. Jaishankar, India’s Minister of External Affairs, in his vote of thanks, mentioned that as democracies, India and Greece tend to take a long view of challenges. Highlighting Greece’s importance in expanding Indian global footprint, he added that a mobility agreement would deepen this bilateral relationship. Moreover, as civilisational states, India and Greece have the responsibility to contribute to the evolution of the contemporary global order.

Dr Jaishankar stressed that the event marked a milestone in deepening the partnership between India and Greece, focusing on enhancing connectivity and economic collaboration. He thanked all participants and organisers for their contributions and dedication, encouraging continued engagement in advancing shared objectives. Dr Jaishankar reiterated his unwavering optimism for the future and underlined the pivotal role of the Raisina Dialogue as the ‘Made in India’ version of a global public square, a platform that fosters global conversations and collaborations.

– Sameer Patil and Inayat Rai



Message From the Chairman Observer Research Foundation

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

There are some today who despair the return of another Dark Age. The parallels are numerous. For one, a Black Death came a-knocking at the turn of the decade. The prosperous fenced themselves in while the rest suffered inhumane losses. War proliferated across the face of the globe, with conflicts no longer constrained by rules or conventions. New instruments of war—cutting off access to food, energy, finance, data, and information—were deployed at scale.

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

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

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

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

But Chaturanga has yet another meaning besides warcraft. It is a genre of musical composition, a performance in four parts spun out in real time where the notes, the words, the meanings, and

the rhythms come together to make a harmonious whole. Far from a game of conflict and discord, Chaturanga is about exploring the harmony of concord.

While the global panorama may appear pessimistic, 2023 emerged as a pivotal year for forging consensus, within the Global South as well as across the North and South. The global community was able to reconsider its approach and engage with longstanding allies. As we convene the 9th edition of the Raisina Dialogue, we aspire to build upon India's G20 legacy of fostering consensus and devising global solutions. I extend my best wishes to all engaging in thought-provoking conversations that engender a shift from conflicts and contests to cooperation and creation. May these dialogues help pave the way for a better world for all.

– Sunjoy Joshi



Message From From the President Observer Research Foundation

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

The theme of this edition of the Raisina Dialogue is perhaps more apt than ever before. Chaturanga, the ancient Indian game of battlefield strategy and the ancestor of modern chess, involved four

elements: infantry, artillery, elephantry, and chariotry. In older times, when civilisations were built on hard power and coercion, these were the four tools that dominated and decided the politics of the day. With time, the world has evolved and grown more complex. The means have changed, but the ends remain the same.

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

Conflict

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

Contest

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

Cooperate

The Pandora's box of multipolarity has unleashed troubling forces. But it also holds hope. India's G20 Presidency demonstrated conclusively that even in a polarised, divided, and divisive time, consensus can be built. The cooperation achieved in New Delhi on global climate action is heartening. India has foregrounded Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam, emphasising the inherent unity of the world and the common nature of our strivings. Brazil 2024 will represent the third successive year that the G20 is being hosted in the Global South. Out of the ashes of the old order can rise the phoenix of a new vision, one that is more inclusive and more equitable than anything that came before.

Create

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

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

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

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

– **Dr Samir Saran**







RAISINA

DIALOGUE 2024

CHATURANGA
CONFLICT, CONTEST, COOPERATE, CREATE

PANEL REPORTS



Conference Opener

India-Armenia Dialogue

Day 1: 21 February 2024

WELCOME ADDRESS



Sunjoy Joshi,
Chairman, Observer Research
Foundation, India

KEYNOTE



Narek Mkrtchyan,
Minister of Labor and Social
Affairs, Armenia

The India-Armenia Dialogue was the first side event of the Raisina Dialogue 2024. The packed house highlighted the growing interest in a fast-developing relationship between Yerevan and New Delhi and was commenced by the introductory remarks by Sunjoy Joshi, followed by a ministerial address by Narek Mkrtchyan. Minister Mkrtchyan highlighted the shared rich cultural and spiritual heritage, creating a strong foundation for potential future partnerships in economic growth, skilled workforce migration, and the application of AI for social good among India and Armenia. Key action items include discussing the formation of a global coalition for AI for social good, hosting the Armenia-India Dialogue in September 2024, and continuing collaboration to promote mutual prosperity and integral humanism.

The two-hour-long dialogue was driven by two main leitmotifs.

First, geopolitics and defence; the panel looked into the India-Armenia bilateral and contextualised it from the perspective of regional and international geopolitical shifts. Second, an era of 'new' geoeconomics, where connectivity, technology, and energy were identified as some of the key areas of cooperation between the two states in the coming time.

The defence cooperation between the two countries was highlighted by the panel as an important strategic and economic area. Manu Pubby underscored the significance of this collaboration by evaluating India's defence industrialization progress and Armenia's potential as an export market. He emphasized that India's defence sector has



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



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

undergone significant transformation in recent years, with the private sector playing a pivotal role. With India increasingly viewing Armenia as a critical partner in defence exports, there is a growing focus on enhancing this relationship aspect. Reena Pandey contributed to the dialogue by offering a comprehensive overview of the India-Armenia partnership that spanned several years. Her insights likely shed light on the evolution of the bilateral relationship, highlighting areas of mutual interest and cooperation.

Nvard Chalikyan and Benyamin Poghosyan offered their assessments of Armenia's geopolitical and geostrategic opportunities and challenges, including the complexities in and around the

Nagorno-Karabakh conflict with Azerbaijan. Additionally, Nvard highlighted Armenia's diplomatic engagements with key stakeholders such as the EU, France, Iran, and India, underscoring the importance of diversifying its security relations in a changing geopolitical landscape. Benyamin Poghosyan provided insights into the broader regional implications of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and its ramifications for Armenia's geopolitical positioning. Their analyses likely highlighted the region's historical, cultural, and political complexities, shedding light on Armenia's resilience and strategic responses to regional dynamics.


In summary, the panel discussion offered a multifaceted exploration of the India-Armenia partnership, touching upon strategic, economic, and geopolitical dimensions, focusing on defence cooperation and the regional dynamics impacting Armenia.

The geoeconomics panel more narrowly highlighted the opportunities in the economic sectors, specifically technology and energy. Vibrant notes were exchanged over shared experiences in areas such as start-ups, education, research and development, sustainable development goals (SDGs), amongst others. Gulshan Sachdeva highlighted the importance of building connections between the populations of both countries, emphasising the value of air connectivity. While Rafi Kassarian elaborated on the potential for technology cooperation, discussing shared experiences in areas such as start-ups, education, research and development, and sustainable development goals (SDGs). Grigor Harutyunyan laid out practical steps to mobilise many ideas discussed today, focusing on trade facilitation mechanisms and strategic partnerships. Nilanjan Ghosh commented on sustainability, energy cooperation, and the challenges geography presents to India-Armenia relations.

In their insightful discussions, the panellists underscored the potential benefits of strategic partnerships, connectivity initiatives, and trade facilitation mechanisms for the India-Armenia relationship. They highlighted the mutual advantages of leveraging each other's strengths in technology, innovation, and renewable energy to foster economic growth and sustainable development. Moreover, they emphasised the significant role of people-to-people ties, advocating for greater collaboration in education, research, and cultural exchanges, which can further enhance the relationship. Combining these efforts with establishing free economic zones and promoting air connectivity can further enhance bilateral cooperation and unlock new opportunities for mutual benefit.

The desire to significantly increase cooperation between the two countries was palpable, and the platform offered an excellent opportunity to develop the New Delhi-Yerevan consensus further.

– **Kabir Taneja and Inayat Rai**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conference Opener

UNSC First: Reforming Multilateralism

Day 1: 21 February 2024

Alexander Marschik commenced the panel discussion by acknowledging the frustration felt by those within and outside the United Nations (UN) about its operations. Since the UN is the only global organisation that deals with peace and security, it must be reformed to function better. Marschik also highlighted the ongoing Intergovernmental Negotiations (IGN), which have persisted since 2009, to put Security Council reform front and centre. He argued that completing this before the Summit of the Future takes place in September 2024 takes precedence. Marschik then critiqued the Security Council for “administering international relations” instead of resolving conflicts despite the council meeting over 400 times in the past two years.

Tareq M. A. M. Albanai articulated the five categories of issues within the reform process of the Security Council: categories of membership; the veto question; relations

MODERATOR



Dhruva Jaishankar,
Executive Director, Observer
Research Foundation America,
United States

PANELLISTS



Alexander Marschik,
Permanent Representative to the
United Nations, Austria



Inga Rhonda King,
Permanent Representative to the
United Nations, Saint Vincent and
Grenadines



Tareq M. A. M. Albanai,
Permanent Representative to the
United Nations, State of Kuwait



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

between the General Assembly and the Security Council; the size of the enlargement; and the working methods of the Security Council. He elucidated an innovative use of models for the UN whereby instead of individually going through each of the five categories, member states would have the opportunity to present their version of the Reformed Council, which would then be subject to evaluation and scrutiny. He noted that these models would help member states revise their thinking iteratively, citing an example of a proposed




review mechanism in a model that a different member state incorporated into their framework.

Inga Rhonda King spoke on the L.69 Grouping by characterising it as a “microcosm of the Global South” with members like India, Brazil, Nicaragua, Nigeria, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines. She noted that although the L.69 grouping would prefer to see an eventual abolition of the veto, she believed that as long as it existed, it should be extended to the new permanent members. Labelling the L.69 Group as “de-colonisers”, she argued that the current composition of the Security Council is a “relic of the imperialist past that should not be kept intact.”

Eenam Gambhir typified the Security Council as stuck in a “binary dynamic” due to its entrenched power structures, which do not reflect today’s world. She asserted that such a binary and

bipolar lens tended to frame issues through the prism of competition rather than cooperation. Gambhir also echoed India’s G20 Presidency, stating that a consensus had been reached in a multipolar framework without the agenda for the Global South being side-lined. She stressed that the Security Council’s current composition reflects a post-Second World War world that was fixated on the geopolitical dynamics of a bygone era. Accordingly, Gambhir emphasised that a reformed and representative Security Council “is the pact for the future” to address global problems like food and energy security, climate change, cyber issues, maritime security, and supply chain resilience.

– **Sanjith Srikanth**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Inaugural Dinners

Looking Back, Looking Ahead: The Long Decade

In 2024, humanity faces three intensifying crises: First, a loss of credibility for multilateral institutions has resulted in the collapse of the post-war order, rendering coordinated global action difficult; second, after decades of good economics being good geopolitics, economic efficiency, and geopolitical demands are no longer aligned: the promise of globalisation has been broken; third, technologies and digital platforms have reshaped societal and national arrangements, with domestic and international compacts unable to keep pace. This panel discussion aimed to look forward by looking back and looking for lessons in the past that could form solutions for the future.

In his opening remarks, Vinay Mohan Kwatra argued that pessimistically framing the past few years is unnecessary. Despite a once-in-a-century pandemic, the re-emergence of conflict in Europe and the Middle East, and

Day 1: 21 February 2024

WELCOME REMARKS



Vinay Mohan Kwatra,
Foreign Secretary, India

FEATURED ADDRESS



James Beacham,
Particle Physicist at the
Large Hadron Collider, CERN,
Switzerland

MASTER OF CEREMONIES



Samir Saran,
President, Observer Research
Foundation, India

PANELLISTS



Janaina Tewaney Mencomo,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Panama



Maneesh Gobin,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Regional Integration and
International Trade, Mauritius



Shirley Ayorkor Botchwey,
Minister for Foreign Affairs and
Regional Integration, Ghana



Matt Keogh,
Minister for Veterans' Affairs and
Defence Personnel, Australia



Peter Benjamin Mandelson,
Member of the House of Lords,
United Kingdom



aggression in the Indo-Pacific, we must create constructs rooted in optimism for our future. And it is precisely this that was captured in India's G20 presidency with the motto "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam" (One Earth, One Family, One Future). "Kwatra emphasised that India does not seek to be a passive beneficiary of the global system; instead, it will be a proactive partner, seeking solutions to global challenges.

In his featured address, James Beacham delved into the science of dark matter, dark energy, and black holes, connecting it to a broader argument about human curiosity and international cooperation. As Beacham sees it, there has never been a better time than 2024 to be a scientist. After all, at no other point could scientists use The Large Hadron Collider, the largest experiment-

maker in human history, built and operated via unprecedented global cooperation and for no reason other than human curiosity. Beacham also celebrated Chandrayaan-3, a mission conducted by the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO), which culminated with a successful landing on an uncharted portion of the moon.

In the panel discussion, Janaina Tewaney Mencomo spoke on how globalisation benefitted Panama. She noted that globalisation and connectivity are in Panama's DNA. Panama, often referred to as "The Gateway to the Americas", is more than a canal country; it is more than a point of passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific: Panama is a connector between the Americas, North and South. Emphasising the value of cooperation in an interconnected world, Mencomo highlighted the

role that emerging economies like India, Brazil, and Indonesia would play in establishing new supply chains and trade routes.

While acknowledging the importance of globalisation, Shirley Ayorkor Botchwey offered a reminder that the promise of adequate and equitable multilateralism rarely materialises for the Global South and that reform is necessary. Considering it unthinkable that critical players like Africa and India are not at the table yet, Botchwey highlighted the African Union successfully creating a free trade area and proposed a similar arrangement for the Commonwealth countries: A free trade area where developing countries can trade and invest in each other.

Maneesh Gobin argued that the pandemic revealed the hollow promise of globalisation for small island nations like Mauritius. During the pandemic, nobody came to the rescue, forcing island nations to forge new regional partnerships, like the one between Mauritius and India.

Gobin then argued that if multilateral organisations exist to maintain peace in the world, they are no longer equipped to do so, and it is time for them to take a hard look at themselves.

A chronic trend in today's world, observed by Peter Benjamin

Mandelson, is the disregard shown by the great powers for the rules and institutions of the international system; instead of attempting to strengthen and update the rulebooks, these powers throw their weight to get their way, creating geopolitical faultlines through the global economy. "We are not de-globalising, but re-globalising in this narrow way," argued Mandelson, which will be detrimental to global wellbeing. He concurs with the other panellists that a fundamental overhaul of the multilateral system to match today's realities is long overdue.

Matt Keogh prefaced his remarks with a reminder of the importance of taking the long view: many of the technology-related disruptions we see today are not new but a continuation of the processes unleashed from the time of the Industrial Revolution. He then discussed the impacts of modern communication technology in challenging multiculturalism and national integrity, with instant communication challenging the social harmony of diaspora communities in countries like Australia. Supporting a multilateral approach, Keogh elucidated the role of economic diversity in industry types and country-to-country relationships.

– **Rishith Sinha**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Inaugural Dinners

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

Day 1: 21 February 2024

The challenge of transitioning to cleaner fuels and decarbonising energy systems is complex for developing countries. The panel commenced with Amitabh Kant highlighting the importance of green industrialisation in creating jobs and improving livelihoods, showing the interconnectedness of energy and economic policymaking. Obstacles in decarbonisation, such as the heavy dependence on fossil fuels and the high capital costs of renewable energy projects, were further elaborated on by Herbert Krapa. Manal Shehabi drew attention to the stark inequality in energy access globally, emphasising the need to address the 750 million people lacking electricity and the 2.6 billion without access to clean cooking fuel. Timur Gül argued that developing countries can integrate into the global value chain while addressing competitiveness and resilience concerns through blended financing, ensuring access

MODERATOR



Kanika Chawla,
Chief of Staff, Sustainable Energy for All, United States

PANELLISTS



Amitabh Kant,
G20 Sherpa, India



Herbert Krapa,
Deputy Minister, Ministry of Energy, Ghana



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



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



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

to capital markets for energy transition projects. Making energy access inclusive and affordable is particularly important for the developing world, where inequities persist.

The conversation also touched upon the challenges of developing a supply chain for green ammonia



and hydrogen, with Mounia Boucetta focusing on scale and security. She highlighted the importance of tailoring energy transition solutions to each country's unique development level, technological capabilities, and regulatory environment. The speakers advocated for policy dialogue and engagement with finance ministries in developing countries to tackle the climate crisis. Modular reactors, climate data analytics, and carbon storage and capture were recognised as potential solutions but their respective technical issues must be addressed, and their business models must be fleshed out. Collaboration and partnerships are pivotal to leveraging resources and expertise, and the speakers unanimously agreed on the necessity of mandatory climate disclosures to drive decarbonisation efforts.


Energy access was a central topic in the discussions, as its impact resonates globally. The interconnectedness of energy access with geopolitical affairs was emphasised, and Amitabh Kant highlighted its central role in powering a global market revolution. The G20 Communique underlined the importance of tripling renewable energy and doubling energy efficiency. Kant further emphasised the urgency for developed countries to cut emissions sharply while advocating for the industrialisation and urbanisation of developing countries without carbonisation. Krapa stressed the need for action to support talk in developing economies, where accessing capital for renewable projects remains a challenge. As Krapa sees it, Ghana's efforts to upscale renewables, despite high capital costs, showcase its commitment to cleaner

energy solutions. Kanika Chawla emphasised the need to address risk perceptions and inequities in the energy market, presenting the energy transition as an opportunity.

The panel covered the challenges and opportunities associated with global energy transition and access in developing countries. From the intricacies of financing and supply chain challenges to the imperatives of inclusive energy access and collaborative efforts, the discourse painted a comprehensive

picture of the complexities and interconnectedness of the global energy landscape. The call for innovative solutions, collaboration, and mandatory disclosures was a collective rallying cry for a sustainable and equitable energy future.

– **Inayat Rai**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Inaugural Dinners

Navigating Health Futures: Equity and Inclusion in a Dynamic World

Day 1: 21 February 2024

The pursuit of health equity and inclusion remains paramount in a world characterised by dynamic changes in demographics, technology, and socio-political landscapes. Developments in digital medicine, vaccine technology, and targeted therapies demand a granular understanding of the context in which health solutions are offered. The pandemic has demonstrated lacunae in coverage and inefficiencies or inaccuracies in the delivery of health services. It has highlighted the need for inclusive solutions that are both technologically advanced and culturally responsive.

Health disparities persist globally, rooted in systemic inequities that perpetuate barriers to access, quality care, and health outcomes. Addressing these disparities necessitates a multidimensional approach that acknowledges the intersectionality of race, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status, and geographic location. Technological advancements offer opportunities

MODERATOR



Sonam Yangchen,
Chief Executive Officer, Institute of Health Partners, Bhutan

PANELLISTS



Nitya Khemka,
Director, PATH, United Kingdom



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



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



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



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

for innovative solutions, yet they also risk exacerbating existing disparities if not implemented with equity in mind. Access to digital health platforms, telemedicine, and Artificial Intelligence (AI) must be equitable, ensuring marginalised communities are not left behind. Such cross-sectoral partnerships play a vital role in all endeavours related to health promotion, whether it involves advocating for healthier dietary options, addressing gender-based violence, or safeguarding the



mental well-being of vulnerable populations.

The discussion emphasised the importance of aligning health interventions with the particular cultural and contextual intricacies of their implementation regions. The Universal Health Coverage (UHC) in Thailand served as a blueprint, demonstrating how recognising and incorporating local requirements and preferences can result in equitable access to healthcare. Tackling healthcare disparities necessitates novel approaches that extend beyond technological progress. Furthermore, achieving health equity requires dismantling structural biases embedded within healthcare systems and policies. This demands active engagement with diverse stakeholders to co-create inclusive solutions, including community leaders, policymakers, healthcare providers, and grassroots organisations.

Education and advocacy are pivotal in fostering a culture of health equity and inclusion. Technology can democratise access to healthcare and shape the future of medicine. By promoting awareness, challenging stereotypes, and advocating for policy change, individuals and organisations can contribute to dismantling systemic barriers and fostering a more equitable healthcare landscape. Ultimately, navigating health futures with a focus on equity and inclusion requires a commitment to transformative action at all levels of society. Effective collaboration across governmental entities, public health institutions, technology innovators, and bioscience pioneers is crucial for maximising the effectiveness of initiatives aimed at promoting health equity and inclusion.

– **Shoba Suri**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Inaugural Dinners

South Rising: Institutionalising a South-First Approach at G20

Day 1: 21 February 2024

This session delved into pivotal discussions revolving around the integration and empowerment of developing countries, primarily those from the Global South, within the international framework. Focusing on the addition of the African Union in the G20 Charter, the moderator, Sarah Anyang Agbor, echoed a resounding call for inclusivity and concerted efforts to address these nations' unique needs and challenges. She asserted that India, assuming the presidency, set a notable precedent by prioritising inclusivity within the G20 forum. A key initiative involved extending invitations to more countries from the Global South and the African Union, amplifying their voices in global decision-making processes, paving the way for a G20 that is representative and responsive to all its member nations, particularly from developing countries.

SCENE SETTER



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

MODERATOR



Sarah Anyang Agbor,
Director of African Union Affairs, African Renaissance Trust, Cameroon

PANELLISTS



Muktesh Kumar Pardeshi,
Secretary (CPV and OIA), Ministry of External Affairs, India



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



Anna-Katharina Hornidge,
Director, German Institute of Development and Sustainability, Germany



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



Fabio Soares,
Director, Institute for Applied Economic Research, Brazil

As the scene setter, Candith Mashego-Dlamini spoke on how G20 can be a vehicle to advance the development aspirations of African countries, and the charter should include global economic governance



and not solely focus on political stability and peace. She called for a reform in the international financial architecture, to strengthen multilateralism, towards achieving the sustainable development goals. As such, she underscored the imperative for heightened investments in human capital, fostering inclusive and sustainable growth, driving technological innovation, and promoting South-South cooperation.

Regarding issues that impact the Global South, India has also significantly emphasised sustainable development goals, advocating for tailored strategies to uplift the Global South. Introducing the concept of Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI), Muktesh Kumar Pardeshi underscored India's commitment to innovative solutions for financial inclusion and equitable access to information. He talked

about how India was able to reduce the remittance cost from its migrant workers, as an exemplar of this policy in action


Saïd Abass Ahamed drew attention to the urgent need for reform within the international financial system. which is central to rectifying inequitable lending practices and ensuring equitable resource allocation for developing nations. He identified certain common themes amongst the development policies for the emerging countries such as investing in human capital, inclusive and sustainable growth, and technological innovation, that can lay the blueprint for South-South cooperation with regards to international investment and collaboration.

Dino Patti Djalal spoke on the prospect of civil society actors facilitating strategic alignment

amongst Global South countries. To this end he spoke on coordinating civil society groups from different nations, and how the G20 can serve as a common platform for the Global South to articulate their concerns and advocate for their development priorities on the global stage. The inclusion of civil society actors on the G20 platform will allow its charter to be more connected to the grassroots. Rounding out the conversation, Anna Katherina Hornidge elaborated on the southernisation of global governance as reflected by the

G20 being hosted in countries from the Global South for the next four iterations. However, she warned against the usage of terms such as 'Global North' and 'Global South' as they tend to homogenise voices and concerns emerging from a diverse and vast geographical expanse.

– **Soumya Bhowmick and
Roshani Jain**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Kahwa

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

Day 1: 21 February 2024

With the advent of generative AI, advances in disruptive technologies, and the evolution of the cast of actors, the landscape of war has fundamentally transformed. No longer are battles only fought on the ground; they are planned on online forums and executed through digital blockchains and unregulated spaces. Moderated by Marie Schroter, this panel shed light on how the international order can grapple with these changes and what new paradigms and policy instruments can be designed to address the changing nature of warfare sufficiently.

James Carafano kicked off the conversation, remarking how it does not serve any tactical purpose to divide enemy forces into 'state', 'non-state', and 'quasi-state' buckets, as it complicates a state's response to such threats. Instead, what is needed is the creation of "stronger states" that can shape instruments that provide security, enhance liberty, and protect economic freedoms. Echoing this sentiment that the solution to curbing this evolved nature of

war is political, Marcin Buzanski spoke on multilateralism and how allied countries should work more closely together. He noted how the new counter-terrorism architecture should see countries that share similar values and business interests collaborating to neutralise common threats, using the example of Russia and NATO. Similarly, Stephen Harper commented that we do not need "fresh" frameworks. Instead, the need of the hour is to look

MODERATOR



Marie Schröter,
Country Director, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Philippines, Germany

PANELLISTS



Stephen Harper,
Former Prime Minister, Canada



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



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



Marcin Bużański,
Senior Advisor, Warsaw Security Forum, Poland



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




back to the norms set in place by historic treaties—norms that define the nature of interactions of states, territorial sovereignty, and deterrence measures—and sufficiently apprehend those who have eroded these treaties.

Providing an alternative perspective, Shlomit Wagman enlightened the audience on terror financing and the use of fintech in keeping check the terror networks and ensuring that rebuilding efforts primarily support the victims and not the extremists that live in civil society. Erin Saltman reviewed the tech sector’s response to using new and emerging technologies in terrorism. “Just as it is trans-national, terrorism is cross-platform”, Saltman explained, speaking to the need to design better policy dialogues that can sufficiently apprehend these cross-platform threats, define terror-

based activity online, and categorise specific “online behavioural protocols”, beyond simply following governmentally designated lists of terrorist groups.

The stirring conversation ended with a question on how modern states and their armies can respond to coordinated attacks and quasi-state terrorist activities within a rules-based framework. Coming full circle, the panellists agreed that there should be one set of rules when responding to a threat rather than tempering a response based on whether the danger is a state, non-state, or quasi-state actor.

– **Roshani Jain**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Kahwa

Woke Politics? Mobilisations vs Money

Day 1: 21 February 2024

Europe is facing a period of polarisation instead of aggregation. While wokeism is successful in bringing to light important causes, it has also brought a new sense of censorship to politics which restrict the free flow of ideas. Ana Miguel dos Santos argued that the solution is “dialogue, mutual understanding, listening to others, and recognition of plurality.”

Robin Niblett discussed the role think tanks play in creating a “sustainably just, inclusive and equitable world” by speaking truth to power. Niblett cautioned against governments using an “anti-woke agenda” as cover to subvert the ideals, championed by liberal democracies, of diverse media and independent civil society.

America and the West see the rise of wokeness as an epiphenomenon in the professional environment. Gladden discussed Amazon’s recent

MODERATOR



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

PANELLISTS



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



Robin Niblett,
Distinguished Fellow, Chatham House, United Kingdom



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



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



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

Super Bowl commercial pointing out how Amazon, often criticised for harsh working conditions, chose to win the PR game by advertising their open policy on acceptance of gender identities: “The professional class in America cares more about the worker’s cultural identities than their working conditions.”



Ravi Agrawal talked about organisations and universities taking stances on political issues. He said that during the Black Lives Matter movement, many corporations and universities came forward to support the cause. However, some problems are more complex, and organisations must be careful in creating a culture of expectations for participation in every political issue. “It is important to not become bullies and to not make other people’s opinions feel that they are unworthy of expression,” Ravi said.

Wiebke Winter discussed the negative connotations associated with the term “woke”. Some topics, such as climate and gender, have become closely associated with wokeism: “But these ideas concern everyone whether they are left or right or conservative or liberal.” The

term “woke” serves to minimise these causes, and people take such serious issues as overreactions. Winter advocated avoiding the term “woke”, lest it prevent us from discussing significant issues.

Responding to a question about the left’s growing intolerance, Ana Miguel dos Santos said people have stopped listening to each other. Cancel culture has curbed freedom of expression. Ravi Agrawal, pushed back, arguing that cancel culture is a valuable channel of justice to address the issues that are not handled in court. For example, the use of the N-word in the United States: “It is not illegal to say the word but then there is a sense to punish the use of the word.” Similarly, the “Me Too” movement was an attempt to deal with decades of injustice against women that wasn’t properly corrected for legally.

To conclude, the panel discussed the rise of polarization in Europe due to wokeism curbing the freedom of expression. Others argued wokiesm plays an important part in highlighting key issues and serves as a social justice system in addition to the legal one. The panel called for dialogue, mutual understanding, and pluralism, warning against anti-woke agendas that threaten democratic ideals.

There is a pressing need for balanced discussions, avoiding rigid stances to ensure all perspectives are heard and respected, fostering a more inclusive and equitable society.

– **Vivek Kumar**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Breakfast

Deterrence and Decoupling: Decoding the West's China Stance

Day 2: 22 February 2024

Given China's rise and assertiveness in the Indo-Pacific, the world is increasingly looking to decipher the Western response. The theme of this session raised several important questions: How will the US and European Union's priorities with China evolve, given the upcoming elections? How does the Western private sector fare with rising competition and crackdowns within China? While China has great expediency over data collection on Artificial Intelligence (AI), how will the West compete with it?

Carl Bildt noted that Western policy towards China is complex owing to the complexity of its relations. While the Europeans perceive China as an 'economic competitor' and 'systematic rival', the US competes with China over the meanings and operations of the international system. China's expertise in green transition technology has also brought forth the scientific-technological aspect of the rivalry regarding the urgent need for such technologies and the

MODERATOR



Róbert Vass,
Founder and President,
GLOBSEC, Slovakia

PANELLISTS



Carl Bildt,
Former Prime Minister,
Sweden



Allison Hooker,
Senior Vice President, American
Global Strategies, United States



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



Matt Turpin,
Senior Advisor, Palantir
Technologies, United States



Theodore Bunzel,
Head of Geopolitical Advisory,
Lazard, United States

risk of becoming too dependent on China. However, the policy also encompasses cooperation with China to manage issues like climate change, global health, and the rise of AI.

For Allison Hooker, continuing engagement with China will remain the top priority for the US, but it will also depend upon the Taiwan factor. On the other hand, Abigaël Vasselier crucially points out that



while the EU's priority will be to manage its relations with China constructively, much will depend upon how China is helping Russia in its war against Ukraine. She also added that maintaining transatlantic and European unity concerning China will also be critical in the context of upcoming national elections.

Regarding AI, Matt Turpin argued that the West and other countries like India can compete with China because of the democratic nature of the data governance model, which is against China's data sovereignty model. He also pointed out that the geopolitical rivalries of current times, for example, over dual-use technology, will drive near-future business and investment decisions.

Theodore Bunzel strikingly put forward the notion of Western private companies becoming foreign policy actors in their own right,

given how much the Western policy on derisking is being channelled through them. He also pointed out the concerns regarding the Western businesses within China, given the domestic subsidy support and regulatory crackdowns on foreign firms. However, he also argued that China's current leverage over supply chains will be weakened over time due to the West's policies of self-reliance and diversification.

In conclusion, the session reflected the nuanced and complex relationship with China, highlighting that while a mix of competition, decoupling, and derisking is necessary, so is the need for China's cooperation on issues like climate change and AI.

– **Kalpita Mankikar**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Breakfast

New Value Chains: Electronics, Ecosystems and Prosperity

Day 2: 22 February 2024

The most critical products in the market today have value added in multiple locations worldwide. With increasing concerns over market monopolisation and specialisation, countries are anxious to restructure supply chains to ensure resilient and dependable trade. This has created an opportunity for the Global South to challenge traditional centres of value accretion and move up the value chain.

Jorge Quiroga said South America is in a quandary because its natural alignment vis-à-vis democratic values is with the United States (US) and Europe, but its trade links are with China. To facilitate solutions outside this dichotomy, India, as a young and rapidly growing economy, must build partnerships with developing countries in Africa and South America to deal with challenges around regulations and supply chains.

Liew Chin Tong noted that the current wave of supply chain reorganisation is an opportunity

MODERATOR



Sharon Stirling,

Chief Operating Officer, Observer Research Foundation America, United States

PANELLISTS



Jorge Quiroga,

Former President, Bolivia



Liew Chin Tong,

Deputy Minister of Investment, Trade and Industry, Malaysia



Janka Oertel,

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



Jaivir Singh,

Vice Chairman, PwC India Foundation, India



Rachel Rizzo,

Senior Fellow, Europe Center, Atlantic Council, United States

for many developing countries to industrialise and create a middle-class society. However, it is vital that countries with industrialisation aspirations do not race to the bottom in terms of labour and environmental standards. There needs to be horizontal coordination to ensure that countries can develop together while putting people first.




Janka Oertel noted complementarity has been replaced with competition in European markets at an unprecedented scale and speed. Different policy priorities create different tradeoffs that need tailored derisking strategies. The world needs to move from inward-focused derisking strategies to a 'derisking for all' agenda that takes the abilities and risks of others into account while building alliances with pro-competitiveness countries.

Rachel Rizzo said the US wants to be bigger in investing and building relationships with the Global South. She outlined concerns over the USA's seemingly zero-sum approach to global investment which is not conducive to competitiveness. Another concern is that the US approaches investing in the Global South through the lens of development. This approach does not address challenges like derisking and attracting foreign direct investment.

The development model that has been the status quo so far is skewed towards the narrative that self-interest will drive the broader interest, said Jaivir Singh. However, the success stories of India and China have been driven by a combination of state and private sector investment, and finding a middle ground will require global partnerships. Beyond friend-shoring and nearshoring, partnerships in the future need to be about collective interests. There is currently inequity in perspectives on long-term development. Singh ended the discussion by emphasising on the need for localised value creation through partnerships based on equitable and shared value generation.

— **Amoha Basrur**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Breakfast

Digital Utopia: Seeking Light at the End of the Tunnel

Day 2: 22 February 2024

Technology regulation is a complex topic because technological innovation is vital for prosperity but is also responsible for increasing societal harm. Policymakers have struggled to create a consensus on regulation and keep up with rapid technological advancements. The government and industry must work together to harness technology's opportunities and counter resultant threats effectively.

Louise Marie Hurel said we have accepted many narratives about technology from the private sector. As the industry becomes increasingly vocal about its principles, we need clarity on how to build consensus with regulators.

Manuel Muñiz Villa noted that perceptions of technology have evolved from a tangential set of forces that affect society to a full-fledged domain for policy and governance. Defining the perimeter

MODERATOR



Justin Bassi,

Executive Director, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia

PANELLISTS



Louise Marie Hurel,

Research Fellow, Cyber Programme, Royal United Services Institute, United Kingdom



Manuel Muñiz Villa,

Provost, IE University, Spain



Memduh Karakullukçu,

Founding Board Member and Founding President, Global Relations Forum, Türkiye



Pavlina Pavlova,

Public Policy Advisor, CyberPeace Institute, Austria



Petra Goude,

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

of technology and governance is hard, but it affects power, prosperity, and political systems. Countries need to consider how this intersects with their interests and values. Villa added that it is vital to build human capital to address these questions by ensuring



that policy makers have the 'tech literacy' required to make informed decisions.

Emerging technologies call for value negotiations within society that governments should ideally lead, said Memduh Karakullukçu. These fall on a spectrum of whether or not there is existing clarity on our values as a society and the extent to which we have foresight for these issues. Karakullukçu also expressed scepticism about the possibility of international cooperation on generative Artificial Intelligence (AI) because of the existential competition it creates amongst world powers.

Petra Goude urged policy makers to adopt a global perspective when regulating technology. Compartmentalised policy solutions from each country will hinder growth. Building open, speedy, and transparent lines of communication between the government and

industry will be the key to effective and timely regulation.

Pavlina Pavlova noted that the scale and impact of cyber-attacks are growing dramatically. However, governments lack the capacity to deal with these issues. The private sector also needs to expand its cyber diplomatic portfolios as it becomes a global player with significant roles in geopolitics and control of the infrastructure on which these attacks occur. Cyber attacks can have severe long-term effects, and it is imperative to adopt more data-based approaches to demonstrate the physical, psychological, and economic harms they pose to society.

– **Amoha Basur**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Breakfast

The BIMSTEC Parley: Inclusive Growth and Sustainable Development

Day 2: 22 February 2024

Secretary General of BIMSTEC, Indra Mani Pandey kicked off the discussion with a brief background on the organisation. Formed in 1997, BIMSTEC brought together seven countries to promote economic development in the Bay of Bengal region. He highlighted the strategic importance of this grouping, explaining how BIMSTEC represents 22 percent of the world's population, and its GDP is worth US\$4.5 trillion. Given its geographic and economic expanse, institutionalising regional cooperation is of paramount importance, which is a key goal of the grouping.

A crucial aspect of cooperation is economic integration and supply chain resilience. Elaborating on this thought further, Shehan Semasinghe, the Sri Lankan State Minister of Finance, expressed the need to re-energise the Free Trade Agreement, which has not progressed since the framework agreement was signed in 2004.

SCENE SETTER



Indra Mani Pandey,
Secretary General, BIMSTEC

MODERATOR



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

PANELLISTS



Shehan Semasinghe,
State Minister of Finance,
Sri Lanka



Swarnim Wagle,
Member of Parliament,
Nepal



Moongyung Lee,
Policy Analyst,
OECD



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



Tshering Dorji,
Director, SELISE Digital
Platforms, Bhutan

The moderator, Riya Sinha, then steered the conversation in the direction of supply chain integration for the region. Sheikh Fazle Fahim stressed on the need for integrating value chains, creating an environment of standardisation and harmonisation of legislation.



He elaborated that this would help members complement each other, increase inter-regional trade, diversify production, and improve export earnings. Highlighting the other roles played by BIMSTEC, Member of the Nepal Parliament, Swarnim Wagle spoke on the growing emergence of the clean energy sector in Nepal, and how BIMSTEC can help facilitate and promote some core trading interests such as hydro-power, production sharing and tourism.

Continuing on the theme of clean energy, Moongyung Lee talked about mobilising private financing in the region. She explained some of the challenges developing countries face in adopting green energy or low-carbon technologies due to the high cost of products for renewable energy, such as carbon or hydrogen, in developing

nations compared to developed ones. She suggested that this infrastructural gap can be closed by private capital. Another solution brought up by her was interregional investments. Integration can help developing economies access new markets, scale up project pipelines, harmonise regulations, and facilitate investments.

Rounding out the conversation, Tshering Dorji addressed the topic of digital transformation and infrastructure potential for BIMSTEC. He explained how in recent years, BIMSTEC members have pushed for digital transformation through various domestic policies and schemes, but a broader level of integration is needed. Countries could cooperate to enhance digital infrastructure, promote capacity building, and improve digital literacy and awareness. Such

cooperation will further promote entrepreneurship and innovation, bridging the gap between the developing and developed world.

As the Indo-Pacific region grows in prominence, BIMSTEC is attempting to revive itself. It is learning best practices from ASEAN and is open to collaboration with other like-minded countries. Members have now signed agreements on maritime transport cooperation to promote connectivity and better integration, and a technology

transfer facility is already in place. But there is much work to be done. Economic integration and supply chain resilience, investments, digital transformation, and infrastructure are ways the organisation could revive itself and stay relevant.

– **Aditya Gowdara Shivamurthy
and Roshani Jain**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Panel Discussion

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

Day 2: 22 February 2024

Focused on Europe's economic relationship with China, the discussion emphasised the concept of "de-risking over decoupling as a strategic necessity for the EU to reduce its heavy reliance on China, especially for the rare earth elements crucial for its green and digital transitions, without hindering their economic and environmental goals. Engaging diverse perspectives on the growing geopolitical concerns and their implications on the emerging partnerships between Europe and the Global South, Radhicka Kapoor explored the stakes for different European countries in this scenario and their motivations to rethink their geoeconomic strategies.

Elucidating Lithuania's approach to de-risking, Minister Landsbergis explained how it was shaped by its historical dependency on Russia for natural gas, leading to a strategic pivot towards diversification and

MODERATOR



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

PANELLISTS



Gabrielius Landsbergis,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Lithuania



Lars Løkke Rasmussen,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Denmark



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



Børge Brende,
President, World Economic
Forum



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

resilience in the present context. He further mentioned that the country's experience with punitive trade measures from China following Lithuania's geopolitical decisions served as a wake-up call illustrating the dangers of



unique economic dependencies and emphasised the necessity and strategic importance of finding new trade partners and diversifying imports and investments.

Minister Rasmussen also stated that Denmark's de-risking strategy was informed by its energy diversification efforts starting in the 1970s following the oil crisis. However, this also led to the development of the Danish wind energy sector, reducing dependency on fossil fuels and setting a precedent for sustainable economic policies. Highlighting Denmark's history of trading and openness to the world as a strength that should not be compromised in the pursuit of de-risking, the Minister warned against the pitfalls of absolute de-coupling that could lead to protectionism and isolationism and advocated for a balanced approach that maintains

global trade relationships while ensuring economic security.

Eyjólfsson emphasised Iceland's successful use of geothermal energy in its de-risking strategy since the 1970s oil crisis. The country's cautious approach to engaging with China, particularly in areas of strategic importance like geothermal energy, was discussed, and Iceland's recent trade agreement with India was presented as an important example of efforts to diversify economic partnerships in the region.

In line with the previous discussants, Børge Brende also discussed the EU's broader approach to derisking as an effort to balance between reducing dependencies and maintaining the benefits of global trade. Given its dominant role in supplying rare earth elements and other critical resources, the


complexities of decoupling from China were acknowledged, and the economic costs and challenges of de-risking were highlighted. Brende also cautioned about the potential for a business-first approach to inadvertently lead to new dependencies, similar to past over-reliance on Russian energy.

Adding to the discussion, Umma Bava emphasised that India's role in Europe's de-risking strategy was framed around the potential for a deeper strategic partnership between India and the EU. The changing dynamics of the India-EU relationship, driven by the green transition and India's assertive stance on the global stage, were highlighted. She also advocated viewing the partnership from a geopolitical or economic lens and as

a human choice toward sustainable alternatives. The importance of leveraging India's rising economic power and its potential to contribute to Europe's diversification efforts was underscored.

The panel concluded that the envisioned partnership between Europe and India represents a promising avenue for advancing de-risking objectives, signalling a paradigm shift towards a more resilient and inclusive approach to international trade relations.

– **Debosmita Sarkar**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Panel Discussion

A Tapestry of Truths: Can the Two Hemispheres Agree?

Day 2: 22 February 2024

Seventy-nine years after the formation of the United Nations, the international system has witnessed rapid shifts and the winds of change; from a mere 50 countries at the onset, the UN presently has four times the number of countries. However, the present landscape does not manifest an equitable distribution of power globally, fragmenting the World order. To make sense of the fragmenting international system, Palki Sharma moderated a panel to ascertain whether two hemispheres could co-exist within a single system without confrontation.

Hanke Bruins Slot reaffirmed the need to restore multilateralism as it is no longer reflected in the current World. She further elaborated on the Netherlands' stance on building an equitable and just world order based on the principles of trust and the rule of law. According to the Minister of Foreign Affairs,

MODERATOR



Palki Sharma,

Managing Editor, Network18,
India

PANELLISTS



Hanke Bruins Slot,

Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Netherlands



January Yusuf Makamba,

Minister of Foreign Affairs
and East African Cooperation,
Tanzania



Jorge Quiroga,

Former President,
Bolivia



**Anwar bin Mohammed
Gargash,**

Diplomatic Advisor to the
President, United Arab Emirates



S. Jaishankar,

Minister of External Affairs,
India

“Inviting the African Union to G20 was an important step in building the bridges in the International system.”

“The International system being broken is a very strong assertion”, stated S. Jaishankar, the Minister of External Affairs. He further noted



that there are bits of the present order that are beneficial; however, there was a strong case for radical change. In the last decade, India has initiated and joined 36 different groups or alliances; according to Jaishankar, “What is happening is that there is a logjam, where every nation is finding their own friends, making their own groups, picking their own issues and creating the new reality.” The new reality for Jaishankar will be much less disciplined and more fragmented in many ways but will be effective as it creates more alternatives. For Jaishankar, multivector foreign policies are the way forward, akin to India’s Vishwa Mitra, where maximising friendly relations with the rest of the World will reform the international system.

There is a multilateral basis, which is important; at the same time, it no longer reflects the current World. We must reform and ensure all forces within the United Nations are roped together. There is no need to throw it away.

“We must celebrate diversity rather than put everyone in straitjackets; we have to accept that there is a line between universal values and what actually is different.” Stated Anwar Gargash while shedding light on the United Arab Emirates’s approach to communicating with the rest of the World. The traditional geopolitics, which was the core of the UN system, is now veering towards geotechnology. He fears that changes in the environment of the international system cannot be encapsulated by the ability to reform the global system.

“The current international system has an African blind spot”, said January Makamba; he further stated that Africa was further South of the Global South. He added that the current system is mired in double standards and hypocrisy in applying international law. Furthermore, there is more potential in multinational coalitions and partnerships such as the International Solar Alliance and Biofuel Alliance. For January, Makamba, “A just equitable future has to start with the structural asymmetry and historical injustices that Africa finds itself; there has to be an honest conversation about how we get out of here.”

Jorge Quiroga stated that South America and Europe had been locked in discussions for 25 years to finalise trade negotiations. This complacency has given way to China emerging as an essential player in the region, buying South American energy, minerals, and food. The Chinese role in South America’s lithium markets has increased, manifesting that complacency in establishing strong trade linkages with South America has resulted in China emerging as a significant player.

– **Rajoli Siddharth**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Panel Discussion

Solving the Energy Trilemma: Access, Affordability, Availability

Day 2: 22 February 2024

Nalinee Taveesin emphasised Southeast Asia's potential for renewable energy transition, especially Thailand. She stressed incentivising private sector involvement and leveraging public-private partnerships for capital mobilisation. She further underscored the importance of technology transfer, capacity building, and regulatory frameworks to boost investor confidence. Recommending financial instruments like green bonds, she highlighted Thailand's pursuit of private foreign capital and initiatives like the RE100 association to encourage clean energy investments.

Fahad Aldhubaib emphasised the importance of simultaneously addressing energy addition and transition, focusing on ensuring affordable energy. He highlighted Aramco's efforts to tackle the challenges of meeting growing energy demand while decarbonizing

MODERATOR



Yasmine Moezinia,
Program Director, Climate Finance, Sequoia Climate Foundation, United States

PANELLISTS



Amitabh Kant,
G20 Sherpa, India



Nalinee Taveesin,
Advisor to the Prime Minister, Thailand



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



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



Gwendoline Abunaw,
Managing Director, Ecobank, Cameroon

the energy system. These efforts include expanding gas capacity, reducing carbon and methane intensity, and investing in carbon capture, renewables, and hydrogen. Aldhubaib also stressed the need to customise approaches to each country's specific needs, ensuring a balance between affordability,



accessibility, and sustainability to ensure that the transition is orderly.

Gwendoline Abunaw highlighted challenges in accessing financing for green projects in countries like Cameroon, where commercial banks primarily offer short-term capital. She called for a comprehensive shift in financial architecture involving banks, regulators, and governments. She also advocated for policy reforms to incentivize investors and urge MDBs to prioritise Africa's clean energy transition. She emphasised the role of philanthropy, government guarantees for green projects, and revising the fiscal policy. She also emphasised the importance of establishing tailored carbon markets to overcome regulatory barriers. She underscored the necessity for collaboration among governments, financial

institutions, and stakeholders to facilitate Africa's transition to clean energy.

Nicholas Stern emphasised the need for net zero while fostering sustainable, resilient, and inclusive growth. He estimated that emerging markets and developing economies would need US\$2.4 trillion annually for climate finance by 2030. Out of this amount, US\$1.4 trillion should be sourced domestically, with the remainder from external sources. He stressed that over half of the external funding should come from the private sector, with US\$300 billion from MDBs and the rest from concessional finance. He further advocated for strategies to manage risks, create an investment-friendly environment, and reduce capital costs to make cleaner options financially feasible.

Amitabh Kant emphasised the significance of the Green Development Pact forged during India's G20 presidency, stressing the need for favourable policy frameworks, technology access, and financing. He also proposed the establishment of a global agency to mitigate risks associated with international projects and emphasised the importance of supportive policies for private sector engagement in renewables. Addressing hard-to-abate sectors

such as coal, steel, and cement is paramount to achieving clean energy objectives. Additionally, he underscored the potential of small modular reactors for nuclear energy and the importance of supportive policy frameworks.

– **Gopalika Arora**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

In Conversation with Ashwini Vaishnaw

Day 2: 22 February 2024



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



Virat Bhatia,
Managing Director, Apple,
India

“India’s economic growth story is well-thought through,” articulated Ashwini Vaishnaw, highlighting the government’s vision to position the country as a critical beneficiary in the changing geopolitical world order. He cited four pillars underpinning India’s economic growth trajectory: investment in physical, digital, and social infrastructure; inclusive growth; a systematic focus on manufacturing; and simplifying laws and regulations. He expressed strong confidence that India would consistently grow between 6 percent and 8 percent over the next 10 years despite headwinds from the COVID-19 pandemic and global conflict. He posited that the government’s focus is reinforcing these four pillars to sustain the country’s growth momentum.

Vaishnaw emphasised the current situation where old structures were breaking down, necessitating a

consolidation and repositioning of India’s foreign policy. The country’s emergence as a “trusted partner” on the world stage manifested within the supply chain sphere in the desire for various international brands like Apple and Samsung to manufacture locally. He added that India’s position as a trusted geography, a large talent pool, and history of past conduct have transformed the country from a technology importer to a co-creator and co-developer of critical technologies. Vaishnaw proclaimed that India is open to new ideas and invited the rest of the world to “innovate in India for the world.”

Vaishnaw stressed that India’s economic growth was inexorably linked to productivity growth and highlighted three elements central to making the economy more

CHATURANGA

CONFLICT, CONTEST, COOPERATION, CREATIVITY




productive: physical and digital infrastructure, education and skilling, and innovation and development. He espoused the successes of initiatives like “Make in India”, “Skill India”, “Ayushman Bharat,” and the “New Education Policy” as laying the foundation for long periods of high growth and manageable inflation. He acknowledged the importance of leaving no one behind, adding that social harmony could only be maintained if the bottom of the pyramid grows in line with the overall economy.

Disputing the public-sector sceptics, Vaishnav intimated the need to avoid dogma and apply the prism of reality in recognising the importance of the ecosystem created by the public sector. He added that Prime Minister Modi has strived to make the public sector agile and responsive to new technologies by giving them the liberty in

planning and decision-making. Vaishnav also underscored the need for the government and the private sector to work harmoniously and lauded the successes of public-private partnership models and MOUs in digital payment infrastructure, semiconductors, and telecommunications.

For the next five years, Vaishnav highlighted the four critical focus areas of the government: services and manufacturing, education upgrades, healthcare, and critical technologies. These areas, he proclaimed, would lay the foundations for India’s transformation into a developed economy by 2047.

– **Sanjith Srikanth**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Lunch Conversations

From the Indo-Pacific to the Med-Atlantic: Geometries of Growth

Day 2: 22 February 2024

Before the panel discussion, the two keynote addresses underscored the importance of the Indo-Pacific region standing at the forefront of global attention with a substantial nexus between burgeoning economic activity and strategic significance. Giorgos Gerapetritis underscored the region's geographic cohesion and immense economic promise in a compelling keynote address. Notably, nations like the EU are increasingly recognizing the pivotal role the Indo-Pacific plays in the global landscape and are actively seeking avenues to enhance their involvement, signalling a seismic shift in geopolitical dynamics. India's ascendant position is central to the evolving narrative of the Indo-Pacific strategy. With its robust economic growth, liberalised economy, and forward-thinking leadership, India emerges as a linchpin in the region. In his keynote address, Dammu

KEYNOTE ADDRESS



Giorgos Gerapetritis,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Greece



Dammu Ravi,
Secretary (ER), Ministry of
External Affairs, India

MODERATOR



Symeon Tsomokos,
Founder and President, Delphi
Economic Forum, Greece

PANELLISTS



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



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



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



Rosa Balfour,
Director, Carnegie Europe,
Belgium



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



Ravi elucidated the criticality of bolstering infrastructure, ensuring energy security, and fortifying food security as imperatives for India's sustained advancement within the Indo-Pacific framework.

At the start of the panel discussion, Arancha González emphasised that the realisation of the Indo-Pacific's whole potential hinges upon collaborative efforts among nations. The speaker fervently advocated for synergistic partnerships to actualize infrastructure initiatives, forge robust trade agreements, and navigate the complex web of geopolitical challenges that beset the region.

Similarly, Federico Banos-Lindner said the India-Middle East-Europe (IMEC) corridor emerges as a beacon of promise, offering a pathway to bolster connectivity, foster trade, and enhance security.

Yet, formidable hurdles loom, including existing corridors, financial constraints, and geopolitical instability, necessitating concerted efforts to surmount. Acknowledging the burgeoning strategic partnership between the EU and India, the EU representative underscored the imperative of elevating the economic dimension of this relationship. He highlighted the need to expedite trade negotiations and stressed the potential dividends of a comprehensive trade agreement between the two regions.


The United Arab Emirates (UAE) emerges as a pivotal player in the realisation of the IMEC corridor, leveraging its strategic location and substantial investments in infrastructure. Ebtisam Al-Ketbi underscored the importance of persevering with the project despite prevailing geopolitical headwinds,

underscoring its transformative potential. Furthermore, partnerships emerge as the linchpin for the IMEC corridor's success, as Al-Ketbi reiterated. While aware of the challenges ahead, Banos-Lindner emphasised the indispensable role of political and security assurances in fostering an environment conducive to the corridor's flourishing. The potential transformative benefits of the IMEC corridor were highlighted, extolling its capacity to diversify trade routes, enhance trade accessibility, optimise trade throughput, curtail costs, bolster efficiencies, and diminish transit times. Despite these promising prospects, formidable challenges posed by geopolitical tensions, disruptive forces, and the absence of specifics regarding the implementation blueprint were also acknowledged. Transitioning the discourse towards broader geopolitical and economic imperatives, the imperative of strategic interdependence over insular self-sufficiency was underscored by Rosa Balfour, stressing the pressing need to confront shared challenges such as climate change and digitalisation collectively.

Furthermore, Balfour cautioned against the pitfalls of over-promising and underdelivering, citing persistent conflicts, inadequate financial backing, constrained political bandwidth, and

discordant political narratives as formidable impediments. Proposing a more pragmatic and nuanced approach to collaboration, a concerted focus on shared interests and fundamental principles was advocated. In a poignant nod to historical precedents, Stefano Sannino invoked the ancient city of Petra as a paradigmatic historical trade nexus, underscoring the potential of new trade arteries to engender cooperation and mitigate conflict. Shifting to the European Union's perspective on the Indo-Pacific, he highlighted the region's profound economic significance, with over a third of EU imports originating therein. Emphasising convergent challenges like climate change, digitalisation, and security, the recalibration of global governance along principles of growth, justice, and equity was highlighted. Moreover, the imperative of inclusivity in partnerships is fervently stressed, alongside the need to manage divergences while steadfastly adhering to core principles adeptly, epitomising a pragmatic and principled engagement paradigm.

– **Pratnashree Basu**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Lunch Conversations

Whose AI is it Anyway?

Day 2: 22 February 2024

In today's rapidly evolving technological landscape, the role of the Global South in shaping the future of Artificial Intelligence (AI) is paramount. As we navigate the intricate dynamics of AI development and deployment, it becomes evident that the Global South's participation is not merely optional but imperative.

The panel began by discussing the unparalleled opportunities for innovation and societal progress that AI has presented us. However, a particular emphasis was placed on leveraging its potential fully, encouraging the audience to rethink different levels of computational advancements worldwide and growing inclusively in the future.

During the panel discussion, the conversation pivoted around various critical aspects shaping the future of AI. One such theme was collaboration, with panellists stressing the importance of

MODERATOR



Laura Mahrenbach,
Adjunct Professor, Technical
University of Munich, Germany

PANELLISTS



Abhishek Singh,
Additional Secretary, MeitY;
President & CEO, NeGD, India



Andy O'Connell,
Vice President, Product Policy
and Strategy, META, United
States



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



Pamela Mishkin,
Member of Technical Staff,
OpenAI, United States



Pratyush Kumar,
Co-Founder, Sarvam AI,
India

partnerships among stakeholders in advancing AI technologies effectively. They highlighted the significance of knowledge sharing, collective problem-solving, and interdisciplinary approaches in accelerating progress and broadening access to AI innovations. This process is already included in the policymaking space.



Another theme emerged from discussing the nuances of future prosperity and innovation in AI. Ethical considerations took centre stage as panellists discussed the moral implications of AI deployment. They underscored the importance of addressing biases, ensuring fairness and transparency, and mitigating risks associated with misuse. The need for establishing ethical guidelines and frameworks to navigate moral dilemmas was emphasised. The discussion emphasised the crucial role of inclusivity and cultural diversity in AI development. Panellists highlighted efforts to break down barriers and make AI tools accessible to people from diverse backgrounds. They stressed the importance of considering language diversity, cultural nuances, and local contexts in developing inclusive AI solutions. This was especially


highlighted when translation models were given as examples. As the panel discussed, when managing language inputs, large language models or AI require more 'tokens' to convert regional languages than English; the panellists highlighted this was not an issue of data fed to the AI but rather a more fundamental coding issue. The examples indicated that while many issues of access, equality, and representation are relegated to information AI consumes, many can be solved through responsible and ethical coding.

The panellists recognised the potential of AI technologies to create significant value for society by addressing specific societal needs and challenges. They discussed the transformative impact of AI in areas such as education, healthcare, and agriculture, emphasising

the importance of regional uses of AI and how these differ based on national priorities like economic benefits, social progress, and environmental sustainability. Mitigating risks associated with AI deployment emerged as a critical aspect of responsible AI development. These themes concluded with panellists agreeing that standardised frameworks and guidelines were needed to evaluate and address privacy concerns, biases, accountability, and transparency. They emphasised proactive measures to maximise the benefits of AI while minimising potential harm.

Collaboration, ethics, inclusivity, and cultural diversity were identified as crucial considerations in shaping the future of AI. Moving forward, concerted efforts are needed to ensure that AI development and deployment prioritise ethical principles, promote inclusivity, and respect cultural diversity, ultimately advancing AI for the benefit of humanity.

– **Shravishta Ajaykumar**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Lunch Conversations

Europe in the Indo-Pacific

Day 2: 22 February 2024

The conversation delved into the complex geopolitical dynamics of the Indo-Pacific region from a European perspective, involving a diverse set of perspectives from Liechtenstein, the United Kingdom (UK), the Netherlands, Poland, and Germany. In the context of the humanitarian crisis in Ukraine and the COVID-19 pandemic, European solidarity and multilateralism were discussed, with Dominique Hassler emphasising daily political responsibility. She went on to describe how solidarity should not only be used as a describing word but as a living example, as well as calling for a rendezvous of diplomacy. The Netherlands and EU's naval activity in the Indo-Pacific aimed at containing China's assertiveness was portrayed as crucial for global trade and stability. Kajsa Ollongren called oceans the arteries of global trade and that they need to be

MODERATOR



Shashi Tharoor,
Member of Parliament,
India

PANELLISTS



Dominique Hasler,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Liechtenstein



Kajsa Ollongren,
Minister of Defence,
Netherlands



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



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



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

open and accessible. She also iterates that 'We live in a world where we don't have the luxury to focus just on one conflict'. China's influence in the region and the UK's strategy were examined, focusing on defence and concerns about China's intentions towards Taiwan.



UK-India relations, particularly in COVID-19 vaccine distribution and geopolitical tensions, were explored, along with EU-China relations and the need to diversify ties. Tariq Ahmed goes on to state that countries have to protect their citizens, which is the first duty of any government. He went on to highlight the UK's efforts to protect its citizens during the COVID-19 pandemic while also acknowledging the global nature of the pandemic and the need for collective action. He also commended India's vaccine provision efforts and emphasises addressing the pandemic globally. Tobias Lindner discussed Germany's evolving relationship with China, particularly within the Indo-Pacific context. Shashi Tharoor noted a perceived shift in economic ties, citing examples like the Belt and Road Initiative and diverging positions on geopolitical issues.

Lindner responded by outlining Germany's newly adopted China strategy, stressing the importance of fair competition and economic diversification, with India emerging as a strategic partner. He underscored Germany's commitment to upholding the rules-based international order, as reflected in military deployments and exercises in the Indo-Pacific. The conversation showcased Germany's nuanced stance towards China, balancing cooperation, economic prudence, and a commitment to international norms.

Władysław Teofil Bartoszewski brought in a Polish perspective. He acknowledged Poland's pragmatic stance due to its smaller size but highlighted a shift towards the Indo-Pacific region. Underscoring a commitment to the international rules-based order, Poland expressed

its alignment with values such as territorial integrity and non-use of force. The discussion also touched upon Poland's significant hosting of Ukrainian refugees, with over a million welcomed, showcasing a commitment to a collective European approach. In the face of the Ukraine crisis, Poland reaffirmed its support for Ukraine, providing military assistance and cooperating with EU and NATO allies. Despite these regional challenges, Poland expressed a continued interest in strengthening ties with the Indo-Pacific, particularly with India, emphasising shared values and commitment to the international order established after 1945. The interconnectedness of global conflicts, as noted by Ollongren,

underlined the complexity of addressing security issues in the Indo-Pacific amid the ongoing Ukraine crisis. The discussion also raised questions about Poland's relationship with China in the wake of political changes and growing concerns across Europe. Overall, the conversation highlighted the intricate balance required to navigate economic interests, geopolitical tensions, and cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region.

– **Inayat Rai**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Lunch Conversations

Trends @ Raisina

Day 2: 22 February 2024

In one of the most scintillating panels of the conference, this lunch-hour symposium brought together a diverse ensemble of practitioners, industry experts, and thought leaders. They engaged in a wide-ranging discussion on geopolitical trends and geoeconomic trajectories shaping the current global order and the foreseeable future. Moderated by Lara Farrar, the panel delved into various dimensions, from China's role as a commercial partner to the evolving landscape of cybercrime. Topics spanned from the impact of the Russia-Ukraine conflict on EU-China relations, the restructuring of global supply chains, and the potential repercussions of the upcoming United States' elections on trans-Atlantic ties.

Noah Barkin initiated the dialogue, highlighting a significant shift in global investment flows away from China, particularly in sectors like ICT, semiconductors, and electric vehicle

MODERATOR



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

PANELLISTS



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



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



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



Reinhard Bütikofer,
Member of the European
Parliament, Germany



Nico Lange,
Senior Fellow, Munich Security
Conference, Germany

production. He attributed this trend to internal economic slowdowns in China and external factors such as geopolitical tensions.

Mallory Knodel emphasised the critical need to balance cybersecurity efforts with human rights considerations, underscoring



the challenges in international negotiations due to the vast scope of cybersecurity issues. Reinhard Butikofer expressed caution regarding the burgeoning relationship between Russia and China, noting China's significant technological support to Russia during the Ukraine conflict. He underscored Europe's increasing wariness of China due to its involvement in the conflict and its implications for European security and business interests.

Andrew Shearer painted a picture of the shifting geopolitical and economic landscape, highlighting state capitalism's resurgence and the intensifying competition between China and the US. While acknowledging the emergence of new partnerships, Shearer also voiced concerns about potential economic slowdowns and inefficiencies in this evolving global order. Looking ahead to the

US elections, Nico Lange struck a positive note, suggesting it could positively impact trans-Atlantic relations. He highlighted increased defence spending across Europe and growing investments in American defence firms as evidence of a stabilising effect on trans-Atlantic ties amid global uncertainties.

While the five speakers discussed five diverse and distinct issues, the panel came together to explore current geopolitical dynamics and their implications for the global economy and international relations. As the world navigates shifting alliances and economic structures, stakeholders feel a palpable sense of opportunity and apprehension.

– **Roshani Jain**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Panel Discussion

As the Ice Melts: The New Arctic Chessboard

Day 2: 22 February 2024

The Arctic region—with a unique geographic location, natural resources from fisheries to rare earths, and expanding shipping traffic—is increasingly significant to global geopolitics and geoeconomics. Eeva Eek-Pajuste recalled Estonia's long and continuous tradition in Arctic exploration and experience since the 19th century. Tobias Billström explained how Sweden's NATO accession means more NATO countries in the Arctic Council, adding to the region's stability, with Russia as the only non-NATO member around the Baltic Sea. The risk of military action inside the Arctic is low, but tensions could rise with the ice melting and opening up new paths of travelling and extracting raw materials.

Elina Valtonen mentioned that the Arctic Council's extent of cooperation, which focused on environmental and regional issues rather than security, was hampered by Russia's war. Andreas Motzfeldt Kravik clarified that rather than being a vast unpopulated area, 10 percent of Norwegians live in the

MODERATOR



Karin von Hippel,
Director-General, Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies, United Kingdom

PANELLISTS



Elina Valtonen,
Minister for Foreign Affairs, Finland



Tobias Billström,
Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sweden



Andreas Motzfeldt Kravik,
State Secretary, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway



Alexander Gabuev,
Director, Carnegie Russia Eurasia Center, Germany



Eeva Eek-Pajuste,
Adviser, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Estonia

Arctic region, which is rife with activity and commerce. Despite Russian aggression, the Council is functioning and collaborating on various issues. We need to compartmentalise and find solutions.

Alexander Gabuev elaborated upon the Arctic's trend lines, including the collapse of governance, militarisation, and deepening Russia-China cooperation. Russia's



opposition to NATO members in the Council means that the fabric of cooperation will disappear. The Arctic is both conventionally and strategically important for Russia. Given the increasing asymmetry in the Russia-China relationship, the West should pay attention to potentially increasing Chinese presence in the Russian segment of the region.


Eek-Pajuste emphasised that events in the Arctic would have global implications. Tensions are rising based on how Russia is dealing with its natural and human resources, including greater mobilisation of indigenous people for its war. Billström reiterated the need to listen to indigenous people in the region since melting the ice would make the Arctic more accessible and more hostile for humans.

Kravik expanded on the role of India as a Council observer with expertise, commercial enterprises, and added value. In 2022, India developed its

Arctic policy and is interested in partaking in research projects, given the commonalities in particular issues with the Global North. Data sharing is critical for progress on issues like ice melting and unifying governmental approaches. Gabuev stressed the importance of ramping up the defence and deterrence while maintaining channels of communication and mitigating risks. It is impossible to compartmentalise Arctic issues without a general thaw in relations with Russia.

The right of every sovereign nation to choose its security arrangement was reiterated by Valtonen. On a similar vein, Billström spoke of the threat Russia posed for its neighbours with its neocolonialist ambitions. Everyone is welcome to the Arctic if they adhere to the rules-based order.

– **Shairee Malhotra**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Ministerial Remarks

Meenakashi Lekhi, Minister of State for External Affairs, India

Day 2: 22 February 2024

Meenakashi Lekhi commenced her ministerial remarks by drawing a parallel between the transition from Chaturanga to chess and the evolution of the India story on the world stage. She articulated India's history as a cradle for new ideas that have persevered despite undergoing some structural changes. Lekhi attributes the legacy of these ideas to the country's resilience in the economic and cultural spheres, where India has shown the world the path of creation and growth for millennia. While conflict is a mechanism for the propagation of ideas and is a reality of our world, she argued that India's ethos has been to find solutions and engage in partnerships to solve conflicts. She added that while "India has lived through conflicts, it has not been a party to any conflict."


Lekhi laments the inability of multilateral bodies to resolve conflicts. She advocates a pragmatic approach to finding solutions for peacebuilding, underscored by dignity and respect. She stresses that the solutions to problems like poverty, climate change, and energy, food, and fertiliser crises can only be reached in a "peaceful, kind, and compassionate" world. Lekhi asserted that one of India's defining philosophies when working with partners is the benefit of all and affirms that "happiness, wealth, and prosperity" is not just for one but for all. She adds that India's experience of centering kindness at the core of its interactions stems from its experience when its fortunes were not favourable, allowing the country to recognise the importance of sharing and humility.



She repudiates the terms aid and grants and stresses that India engages in developmental partnerships. Far from a semantic shift, these developmental partnerships imply no hidden agenda and include positive externalities like capacity building and technological support. She added that development partnerships are all about hand-holding, and India's approach is demand-driven without any strings attached. She recognised the mercurial nature of time, noting that India had transitioned from being an importer of food to a nation with a food surplus, now able

to provide necessary food support to African and Asian countries. She also noted that India is a country of Global North by being the fifth largest economy. However, she still remembers India being a member of the "Fragile Five" and empathises with the hardships and struggles of vulnerable nations.

– **Sanjith Srikanth**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Panel Discussion

Promethean Puzzle: Will Science Secure – or Upend – the World Order?

Day 2: 22 February 2024

The intention behind building CERN, said James Beacham, was primarily to provide a way for Europe to heal after the horrors of World War II by bringing scientists together for the explicit purpose of “Science for Peace,” basic science for public good. The purpose of particle physics now is to understand the fundamental building blocks of nature and how they fit together in complex and remarkable ways to build the universe we have now. There are three questions to be answered, which lie at the centre of work conducted at CERN: Where did everything come from? How does everything work at the smallest possible scale? And where are we going? Yes, there are always practical applications, but thousands of people come from around the globe to CERN strictly because we are curious about the universe.

MODERATOR



Corinna Hoyer,

Managing Director and Chief Operating Officer, World Minds, Switzerland

PANELLISTS



Archana Sharma,

Principal Scientist – Senior Advisor International Relations, CERN, Switzerland



Filippa Lentzos,

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



James Beacham,

Particle Physicist at the Large Hadron Collider, CERN, Switzerland

Archana Sharma noted that the largest particle physics laboratory also hosts the largest physical apparatus—the Large Hadron Collider—the place of discovery of the Higgs boson. The existence of the World Wide Web resulted from the requirement for vast amounts of data to be shared between physicists. Many other technologies, including medical imaging, airport security checks, simulations for drug discovery, and weather prediction, have emerged as spinoffs from physics. Science, systems, and



policy must come together when discussing mitigating technology risks.

Filippa Lentzos highlighted the concern that the security dimensions in the work of biologists are often underplayed. The 20th century has seen the misuse of biology to develop offensive biological weapons programs. An international treaty like the Biological Weapons Convention is a welcome step towards preventing further misuse. However, with rapid advancements in the scientific domain (for example, genomics, synthetic biology, and genetic manipulation), there is a need to address the growing concerns of society and the use of these technologies for harmful purposes. Managing biological risks is becoming increasingly challenging in a multipolar world. Lentzos opines that any collaboration to address these risks must be cross-national, cross-disciplinary, and cross-institutional. Developing a

patchwork of response mechanisms and institutions to handle these big questions is crucial. Sharma added that CERN is a prime example of science diplomacy in action. It demonstrates trust, fair practices, data sharing, risk mitigation, resource management, and cost-effective experimentation on a large scale.

According to Beacham, science is a process meant to decrease the human capacity for delusion. Methods that reduce the propensity for delusion to zero are needed to arrive at robust, reliable, repeatable conclusions about the world. Science should serve as a natural way to manage humans' fallibility. However, a scientific mindset alone is not enough. Society must have a solid moral and ethical foundation.

– Prateek Tripathi

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Panel Discussion

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

Day 2: 22 February 2024

Without a substantial increase in climate finance, the goals of the Paris Agreement cannot be met. While there is no shortage of funds globally, very little finance is flowing into developing countries. Nearly 85 percent of climate finance is directed to mitigation, while adaptation remains severely underfunded. A just transition needs financing at scale; it needs climate capital in emerging economies to be cheaper, and it needs money to flow across national boundaries.

Jochen Flasbarth asserted the need to infuse credibility through mobilising US\$ 100 billion for developing countries, though the amount is far from the actual needs. In other words, mobilising private sector finance will be essential to meet the Paris goals. V. Anantha Nageswaran argued that private capital is not fully ready for the opportunities and risks in clean

MODERATOR



Geraldine Ang,

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

PANELLISTS



V. Anantha Nageswaran,

Chief Economic Advisor, Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs, India



Jochen Flasbarth,

State Secretary, Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, Germany



Anna Bjerde,

Managing Director, The World Bank, Sweden



Pramod Chaudhari,

Executive Chairman, Praj Industries Ltd., India



Sumant Sinha,

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, ReNew, India

energy transitions. The returns of green bonds are meagre at about 1-2 percent. Sumant Sinha observed that while debt financing is available fairly easily, the challenge lies in providing the right enabling environment so investors get




fair returns. The real problem, however, is on the equity side. Currently, clean tech companies globally are trading at multi-year lows due to high inflation and high interest rates. Therefore, providing an enabling environment for the private sector, reducing risk (including foreign exchange risk), and providing guarantees to the private sector are immensely important. Attracting private capital to adaptation is particularly difficult because technology is often unproven on a scale, and there is overdependence on a few countries for resources. Therefore, blended finance and public capital are critical for adaptation.

Anna Bjerde also stressed the importance of stability in strategy, policy, and regulation. For instance, setting a clear target and plan has helped India rapidly enhance its

renewable energy capacity. Sumant Sinha argued that the original mandate of the existing multilateral development banks is growth and development. These institutions may not be suited for climate finance. Therefore, discussions on creating specialised institutions to provide finance should also be a part of conversations on global financial architecture. He further noted the need for global mandates on corporations, which account for nearly 50-60 percent of global emissions through a global carbon tax.

– **Malancha Chakrabarty**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Panel Discussion

Fractured Politics: Is Development a Casualty of War?

Day 2: 22 February 2024

With global conflicts and a gloomy start to 2024, society is desperately seeking options for globally coordinated responses to complex development problems. According to Elmedin Konaković, peace is the fundamental prerequisite for development. Speaking from his experience, he recounted how Bosnia and Herzegovina went through a genocide around three decades ago and is still suffering from its aftereffects. He emphasised the vital role that multilateral organisations can play in taking the world towards peace. Igli Hasani discussed how the democratic reforms in Albania, over time, have put the country on a path towards a rules-based order and a free market economy. He expressed his hope for multilateral systems and suggested keeping the dialogues open among all the parties involved.

Abla Abdel Latif expressed her views that coordinated responses alone are not enough for global peace as witnessed worldwide. She

MODERATOR



Chandrika Bahadur,
Chief Executive Officer, The Antara Foundation, India

PANELLISTS



Elmedin Konaković,
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bosnia and Herzegovina



Igli Hasani,
Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs, Albania



Tharaka Balasuriya,
State Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sri Lanka



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



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

underscored the importance of development finance in rebuilding economies that are victims of conflicts. Latif lamented that the voice of the Global South is meagre, requiring some churning. She appreciated India's role during the G20 in putting the African Union (AU) at the table. She opined that the time and relevance of Bretton Woods is over, and a complete overhaul is required to reflect the needs of the time. Finally, she highlighted the importance of both



India and China in strengthening southern institutions.

Tharaka Balasuriya deplored how Sri Lanka lost track of development due to its ethnic conflicts in the 1990s. With increased military spending, there was less budget for much needed development works. He also spoke about the socioeconomic effects of the war that are still lingering. He alerted the audience about the dangers of majoritarianism. When education reforms took place in Sri Lanka, certain sections were ignored, leading to internal disturbances. According to Balasuriya, the fruits of democracy can only be enjoyed when democracy is inclusive.

Emanuela Claudia Del Re emphasised the importance of Sahel. While she welcomed India's efforts to include the AU in the G20, she invited the Indian government and people to take more interest in the Sahel region.

With the war in Ukraine and the blockade of grains, the situation has been exacerbated for many Sahelian countries that were already reeling under multiple developmental challenges, such as climate change and internal displacement. Del Re underlined the importance of partnerships that would ultimately help to develop sustainable systems and prevent conflicts in the long term. Despite the intention to help, many international financial institutions find it difficult due to stringent rules, regulations, and lack of ownership and accountability in governments in regions of ongoing conflict. In the African context, India and Europe need to invest in collaborative efforts. Del Re concluded with the hope that multilateral organisations and governance systems can improve and be strengthened by collaboration.

– **Samir Bhattacharya**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Panel Discussion

Emerging Technologies: A Panacea for the SDGs?

Day 2: 22 February 2024

The panel discussion on emerging technologies and SDGs brought together experts from various sectors to explore the intersection of technology and global sustainability. The discussion delved into the challenges, opportunities, and critical discussion points surrounding integrating emerging technologies in achieving SDGs.

Archana Vyas highlighted significant challenges hindering SDG progress, including global disruptions such as the COVID-19 pandemic and geopolitical tensions. The lack of technological access, particularly in remote areas, also emerged as a critical barrier. Ethical considerations, particularly concerning emerging technologies like AI, were also underscored by Hoda Al-Khzaimi as crucial challenges requiring attention. Despite the obstacles, Sandiaga Uno emphasised the immense potential of emerging technologies such as AI, IoT, and big data in addressing various SDGs, including poverty alleviation, hunger eradication, education,

MODERATOR



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

PANELLISTS



Sandiaga Uno,
Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy, Indonesia



Abhishek Singh,
Additional Secretary, MeitY, President & CEO NeGD, India



Aditi Avasthi,
Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Embibe, India

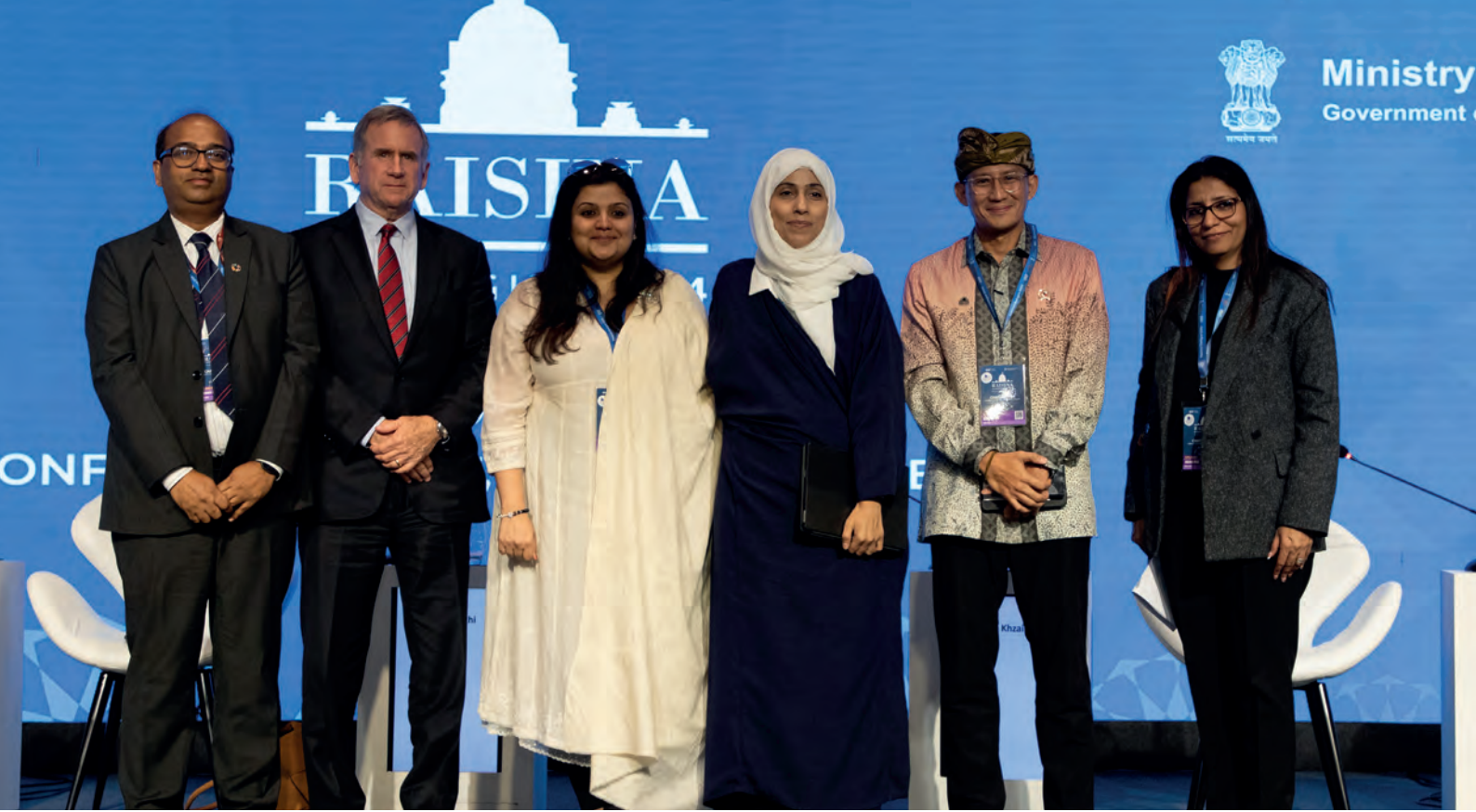


Alex Rogers,
President, Qualcomm Technology Licensing (QTL) & Global Affairs, Qualcomm Incorporated, United States



Hoda Al Khzaimi,
Founder and Director, EMARTSEC Centre for Emerging Tech and Advanced Research Acceleration; Assistant Professor, Department of Engineering, NYUAD, UAE

and climate change mitigation. Examples cited by Uno included utilising AI for personalised learning, IoT for agricultural monitoring, and big data for disaster risk reduction. The discussion by Aditi Avasthi and Hoda Al-Khzaimi highlighted the importance of publicprivate partnerships and community



involvement in effectively harnessing these technologies for sustainable development.

Alex Rogers discusses the potential of 5G and IoT technologies to enhance connectivity and drive sustainable development. He highlights the significant progress in global connectivity, with nearly 7 billion smartphone users and extensive 4G and 5G coverage, especially in India. Despite this, the technology is still emerging, with many impactful use cases yet to be developed. India exemplifies leveraging connectivity through platforms like UPI and digital health services. Future innovations, incentivised by projects like India's 100 5G labs, will further optimise and expand these technologies' benefits.


Several key discussion points emerged during the panel session. There was a consensus on the need to broaden the definition of "emerging technology" beyond AI to encompass a more comprehensive array of innovative solutions, highlighted by Al-Khzaimi. Furthermore, Avasthi emphasised the importance of capacity building and developing relevant use cases alongside technology deployment. Abhishek Singh deemed striking a balance between fostering innovation and preventing the misuse of emerging technologies essential. Al-Khzaimi stressed the necessity of co-creation and community participation in the development and deployment processes, as well as the establishment of benchmarks and metrics to measure the societal impact of these technologies.

The panel discussion yielded important takeaways. While acknowledging the transformative potential of emerging technologies in advancing SDGs, Al-Khzaimi underscored the importance of responsible development, inclusivity, collaboration, and ethical considerations to ensure the equitable distribution of benefits. Avasthi and Al-Khzaimi identified public-private partnerships and community involvement as pivotal for successfully implementing and utilising these technologies. Additionally, Sandiaga Uno highlighted the significance of women's leadership in policy-making and technology utilisation for societal benefit. Al-Khzaimi

called for global cooperation in establishing technology governance frameworks and regulations to address potential risks and ensure responsible development.

In conclusion, the panel discussion provided valuable insights into the complex dynamics between emerging technologies and SDGs, emphasising the need for a holistic approach that prioritises sustainability, inclusivity, and ethical considerations in technological innovation and deployment.

– **Soumya Bhowmick**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Dinner Conversations

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

Day 2: 22 February 2024

Stephanie Diepeveen began the panel discussion by stating that digital spaces and platforms are becoming increasingly necessary for access to public goods, causing us to think differently about what it means to be a citizen. There are two areas where this access may be threatened. On the one side, we have the private sector, with most large companies based in the US and China, and other countries being subjected to regulations outside their borders. The other threat is from our politicians and governments, with a considerable rise in shutdowns.

Bibek Debroy expressed concern over the conflict between regulator and provider regarding access to digital public goods. The problem is not the need for regulation per se; instead, it is the content of that regulation. As a regulator, one needs to be aware of what a particular technology will lead to, especially given that it usually emanates from a few selected private players and is not the product of a market characterised

MODERATOR



Caitriona Heini,

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

PANELLISTS



Bibek Debroy,

Chairman, Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, India



Brendan Carr,

Commissioner, Federal Communications Commission, United States



Bassant Habib,

Non-Resident Scholar, Middle East Institute, United States



Sunil Abraham,

Director, Public Policy India, Data Economy & Emerging Tech, META, India



Stephanie Diepeveen,

Senior Research Fellow, ODI, Netherlands

by perfect competition. As a result, it is difficult to have a global consensus, even regarding minimum standards.

Bassant Habib agreed with Debroy that building a global consensus on tech regulation between states, tech companies, and civil society actors is a very challenging task. Just as technology is dual-use, there is also a duality between tech companies and state



sovereignty, in the sense that the former has sometimes weakened and strengthened the latter. One of the most controversial aspects of international tech governance is using and selling Artificial Intelligence and cyber-surveillance software, since it raises serious questions over the democratic vs. authoritarian approaches to ICT governance.

Brendan Carr complimented India for recognising the threat posed by China and how it is exploiting technology to export its authoritarianism. Following India's lead, the US needs to take action on apps like "TikTok," given that it has been used surreptitiously to surveil the location of specific Americans. It is an area where Western democracies need to stand together. Another issue is the surge in censorship and shutting down free expression on the internet. "We've seen it done by companies, government officials, and affirmative government action across the globe to censor speech. Governments should impose "anti-

discrimination" rules on social media, and censorship should not be based on political, religious, or scientific viewpoints. We should ally around more speech, not less," said Carr.

Sunil Abraham stated that the censorship of science is the most worrying. Open science relies on the three pillars of open source, open data, and open access, which must be adhered to. The only form of digital public goods with consensus is free software. He agreed with Habib on the importance of cyber-sovereignty at the level of the individual, the firm, and Indian government entities. He said, "When we go through various regulatory proposals, they should be tested against the open-source counterfactual rather than simply looking at monolithic proprietary models currently ruling the discourse".

– Prateek Tripathi

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Dinner Conversations

The Russia Files

Day 2: 22 February 2024

After decades of relative peace following the Second World War, including a Cold War where two superpowers flirted with atomic armageddon, hot conflict graces the world again, even reaching the cooler temperatures of Europe. Nearly two years since its armed forces crossing Ukraine's borders, this panel brought together several senior Russian minds to discuss the impact of the Russian infringement. Moderated by Velina Tchakarova, this forum addressed many facets of Russia's venture, from domestic perceptions to the larger shockwaves felt in Europe and the West.

"Russia never invaded Europe, Europe invaded Russia" was the show-stopping line heard across the room as Vyacheslav Nikonov addressed the audience on the prevalent attitude held by the upper echelons of the Russian government. Speaking to the "existential

MODERATOR



Velina Tchakarova,

Founder, FACE and Visiting Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, Austria

PANELLISTS



Vyacheslav Nikonov,

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



Manish Tewari,

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



Feodor Voitlovsky,

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



Ivan Timofeev,

Director General, Russian International Affairs Council, Russia



Victoria Panova,

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

RAISINA
DIALOGUE 2024

threat” felt by Russia from the West, Nikonov made a plea for a more balanced framing of history that counters the critical details left out of Western narratives—regarding bloodshed and loss felt on the Eastern side of the border. Unconvinced by such assessments, Manish Tewari questioned whether the “perceived existential threats” that Nikonov and Russia speak of are a fact born in reality or simply a misguided assessment of Western expansionist ambitions. He used the example of the breakdown of the erstwhile USSR—and how it was a compulsion born out of economic stagnation and not Western imperialist masterminding.


Roused by a question on the inadvertent impact of Finland joining NATO — and whether Russia would execute a similar operation as in Ukraine, moderator Tchakarova questioned the limits of Russian territorial expansionism,

whether it would end with Ukraine. To this end, Nikonov harked back to how the people of Eastern Ukraine have never regarded the government in Kyiv as “legitimate”. Hence, he justified Russia’s stance as compliant with international law and in line with the democratic wants of the contested region. Fyodor Voitlovsky then brought the discussion back to the Finnish question, calling it a “disaster for Finland,” as well as Russia, as the Nordic neighbour was the “most trusted partner” and an economic and political ally of Russia in the West. Nonetheless, he maintained that Russia respected this decision as Finland had always been part of the West, and this move didn’t pose any security threat to Russia. However, a similar parallel cannot be drawn with Ukraine as politically and ideologically, Ukrainian refugees are more inclined towards Russia, feeling “much safer in Russia”.

In the wake of escalating tensions in Europe, this panel discussion provided a nuanced exploration of Russia's perspective on territorial expansionism and perceived threats from the West. While differing viewpoints were expressed, it underscored the importance of understanding historical narratives

and geopolitical complexities to navigate toward sustainable peace and holding a space for generative and productive conversations such as this one.

– **Roshani Jain**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Dinner Conversations

Angry Planet: Investing in the Age of Resilience and Adaptation

Day 2: 22 February 2024

Louise van Schaik opened the discussion by establishing its focus areas: disaster response, agricultural resilience, and the opportunity for vulnerable countries to learn from one another by exchanging experiences.

Scott Moe noted that agriculture has been the cornerstone of Saskatchewan's economy for over a century, stressing the importance of achieving food security through environmentally sound and sustainable production practices. He also highlighted the necessity of collaboration and convening stakeholders to explore research-based solutions for enhancing adaptation and resilience within agricultural portfolios.

Jagannatha Kumar stressed the importance of prioritising grassroots communities affected by climate risks, with 80 percent of the population residing in vulnerable areas. He highlighted the necessity

SCENE SETTER



Vanita Sharma,
Advisor on Strategic Initiatives,
Reliance Foundation, India

MODERATOR



Louise van Schaik,
Head of Unit, Clingendael
Institute, Netherlands

PANELLISTS



Scott Moe,
Premier, Government of
Saskatchewan, Canada



Jagannatha Kumar,
Chief Executive Officer, Reliance
Foundation, India



Kwame Owino,
Chief Executive Officer, Institute
of Economic Affairs, Kenya



Rahoul Sawani,
President, Asia-Pacific, Corteva
Agriscience, Singapore



Sara Roversi,
Founder and President, Future
Food Institute, Italy

of enhancing adaptation and resilience in their livelihoods to ensure food security and sustainability. He also emphasised the value of multi-stakeholder partnerships, ranging from government policy formulation to grassroots community involvement,



in effectively addressing climate challenges. Furthermore, holistic approaches to early warning systems, integrating climate hazard, exposure, and vulnerability data to improve disaster management need to be adopted, he asserted.

Bringing in a Kenyan perspective, Kwame Owino explained that agriculture sustains 60 percent of Kenya's population, making the risks of climate change on farmers undeniable. He highlighted the importance of effective government provision of public goods, such as robust early warning systems to address climate-related disasters. Owino noted the changing rainfall patterns in Kenya, leading to droughts and floods in various regions, while also expressing concern about the encroachment on the country's tropical forests, which are vital carbon sinks.


He stressed the urgent need for governments to demonstrate competence and leadership in tackling the crises arising from climate change. Furthermore, Owino discussed the importance of disaster preparedness, citing the Kenya government's efforts to identify and assist the most vulnerable populations through cash transfers. He highlighted the essential role of competent government and bureaucratic responses in effectively managing disasters.

Rahoul Sawani highlighted the many challenges faced today, ranging from geopolitical unrest to health crises and inflation, compounded by the increasingly unpredictable impacts of climate change. He pointed out the emergence of new pests and the transformation of colder regions into warmer climates, particularly affecting agriculture.

Sawani also stressed the scarcity of essential resources like land and water in agriculture, underscoring the need to learn from the best practices of other countries and foster partnerships between the public and private sectors and other stakeholders to develop solutions. Additionally, he emphasised the importance of community engagement, particularly with those most affected, and advocated for innovation in adapting to changing circumstances. He further noted that educating farmers on climate-resilient technologies and practices is crucial, as is empowering women in agriculture by providing them with knowledge about technology, access to credit, and opportunities in agri-entrepreneurship.

Sara Roversi elucidated the importance of adopting a long-term vision to address these challenges systematically. Drawing from her recent visit to Andhra Pradesh, she highlighted the implementation of a regenerative farming model. She also commended Andhra Pradesh's investment in education and training, particularly for women, who are becoming more informed about nutrition and organic farming practices. Looking beyond technological advancements, she emphasised the need to instil values, modify school curricula, and foster collaboration to drive progress in addressing these issues.

– **Gopalika Arora**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Kahwa

The Democracy Divide: Universal Norms & Local Practices

Day 2: 22 February 2024

Modern democracy is confronted by global challenges such as authoritarianism, disruptive technologies, populism, and voter scepticism. In today's hyper-globalised world, cultural disparities must be addressed while preventing the manipulation of democracy by state and non-state actors to ensure democracy's efficacy and continued relevance.

Democracy was never easy, explained Tony Abbott. But in an increasingly diverse and digital world, democracy today is perhaps more complicated than ever before. However, this is not a failure of democracy, but rather a failure of leadership.

Mehdi Jomaa pointed out that organising fair elections is not enough for democracy. Democracy is about constitutions, institutions, and citizens' everyday practices. He also emphasised the importance of leadership, especially in nascent democracies where institutions are

MODERATOR



Palki Sharma,

Managing Editor, Network18,
India

PANELLISTS



Tony Abbott,

Former Prime Minister,
Australia



Mehdi Jomaa,

Former Prime Minister,
Tunisia



Sanjeev Sanyal,

Member, Prime Minister's
Economic Advisory Council,
India



Ayoade Alakija,

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



Rend Al-Rahim,

Co-Founder and President, Iraq
Foundation, United States

more fragile. Emerging technologies and the digital revolution make the context of democracy increasingly challenging. It is the role of both the state and civil society to fight misinformation and encourage transparency. Democracy may not be perfect, but it is still the best way to balance efficiency, stability, and freedom.




Ayoade Alakija highlighted the importance of representation in democracies and questioned who can define democracy. Alakija said that many young democracies, including Nigeria, rejected traditional systems of representation in favour of Western systems, which has led to unrestrained power and a lack of accountability. She called for a more critical perspective of global institutions that hold the power to skew geopolitics and geoeconomics.

Rend Al-Rahim pointed out that democracy encompasses values such as equal justice, free and fair elections, political participation, inclusion, and accountability. Al-Rahim cautioned contextualisation to the point where these universal values are lost. Citing the example of women's rights in the Middle East, she said contextualisation should not be used to repress people. The test of democracy is whether people are empowered

to dissent and change their government when it is captured by leaders who do not represent them.

Democracy cannot be expected to fix all a country's problems, said Sanjeev Sanyal. Democracy and economic development are the two legs that society stands on, and definitions of democracy have significant implications for economic growth. This is because a country's position on democratic indices influences its sovereign credit ratings, which in turn determines the borrowing rate for that country. Western characterisations and definitions have been the norm, but the Global South needs to participate in these discussions going forward.

– Amoha Basrur

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Kahwa


The America Files

Day 2: 22 February 2024


“The America Files,” a panel discussion by experts in the field of United States (US) politics and international relations, dissected the nuances of the forthcoming 2024 US Presidential election, exploring various topics from electoral viability and global approval to defence budgets and the effects of campaign financing on democratic proceedings. The panel comprehensively scrutinised the potential runs of Donald Trump and Joe Biden—the two most probable contenders, investigating their influence on US international policy and its wider ramifications in the global political landscape.


The conversation opened with speculation on Donald Trump’s potential return as the Republican presidential candidate despite his legal challenges. Max Abrahms said that far from barring him from running, the ongoing investigations could cement a different narrative in Trump’s favour, to bolster his cause as the misunderstood victim.


MODERATOR


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


PANELLISTS

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

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

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

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

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

However, that may translate directly into something other than broader electoral support, especially among independents. Abrahms also pointed out that this election is unique given the rising chances of a face-off between the President and the former President, indicating that there is no “new good” to look forward to but rather a rematch.



Rexon Y. Ryu shed light on Biden's chances of re-election, focusing on how the US money and lobby situation plays a crucial role in elections. Campaign financing will also be an essential factor in US electoral politics, and how that will affect allies and otherwise will again be an area to look out for. The Democrat's challenge has been keeping up with how the sway of the money impacts people's voting behaviour and keeping control of the Senate due to the close power split.

Lara Setrakian highlighted how the upcoming elections will be monumental for those states that the US works with and even those that it doesn't. A Republican win, and more specifically, a Trump win, might complicate the US's global positioning, for instance,


within NATO and on the issue of aid to Ukraine. However, Theresa Fallon confirmed that withdrawing from NATO will not be an option, whatever the outcome, even though its activities and priorities might see significant changes.

Tilman Kuban went on to compare the rise of populism in Europe, resulting from an abject failure of the pro-democracy parties, and how the premise is similar to what can be seen in the US. Finally, the panel reflected on the US's role in international affairs, emphasizing the importance of consistent and principled leadership while encapsulating concerns over the potential for abrupt policy shifts, particularly concerning China and Taiwan, and the necessity for allies to plan for varying US engagement levels.

The panel, thus, underscored the multifaceted implications of the 2024 US Presidential Election, not only for domestic politics but also for international relations and democratic norms globally. There is a tension between traditional political dynamics in the US and the evolving challenges of leadership, governance, and global stability in a global setting where it has begun to lose its credibility. As the US grapples with internal polarisation, the international community must watch closely, recognising the substantial impact

of US policy decisions on global alliances, security, and economic frameworks. The conversation ultimately called for thoughtful consideration of leadership qualities, policy consistency, and the resilience of democratic institutions in navigating the uncertainties of the forthcoming election.

– **Vivek Mishra**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Breakfast

Asymmetric Governance: How can Multilateralism work with Multipolarity?

Day 3: 23 February 2024

This panel discussion primarily concentrated on the emergence of new centres of power. In the present world order, multilateral solidarity is crucial to prevent disorder in a multipolar world, although new modes of multilateralism may need to be implemented. There is an urgent need for reforms within existing multilateral institutions, with various speakers offering diverse perspectives on preserving multilateralism and addressing shared global challenges.

The dialogue starts with the definition of multilateralism, challenges in traditional institutions, and Lynn Kouk's call for adapting to the changing global landscape. It delves into the importance of multilateralism for peace and security. Antonio de Aguiar Patriota emphasises multilateralism and the need to preserve international law, noting that unilateralism violating international law is the greatest threat. The Liechtenstein initiative to address Security Council vetoes received approval for its

MODERATOR



Lynn Kuok,

Visiting Professor, School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, United States

PANELLISTS



Dominique Hasler,

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Liechtenstein



Reinhard Bütikofer,

Member of the European Parliament, Germany



Antonio de Aguiar Patriota,

Ambassador of Brazil to the United Kingdom, United Kingdom



Harsh V. Pant,

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



Paula Dobriansky,

Vice-Chair, Atlantic Council Scowcroft Center, United States

potential to strengthen multilateral institutions. Dominique Hasler was optimistic about the progress made in UN reforms and small countries contributing meaningfully to it.

Bütikofer agrees with the normative meaning of multilateralism, citing violations like the United States (US) invasion of Iraq in 2003. He argues for inclusive multilateralism to balance power structures, avoiding a world where strong



actors impose their will on weak ones. India's pursuit of a permanent UN Security Council seat and its role in global governance were discussed, emphasising the need for diverse perspectives. Harsh V Pant underscored the importance of addressing power dynamics and political questions within the UNSC. India's historical role as a responsible global player was acknowledged, but questions about its foreign policy stances were raised. Paula emphasised the role of small countries in international institutions, such as the WTO, highlighting the need for reforms to address challenges. She argued for the importance of small countries making a global difference, citing examples like Singapore's role in addressing avian influenza and Qatar's efforts in releasing hostages in Gaza.

To conclude, the panel highlighted the imperative for reforms in multilateral institutions to address global challenges. Various perspectives were presented, from preserving multilateralism to advocating for smaller influential country groupings. The importance of representation, inclusivity, and adapting to changing dynamics emerged as key themes, with specific action items such as developing long-term reform strategies for the UN Security Council, continuing discussions on new reform models, tabling additional initiatives at the UN, and holding critical discussions on challenging reforms.

— Inayat Rai

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Breakfast

The Europe Files

Day 3: 23 February 2024

Today, Europe is a source of concern for its friends and partners. With the upcoming elections to the European Parliament and rising concerns around security, migration, and energy transitions, this panel seeks to assess the shared values and common solutions for Europe.

Małgorzata Bonikowska pointed out that the issues being discussed, like the rise of populism and migration, are not specific to Europe but affect the world at large. However, she noted that going through all these crises made Europe cooperate better and more profoundly—the paradox of the war—and that the crises pushed Europe into deeper cooperation and into finding ways to stop quarrelling inside. She went on to highlight that “today, we are more exposed to the information and disintegration narratives filled into the debates”. She underlined the need for education to help people navigate different narratives

MODERATOR



Shivani Gupta,
Deputy Executive Producer,
CNN-News18, India

PANELLISTS



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



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



Małgorzata Bonikowska,
President, Centre for
International Relations, Poland



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



Walter Feichtinger,
President, Center for Strategic
Analysis, Austria

and that populism is a wake-up call for politicians to try to find new solutions.

Stefan Mair noted the necessity of a crisis to move towards integration and that the European Union (EU)



was created out of a desire to integrate and meet the challenge from outside. He stated that it was not the failure of the EU to prevent another war but rather the member states. Mair added that taking further steps towards a common European foreign policy is necessary. He emphasised that migration has been different for different member states. For some countries, migration has existed since the 1960s, while for others, it is a new development they must deal with.

Alica Kizekova emphasised that populism exists throughout many political parties and is not limited to a selected few. To be re-elected, leaders make promises that they fail to deliver. She highlighted that bringing up domestic issues rather than the foreign policy would attract more votes and that

people get annoyed when they are not being taken care of. Thus, in general, elites from Brussels should stop balancing domestic politics with foreign policies. She also highlighted that different parts of Europe have different contexts and historical experiences.


Walter Feichtinger explained that the central problem in Europe is that there are so many crises simultaneously. The population cannot accept it and is looking for simple solutions, leading to the growth of populism. The challenge is to have the right messages and to give the people the feeling that politics can handle it. The need of the time is to have solid messages and solid solutions.

Giulio Terzi di Sant'Agata highlighted how common sense dictates that there will be a reinforcement of

the conservative movements in the European Parliament as Europe has been weakened by its determination and reaction to the crises and genocidal attacks against Israel and Palestine. Migration is a complex issue with strong perspectives from the right, left, and centre. While there has been solidarity among member states, and they have generously accepted a considerable inflow of immigrants from Ukraine, it must be remembered that

migration can also be weaponised. It is essential to protect legal migration while controlling illegal migration and human trafficking.

– **Basu Chandola**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Breakfast

Desecuritising Development: Resilience in the Indo-Pacific

Day 3: 23 February 2024

The Indo-Pacific region remains one of the most contested regions in the world, with implications for regional and global security, trade, supply chains, and commerce. Tetsuya Watanabe commenced the session by delivering a briefing on the report titled “Regional Integration in the Indo-Pacific: Connectivity, Cooperation and New Supply-Chain Linkages,” in which he emphasised the vulnerability of the economic dynamics of the Indo-Pacific to geopolitical risks. He stressed the importance of diversified, resilient supply chains and lauded India and ASEAN as “one of the only bright spots” in an otherwise slowing global economy.

In his scene-setting remarks, Do Hung Viet acknowledged that the complex challenges in the world have transcended geopolitical competition. He noted the “most pressing issues” for ordinary citizens were not traditional security

REPORT BRIEF



Tetsuya Watanabe,
President, Economic Research
Institute for ASEAN and East Asia,
Indonesia

SCENE SETTER



Do Hung Viet,
Deputy Foreign Minister,
Vietnam

MODERATOR



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

PANELLISTS



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



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



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



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



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



competition but concerns like climate change, epidemics, economic and supply chain disruptions, and income inequality. He suggested a re-conceptualisation of the Indo-Pacific region as an arena for cooperation rather than superpower rivalry. Minister Viet articulated the need for a unifying and inclusive narrative to avoid being entrapped in power struggles and sought to reorient the focus to crucial developmental challenges instead.

Ānjali Kaur formulated the “three D’s” of the Indo-Pacific strategy: defence, development, and diplomacy, and noted that these were not mutually exclusive concepts but, instead, intersect with each other. Her core objectives concerning the Indo-Pacific were strengthening democratic institutions to support good governance and human rights, fostering sustainable,

inclusive, and transparent economic growth, and improving resilience to health and climate threats.

Dulciana Somare-Brash articulated some developmental challenges endemic to Papua New Guinea and emphasised challenges in water and power supply, energy access, cost of doing business, education, and youth unemployment. Despite being well-endowed with natural resources and commodities, she noted that communities in Papua New Guinea face an existential risk of climate change-related events. She added that while Papua New Guinea seeks to participate in commerce with countries of the Asia Pacific region, the government is marred by subnational delivery and implementation, regulatory, and legislative issues.


Emmanuel Baudran highlighted the importance of finding collective ways to reconcile the economic, social, and environmental aspects of climate change. He noted the importance of sustainable infrastructure and signalled the criticality of drafting public policies that are longterm, pro-SDG, pro-investment, and grounded in science. He also stressed the need for investment in sustainable infrastructure and stated that catalysing the private sector is vital to addressing these funding challenges.

Osamu Yamamoto illustrated the necessity of catalysing private investment and elucidated the dissension between asset owners and asset allocators. He articulated that the heart of the disagreement between asset owners and allocators was the gap between social impact and sound risk-adjusted returns. He

added that the dilemma for pension funds was their mandate, approach, and governance restrictions, which prohibit deviation from their traditional prescribed path.

Kate O'Shaughnessy posited that resilience in the Indo-Pacific could only be addressed by recognising the importance of islands and oceans. She highlighted island states' vulnerability to external shocks and argued that a high GNI does not necessarily correspond to financial resilience. Despite the headwinds small island countries face, She argued that working with them and acknowledging their regional expertise was essential to Indo-Pacific resilience.

– **Sanjith Srikanth**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Conversations Over Breakfast

Inclusive Vistas: BRICS, G20 and the Global South

Day 3: 23 February 2024

The BRICS grouping is often seen as one representing the interests of the emerging economies of the Global South, especially with expanded membership. There is consensus that global issues cannot be resolved without these economies helping ideate solutions. Successive developing country presidencies at the G20 have provided a unique opportunity to build a robust and continuous development agenda, with sustainable development at its core, and to reshape international institutions and norms.

Anil Sooklal set the scene for the conversation, observing that the Global South can provide leadership and direction when fractures emerge in the global community. Two significant developments occurred under India's G20 presidency: First, was the centering of Global South issues; second was the admittance of the African Union into the G20, ensuring Africa

SCENE SETTER



Anil Sooklal,

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



Vyacheslav Nikonov,

First Deputy Chairman, Committee on International Affairs of the State Duma, Russia

MODERATOR



Dhruva Jaishankar,

Executive Director, Observer Research Foundation America, United States

PANELLISTS



Hoda Al-Khzaimi,

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



Daman Pak Jami,

Senior Researcher, Institute for Political and International Studies, Iran



Oliver Della Costa Stuenkel,

Associate Professor, Fundação Getulio Vargas, Brazil



Sarah Mosoetsa,

Chief Executive Officer, Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa



Victoria Panova,

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



a seat at the world's table. This also validated India as a bridge between the Global North and South. There is no place for global hegemony anymore as we aim for a multipolar and multicultural world.

Vyacheslav Nikonov added that in 2008, intellectuals started the conversation around BRICS encouraging cooperation between the countries leading the world in economic growth. It combined developing economies and civilisations from Africa, Latin America, Asia, and the Euro-Pacific. There is a perception of BRICS as a combination of sovereign countries that set their agenda, free from domination, taking into account the interests of each other, while not imposing their models of development on anyone. All this allows them to reach a consensus,

unlike the G20, making it a better force for inclusion.

The expansion of the BRICS region was an important development discussed in these discussions. Daman Pak Jami asserted that BRICS expansion was possible because the existing international system has exhausted the Global South and the non-Western world. As abuse of the existing multilateral system has impacted several economies, the BRICS Plus should advocate for an increased role for the New Development Bank and a rethink of international payment systems.

Within outreach platforms, it is harder to find common ground in G20 than in the BRICS according to Victoria Panova. She asserted that the G20 is primarily an economic forum and should not

be politicised. The focus, she said, should be on constructive cooperation and dialogue. This assertion echoes one of the driving forces of India's G20 presidency which made it a mission to focus on development issues, undistracted by political issues.


The learning from the Indian G20, according to Oliver Della Costa Stuenkel was that it made the G20 about more than just one presidency, and instead, consecutive Global South presidencies. He went on to compare BRICS to G20 and observed that Brazil and India were both hesitant on BRICS expansion as G20 is equidistant from global powers; unlike the BRICS or an expanded BRICS which is concentrated. There is, however, continued commitment to both platforms.

Sarah Mosoetsa viewed the issue of inclusion through a telescopic lens and said that the G20 and BRICS must focus on three things: technological advancement to address the digital divide; science,

research, and innovation and defining their questions around research; and global justice and global inequality.

Emerging technology stands for democratising access to development, added Hoda Al-Khazaimi. Globally, people have lived through different realities, showing the global limitations when it comes to having resources but not having the ability to use them to sustain sovereign independence and build specific economic efficiencies. Overall, the consensus was that conversations on these platforms must be geared towards greater inclusion and addressing inequality and global divides. Putting development and climate change at the centre of conversations is central to enabling multilateralism to be inclusive and future-ready.

– **Jhanvi Tripathi**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Panel Discussion

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

Day 3: 23 February 2024

The session began with panellists sharing their assessments of the current situation in Europe.

Margus Tsahkna emphasised that the Russia-Ukraine war was not just a military conflict but Russia's attempt to restore imperialism.

D. Bala Venkatesh Varma said that prospects for immediate peace were slim. The political economy of Europe was changing dramatically with the era of cheap Russian gas, ample Chinese markets, and cheap American security. Europe needs to reboot with a coherent long-term vision of Russia since the global disequilibrium—a weak Russia and an overextended US—works in China's favour.

Luminița Odobescu reiterated the imperialistic views of the Russian leadership and the moral responsibility to act since this was a war of principles and values. Iryna Borovets stated that despite the war, Ukraine was contributing to food security and enacting

MODERATOR



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

PANELLISTS



Krišjānis Kariņš,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Latvia



Luminița Odobescu,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Romania



Margus Tsahkna,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Estonia



Iryna Borovets,
Deputy Minister of Foreign
Affairs, Ukraine



D. Bala Venkatesh Varma,
Former Ambassador of India to
Russia, India

reforms towards EU membership negotiations. She mentioned the Ukrainian peace formula as the just way to settle the war for sustainable peace.

Krišjānis Kariņš emphasised the need to uphold the UN Charter. On winning hearts and minds in the Global South, Kariņš characterised the war as a war of colonisation, which the Global South



countries had experienced in their history. Europe had not previously considered the prospect of war, and it was a given that the US did security and Europe prosperity. Now, Europe understands the need to spend more on defence, which would mean higher taxes and less spending on schools and hospitals.

Borovets said that Ukraine had learnt lessons from being too Eurocentric and was intensively reaching out to countries in the Global South by demonstrating its added value. In the US, she said Ukraine had bipartisan support despite problems in securing aid packages.

Odobescu reiterated that the war had eliminated naivety in Russia and brought home the importance of security. Europe and the Global South had the same challenges, with European events posing consequences elsewhere, including the Indo-Pacific.

Varma emphasised that the war was not in India's interest, and the longer it continued, the more India and Europe would compete for the US's attention and resources. If Europe wants to come to the Indo-Pacific, it should look after its interests in Europe. On the Global South, he mentioned widespread concern about violating principles of solidarity and territorial integrity but insufficient buy-in on the Western narrative.

On a potential Trump return, Tshakna recalled that the region gained more troops and military support during Trump's term. Grey zones or neutrality are a green light for Russia. Ukraine must become a full NATO member—no other security assurances would work.

– **Shairee Malhotra**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Panel Discussion

The Wonk Tank: Where Expertise Meets Authority

Day 3: 23 February 2024

S. Jaishankar noted that the serious problems in the world today stem from economic fragilities and economic dependencies, which can be better addressed with re-globalisation: “We need to delve into our histories, traditions, and cultures to come up with our own solutions.”

Eghosa Osaghae pointed out that inflection points in the world need to be addressed globally. The United Nations (UN), representing a global power structure that resonates with colonialism, is still seeking solutions. As such, people are looking for alternatives. “With UN reforms, what does India want to see?” asked Eghosa. Representation is important. “The Global South cannot be simply led by others whose interests subordinate the interests of the Global South,” noted Osaghae.

Jaishankar agreed that it is essential to note the UN's colonial tendencies. He further stated that

MODERATOR



Samir Saran,
President, Observer Research Foundation, India

PANELLISTS



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



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



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



Michael Fullilove,
Executive Director, Lowy Institute, Australia



S. Jaishankar,
Minister of External Affairs, India

various models of UN reform are being presented to the UN assembly. “But there is a mind game at play: How can we reform the body unless there is consensus? This is another way of perpetuating a colonised United Nations,” argued Jaishankar.

Michael Fullilove pointed out that the past decade has seen a revival of great power competition, with



wealth and power moving eastward to China. This shift has inspired greater cooperation and institutional development amongst other Asian countries as a challenge to Chinese aggression, the QUAD being a noteworthy example. Fullilove asked, moving forward, what the settling point is in the relationship between China and India.

Jaishankar noted that India and China will be US\$50 trillion-plus economies by 2075. There will be occasions when one country wants to change things to gain an advantage, and the other will resist. Arriving at an equilibrium and refreshing it is not going to be easy.

Jaishankar advocated for Asian countries to engage Russia more actively, arguing that it is “very much in Indian and Global interest” to give Russia “multiple options.” Russia is a country with an enormous tradition of statecraft.

“Such power will never put themselves in a single relationship of an overwhelming nature,” said Jaishankar, referring to China.

Bruce Jones said that major and middle powers have always worked together through quiet diplomacy to manage escalations between great powers. Their role will become increasingly important in the great power competition.

Jaishankar argued that the world will see more significant avenues for collaboration as countries seek to engage with multiple options. “We will see the natural diversity of the world finally escaping the clutches of a discipline imposed after the Cold War,” said Jaishankar.

– **Vivek Kumar**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Panel Discussion

The New Wars: Policies, Practices, and Preparation

Day 3: 23 February 2024

The traditional warfare playbook is crumbling as unconventional methods and tactics reshape the battlefield. This shift fosters asymmetrical engagements and elevates the impact of emerging technologies. This session sought to answer questions such as: How do the emerging manifestations of informal warfare challenge conventional defence strategies? How should nations adjust their approaches to address non-traditional threats?

Setting the context, Vivek Lall highlighted that dissolving lines between state and non-state actors have altered the character of conflicts. The line delineating licit and illicit has disappeared, deepening the local population's vulnerability.

Consequently, asymmetric warfare has become a serious challenge for the state and the military establishment, exacerbating conflicts worldwide. Opening the panel, Lisa Singh opined that the international security environment has become

SCENE SETTER



Vivek Lall,
Chief Executive, General Atomics
Global Corporation,
United States

MODERATOR



Lisa Singh,
Chief Executive Officer, Australia
India Institute, Australia

PANELLISTS



Kajsa Ollongren,
Minister of Defence,
Netherlands



General Anil Chauhan,
Chief of Defence Staff,
India



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



Sujan Chinoy,
Director General, Manohar
Parrikar Institute for Defence
Studies and Analyses, India



Jenna Ben-Yehuda,
Executive Vice President of the
Atlantic Council, United States

more complicated over the past several years, creating a warfare landscape where traditional methods yield unconventional strategies and tactics.

Much of the subsequent discussion focused on informal warfare, wherein Ambassador Sujan Chinoy



contended that multiple concepts exist. There is also the idea of a 'prolonged conflict', which has no end with belligerents who don't want ceasefires. Echoing this, Andrew Shearer noted that adversarial actors engaging in informal warfare do not believe in binaries of war and peace. For them, it is a 'perpetual struggle.' He added that informal warfare is not a novel phenomenon, drawing attention to Australia's experience during the Konfrontasi in the 1960s (the conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia), where multiple non-conventional techniques were used.

General Anil Chauhan observed that in informal wars, defence is finite, and the offence is not. This gives the enemy more options than the defender. Kajsa Ollongren added that informal warfare is complicated because it targets not just state actors and combatants but also civilians.

This also muddles the response to informal warfare. Jenna Ben-Yehuda observed that government and military systems are not designed to confront informal warfare. This has become a pain point for many Western countries, particularly in defence procurement, where it takes years to deploy capabilities and technologies to confront the threats faced by those countries. Chauhan underlined that dissuading adversaries requires a strong deterrent and a multi-agency, transnational, and inter-disciplinary effort. Ollongren highlighted that our intelligence communities must step out of the shadows and make citizens aware of the evolving threat. Shearer added that when confronted with such warfare, early warning capabilities have become essential for the intelligence community.

– Sameer Patil

[Watch the full session here](#) 

In Conversation with Piyush Goyal

Day 3: 23 February 2024

Over the past decade, India's economic landscape has undergone significant transformations driven by policy reforms, technological advancements, and demographic shifts. As we delve into the multifaceted journey of India's trajectory, it's crucial to examine the key drivers, challenges, and achievements that have shaped the nation's development narrative so far and will continue to define its prospective pathways.

The conversation between Ashok Malik and Minister Piyush Goyal offered valuable insights into India's economic aspirations and strategies to foster sustainable development, enhance competitiveness, and navigate global trade dynamics. From the early 1990s to the present day, India has experienced a series of economic reforms, stagnation periods, and revivals. Gains from economic liberalisation in the 1990s paved the way for



Piyush Goyal,
Minister of Commerce and Industry, Consumer Affairs, Food and Public Distribution, Textiles; and Leader of the House, Rajya Sabha, India



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

greater integration into the global market. With a series of reforms over the years, India is witnessing a resurgence in economic growth today, characterised by low inflation, high foreign exchange reserves, and increased foreign direct investment.

Minister Goyal extolled PM Modi's leadership for his vision of pursuing a comprehensive reform agenda to revitalise key sectors, promote innovation, and foster inclusive growth. Initiatives such as "Make in India," "Startup India," and "Digital India" sought to unleash the entrepreneurial spirit of the nation and harness the demographic dividend to drive economic expansion. Furthermore, he emphasised the importance of strengthening macroeconomic fundamentals while ensuring inclusive growth and welfare



programmes reach the most vulnerable sections of society. The focus has shifted from merely addressing basic needs to fostering an environment conducive to innovation, entrepreneurship, and economic participation by all.

One of the hallmarks of India's recent economic trajectory has been its proactive approach to international engagement. Minister Goyal highlighted the government's efforts to forge bilateral trade agreements with countries like the United Arab Emirate, GCC, and Australia to expand market access and promote mutually beneficial economic ties. However, negotiations with traditional partners like the United Kingdom and EU have posed challenges, reflecting the complexities of modern trade dynamics and the need for balanced agreements that safeguard India's interests. Minister

Goyal opined that India must also navigate non-tariff barriers and industrial policy measures imposed by major trading partners. Measures such as the US Inflation Reduction Act and the EU's Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism present challenges and opportunities for Indian industries, requiring proactive responses and strategic positioning on the global stage.


Minister Goyal also discussed the role of the World Trade Organization (WTO) as a crucial platform for dialogue, dispute resolution, and rule-making in international trade. While the WTO has faced criticism and calls for reform, Minister Goyal underscores its importance as a forum for upholding fair trade practices and advancing the interests of developing and less developed countries. India remains committed to engaging constructively within the WTO

framework, advocating for reforms that address current challenges and ensure equitable outcomes for all members.

As we look ahead, India's economic trajectory is characterised by optimism, resilience, and a commitment to inclusive growth. Despite global uncertainties and challenges, India's trajectory is one of confidence, self-reliance, and openness to international cooperation driven by a young population, a penchant for technological innovation, and

a burgeoning entrepreneurial ecosystem. As India continues its journey towards economic transformation, it presents a compelling opportunity for investors, businesses, and global partners to participate in its growth story and contribute to shared prosperity on the international stage.

– **Mannat Jaspal**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Lunch Conversations

Democratic Dollars: Can the Planet Reclaim the Bretton Woods?

Day 3: 23 February 2024

The post-World War II global financial framework, anchored by the Bretton Woods institutions, faces pressing calls for a rework. Emerging institutions, particularly those headquartered in Beijing, are challenging its dominance. Additionally, the framework is grappling with new demands, including the energy transition, adaptation finance, and debt restructuring. Efforts to strengthen collaboration with the private sector remain a work in progress. The complexities of geopolitical competition and fragmentation further complicate international financial reform. As major economies align economic strategies with industrialisation and geopolitical objectives, it's crucial to accelerate progress on development and climate objectives, especially amidst growing economic fragmentation.

N. K. Singh emphasised the need for multilateral development banks to integrate private capital into their agendas as the scarcity of capital

MODERATOR



Camilla Fenning,
Programme Lead, E3G, United Kingdom

PANELLISTS



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



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



Jayant Sinha,
Member of Parliament, India



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



Divyata Ashiya,
Trustee, RUSI, United Kingdom

in the current system is a significant obstacle to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). By leveraging private sector investments, these banks can effectively enhance their impact and address developmental challenges. This approach not only increases financial resources but also brings



in expertise and innovation from the private sector. These institutions must establish mechanisms that attract and channel private capital towards sustainable development projects, thus accelerating progress towards the SDGs.

Jayant Sinha and Osamu Yamamoto consistently stressed on blended finance as the need of the hour, emphasising the importance of mobilising private capital and combining public and private sector funds to address development challenges effectively. Sinha's emphasis underscored the critical role of private investments in achieving sustainable development goals. By blending different funding sources, including grants, concessional loans, and market-rate investments, blended finance attracted more private capital to projects with social and

environmental benefits. This strategy leveraged additional resources and encouraged innovative financing models that drove positive change in various sectors.


Tadashi Maeda emphasised Japan's historical role in financing and supporting multilateral development banks, noting a decline in this partnership. He stressed the importance of reviving such collaborations, suggesting that Japan and all countries must increase their support for global development challenges. This highlights a broader lesson about the need for enhanced international cooperation and financial commitments to address pressing global development issues.

The current global financial framework faces significant challenges and requires urgent

reform. Countries must collaborate more closely with each other and multilateral development banks to address pressing issues such as the energy transition, adaptation finance, and debt restructuring. Private capital also plays a crucial role and needs to be more actively involved. It is essential to demonstrate the benefits of such investments to encourage greater

participation and ensure progress towards shared development and climate goals.

– **Sauradeep Bag**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Lunch Conversations

Fragile Dividend: Addressing the 'Old' versus the 'New' in West Asia

Day 3: 23 February 2024

Violence broke out in West Asia in 2023, highlighting the region's continuing complexities at a time of multiple global crises. However, breakthroughs such as the Abraham Accords and the Iran-Saudi Arabia rapprochement showed the region's desire to progress towards regional security and, by association, economic growth.

Elena Lazarou opened the session by deliberating on the positive developments in West Asia preceding the terrorist attack on October 7, 2023, delineating the normalisation of the Israel-Saudi Arabia bilateral and progressive talks around the India-Middle East-Europe (IMEC) Corridor. She then posed questions relating to the turnaround of geopolitical situations in the region after 7 October attacks..

Hans-Christian Hagman opined, "The Israel-Hamas conflict is largely a regional conflict with no global geopolitical and geoeconomic consequences." He also stated that

MODERATOR



Elena Lazarou,

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

PANELLISTS



Hans-Christian Hagman,

Deputy National Security Adviser for Strategy, Prime Minister's Office, Sweden



John Chipman,

Executive Chairman, The International Institute of Strategic Studies, United Kingdom



Maha Akeel,

Lecturer, Dar Al Hekma University, Saudi Arabia



Mina Al-Oraibi,

Editor in Chief, The National, United Arab Emirates



Vali Nasr,

Professor, International Affairs and Middle East Studies, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, United States

while the Red Sea attacks by the Yemeni Houthi rebels have disrupted a critical maritime trade chokepoint, "it has not had any dire impact on the global economy." Moreover, he expressed concern about the active involvement of great powers and regional powers in the conflict.



Mina Al-Oraibi argued the opposite and opined that the humanitarian crisis that has ensued in the Gaza Strip since the Israeli retaliation began has created consensus in the Western and West Asian policy circles regarding the conflict's significant strategic consequences. She stated, “a major consequence is the growing significance of non-state actors such as Hezbollah, Houthis, and Hamas, who have displayed enough heft to be able to draw the attention of global powers such as the United States.” Additionally, she expressed concern regarding the suffering people in the West Bank.

Vali Nasr echoed the same, stating that the non-state actors “possessed the capacity to turn the region on

its head at any time.” He further added that past positive trends in the region have been rendered obsolete by the events of 7 October. He also expressed concern about the financial attractiveness of the IMEC corridor in the shadow of this conflict.

Maha Akeel lamented “the political paralysis and ineffectiveness of the United Nations and the United Nations Security Council in dealing with this crisis”. She further argued that the Israel-Hamas conflict has accentuated polarity amongst nation-states in already turbulent geopolitical times.

John Chipman highlighted “a gap between foreign policy talking and foreign policy delivery” among the

Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states. He further questioned, “Have there been enough diplomatic boots on the ground to outpace the physical boots on the ground?” highlighting the GCC states’ insufficient diplomatic outreach to quell the conflict.

Overall, there was consensus amongst the panellists in ascertaining a quick resolution to

the Israel-Hamas conflict before it spiralled out of control. They also converged on concerns of great-power involvement in the regional conflict and stated that it should be avoided altogether.

– **Prithvi Gupta**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Lunch Conversations

Quad Tech Alliance: Innovate, Integrate, Inspire

Day 3: 23 February 2024

The QUAD countries—the United States (US), Japan, India, and Australia—have great potential for technology collaboration. By leveraging their strengths, they can accelerate technological advancements, improve digital infrastructure, and tackle common challenges such as data security. Collaboration within the QUAD framework can promote regulatory alignment, facilitate technology transfer, and create a supportive start-up environment. Together, the QUAD can drive innovation in AI, cybersecurity, and advanced manufacturing.

Raghuram S focused on IT and emerging technologies, highlighting the challenges faced by multinational corporations as they encountered various regulatory environments. While adapting to the evolving global regulatory landscape was crucial, it was premature to conclude that the

MODERATOR



Trisha Ray,

Associate Director and Resident Fellow, Atlantic Council, United States

PANELLISTS



Arvind Gupta,

Founder Member, Digital India Foundation, India



Marcus Bartley Johns,

Senior Director, Asia, Government and Regulatory Affairs, Microsoft, Singapore



Mihoko Matsubara,

Chief Cybersecurity Strategist, Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Corp., Japan



Raghuram S.,

Joint Secretary (Policy Planning and Research), Ministry of External Affairs, India



Erin Watson,

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

private sector had fully recognised these changes; conflicts often arose when upholding ethical principles limited profitability. This complexity hindered growth within the QUAD format. Resolving this would expand



the private sector's potential as a tech partner within this framework.

Marcus Bartley Johns emphasised that the private sector takes regional groupings very seriously, discussing governments' power in setting regulatory standards to enable the private sector to work for the benefit of QUAD nations. Securing the digital ecosystem was one such area that was societally beneficial. As Artificial Intelligence (AI), emerging tech, and ML were all in the private sector and the government's interest, it behaved both to develop practical mechanisms to work together better.

Arvind Gupta stressed the necessity of innovation, emphasising that governments must create conducive environments for private sector growth. However, the private sector

should also be mindful of potential barriers. For instance, it should monitor the development of new digital public infrastructure and explore ways to benefit and engage with them symbiotically. Ultimately, governments and the private sector aim to serve and help the same people. Consequently, enhancing cooperation is mutually beneficial. This entails shared benefits for all members of the QUAD, including improved cybersecurity, cloud storage, data management practices, and ensuring the non-weaponisation of AI.

Erin Watson noted that the QUAD has progressed smoothly, with political changes posing the most significant risk. India is considered world-class in terms of Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI), with its next international focus being digital payments. The QUAD could

benefit from the existing systems in France and Singapore. India presents a real opportunity in this regard. Interoperability is crucial.

Through regulatory alignment, technology transfer facilitation, and support for startups, the QUAD framework can foster a conducive environment for technological

development and address common challenges in data security, ultimately leading to mutual benefits for all its members.

—Sauradeep Bag

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Lunch Conversations

The Africa Files

Day 3: 23 February 2024

Candith Mashego-Dlamini, commenced her address on the opportunities of economic integration for African countries by stressing the lesson that her country, South Africa, learnt during the COVID-19 pandemic. The South African President Ramaphosa was serving as Chairperson of the African Union in 2020 when the African Continental Free Trade Area was launched to integrate the whole continent. The pact increased the trade between African nations, created synergies, and built mutual trust. Concerning challenges, she highlighted debt issues, crippling insecurity, and the decline of democracy. Mashego-Dlamini also celebrated the role of Southern African Development Community (SADC) in controlling the insecurity in Mozambique and praised President Ramaphosa for his efforts in mediation between Russia and Ukraine, leading an African delegation to both countries.

Puneet Roy Kundal explained the diversity of 54 African countries and encouraged the audience to

MODERATOR



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

PANELLISTS



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



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



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



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



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

refrain from generalising about African issues. He highlighted that Africa will be the centre of world affairs as the African population grows from 10 percent of the world's population in 1950 to 25 percent in 2050.

More money is necessary with more people: The African Development



Bank (AfDB) states that Africa will require US\$ 170 billion annually for its infrastructure. While Africa can raise US\$70 billion internally, it would still need about US\$100 billion as external funding. Accordingly, Kundal characterised increasing investment as Africa's biggest challenge. As rating agencies don't rate Africa well, it creates a vicious cycle where African countries that need investment have no access to said investment. Kundal also evoked perception challenges concerning Africa. Celebrating India's contribution towards education in Africa, Kundal referenced two public universities that opened their Africa chapter last year.

Saïd Abass Ahamed suggested that Africa must stop producing what it doesn't consume and stop importing what it consumes. To illustrate his points, he stated that

many countries in Africa, such as Niger used to produce lots of rice. But today, they are dependent on rice imported from India. He gave an example of how, due to inadequate capacity, Africa is forced to buy its fish at a much higher price from European countries. Recently, many African countries have banned the export of raw cobalt unless some values are created at the local level.


Sara Hasanaa Mokaddem noted that in 2018, African countries started to show increasing interest in moving to a higher level of regional integration. COVID-19 then impacted supply chains, making African countries think harder about various ways to integrate faster and better; with the AfCFTA in place, Africa represents a market of 1.3 billion consumers.

Mokaddem proposed value addition as a means for Africa to move up the global value chain. She hoped that Africa's GDP could reach US\$29 trillion by 2050. To achieve that goal, private sectors must build capacity, and governments must make their countries investor-friendly. Mokaddem concluded that while worthwhile, creating connectivity through corridors for landlocked countries would require much brainstorming.

Rachel Toku-Appiah exclaimed that Africa has the opportunity to become an economic power by improving its digital public infrastructure: During the COVID-19 pandemic, countries with better digital infrastructure were able to cope better. Toku-Appiah also

opined that digital infrastructure would help many African countries prevent brain drain. Digital infrastructure can transform Africa, particularly its health and education systems. She encouraged other developing countries with similar challenges to step forward and help Africa in this journey. According to her, the inadequate supply chain is Africa's most significant hindrance to development. Nonetheless, she put her faith in African resilience, expressing her belief in Africa.

– **Samir Bhattacharya**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Panel Discussion

Red Haze: The 'Derisking' Question

Day 3: 23 February 2024

Setting the scene early into the discussion with some contemporary issues regarding globalisation, Sanjeev Krishan stated that trade between nations had increased despite the cross-currents of self-reliance, 'near-shoring', 'friend-shoring', and 'on shoring'. Following this, Indrani Bagchi got the primary debate rolling by asking if de-risking could be undertaken as an economic activity and if there were national security trade-offs. Jan Lipavský argued that de-risking stems from the reality that the world is too dependent on China, adding that efforts must be made to diversify and reduce the vulnerabilities posed to others by a single supplier. He also said that it was unwise to create dependencies in the field of new technologies.

Juraj Blanár countered that labelling nations pro-China or anti-China was incorrect and that an open dialogue with China to resolve

SCENE SETTER



Sanjeev Krishan,
Chairperson, PwC,
India

MODERATOR



Indrani Bagchi,
Chief Executive Officer, Ananta
Aspen Centre, India

PANELLISTS



Jan Lipavsky,
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czech
Republic



Juraj Blanar,
Minister of Foreign and European
Affairs, Slovakia



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



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



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



issues was important. While de-risking has lingered on the agenda for some, nations like Italy have walked the talk to walk away from China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Elisabetta Belloni reasoned that the COVID-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine reinforced the world's existing vulnerabilities and that such geopolitical shocks forced them to reshape their relations with China. She added that de-risking is an effort to create alternatives. Underlining priority areas, she elaborated that developing alternative frameworks in supply chains and areas like trade and communications networks was necessary while partnering with like-minded nations. Italy put regulations, investment screening, and corporate acquisitions in strategic sectors like communications and energy. The senior intelligence functionary asserted that there was

a need to evaluate national security from all angles, including economic security, which necessitates industry and corporate groups being on the same page with the government on what constitutes national security.

Aside from the economic and national security imperatives, there is also the question of protecting the citizenry by fructifying de-risking measures. Marise Payne argued that a government's key priority was protecting its people, making de-risking a must. Payne also highlighted that the United States (US) had taken the initiative to explain to the public how critical infrastructure left in the wrong hands is vulnerable and how they could be exposed to the machinations of a malevolent actor.

Weighing in on the debate, Jorge Guajardo argued that while it may

be challenging to de-risk, it was essential to build resilience. He also added that there must be little dependence on China lest a state risks its sovereignty. He said that the public could also set greater standards for accountability regarding dealings with China, stressing that for deals struck with

the People's Republic, the public must demand greater transparency.

– **Kalpita Mankikar**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Panel Discussion

Development Deficit: Towards a Post 2030 Agenda

Day 3: 23 February 2024

In the wake of the global upheaval caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, the imperative to forge a new paradigm for international development and cooperation has never been more pressing. Therefore, this discussion's primary focus was crafting a dynamic, inclusive, and efficient framework to navigate the multifaceted challenges that define our current era.

In a virtual address, Mohammed highlighted that any practical framework for SDG progress must prioritise sustainable and equitable outcomes for all, underscoring the critical importance of fostering enhanced collaboration across the spectrum of global actors. Policymakers, the private sector, and civil society organisations must coalesce around a shared agenda that not only respects but actively incorporates the perspectives and needs of diverse stakeholders, with a particular emphasis on uplifting

VIRTUAL ADDRESS



Amina J. Mohammed,
Deputy Secretary-General, United Nations; Chair, United Nations Sustainable Development Group

MODERATOR



Jacqueline Lam,
Regional Director for Asia, Sustainable Energy for All, Singapore

PANELLISTS



D.N. Dhungyel,
Minister for Foreign Affairs and External Trade, Bhutan



Narayan Prakash Saud,
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nepal



Tatjana Jović,
Advisor to the President, Serbia



Angelo George,
Chief Executive Officer, Bisleri, India



Isabelle Tschan,
Resident Representative a.i., UNDP India

the Global South. The core idea to deliver on the promise of the SDGs must be driven by a reform of the existing international financial architecture, strengthened public-private partnerships, and the leverage of data for development.



Focusing on achieving the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by 2030 and deliberating on a post-2030 development agenda, a panel of experts delved into the challenges hindering progress and proposed actionable solutions. Lam highlighted that despite concerted efforts towards inclusivity and equity, the global community has fallen short on several SDGs, grappling with issues ranging from war and climate change to poverty. Moreover, existing international institutions and cooperation models have proven inadequate to address these pressing challenges and perpetuate historical inequalities.

Saud underscored the imperative of strengthening North-South and South-South development partnerships across public and private sectors in this context. He

deemed collaboration crucial to channel more resources toward pivotal transitions prioritising SDG progress, particularly in the most vulnerable and underserved communities or countries.

Dhungyel also stressed the importance and trust implications of South-South cooperation models for smaller countries like Bhutan, alongside leveraging science, technology, and innovation (STI) to bridge data gaps and effectively localise SDG efforts. A critical insight was the need to revitalise multilateralism with increased participation from the Global South across all facets of the multilateral system. The importance of South-South cooperation also lies in accelerating progress through sharing expertise and experiences among like-minded developing nations.

Jović highlighted the importance of regional initiatives in addressing systemic inequities in the international financial system and advocated for MDB reforms to enhance development financing. Additionally, new investments in research and development (R&D), particularly in fields like artificial intelligence, were deemed critical for SDG achievement. Clear communication and facilitating ease of doing business were prerequisites for fostering global cooperation.

Adding further depth to the discussion on different models of cooperation for achieving the SDGs, Tschan stressed the importance of beginning to ideate a post-2030 Development Agenda that incorporates the evolving complexities of the present-day global socio-economic ecological ecosystems. She also highlighted that these new frameworks or visions of a post 2030 world must continue to preserve the core principle of “leaving no one behind”.

George underscored the private sector’s pivotal role in achieving the SDGs by 2030 and sustaining

growth and development beyond 2030, highlighting three action areas. First, the mobilisation of finance has emerged as paramount, with the private sector outpacing government contributions in green finance initiatives in countries like India. Second, technological innovation has been a core competency of the private sector, driving the development of sustainable products, technologies, and business models. Third, the private sector’s role in job creation and capacity building, particularly fostering inclusive development through partnerships with small and medium enterprises (SMEs) and investments in high-growth sectors, has been crucial.

In conclusion, the panel stressed the imperative of continued collaboration between diverse stakeholders—governments, NGOs, and the private sector—to realise and sustain the SDGs beyond 2030.

– **Debosmita Sarkar**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Ministerial Remarks

Rajkumar Ranjan Singh, Minister of State for External Affairs, India

Day 3: 23 February 2024

Rajkumar Ranjan Singh addressed the gathering on the development path that India is charting, emphasising the importance of capacity building to address traditional and non-traditional challenges to development sufficiently. Singh explained how non-traditional challenges—such as the looming climate crisis and not being on track towards achieving Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)—could give rise to traditional forms of conflict.

He extolled India's role as the largest contributor to the SDGs and called for India to act as a model and a morale boost for other states on the same path. Speaking on some of India's contributions in this regard, Minister Singh listed the strides made by the government—in tackling all forms

of poverty, responsible production, and consumption, improving the quality of education, just green transition, gender equality, and enhancing general health and well-being, investment in women-led development, and bolstering grass-roots level innovation.

Singh spoke about how domestically the government must champion a human-centric approach, prioritising ease of living, justice, mobility, doing business, and innovation in public service. Meanwhile, globally, India must build an inclusive and progressive society with an international order that is fair and representative of all voices, particularly from the Global South. Hence, he opined that the post-2030 Development Agenda should promote a rule-based order and prioritise equality, justice, peace, and inclusivity.

Ministry of External Affairs Government of India



Invoking the third pillar of Chaturanga—‘Cooperate’—Singh concluded by calling for finding global common ground and respecting one another. The minister remarked that cooperation and reform of multilateralism would lay the path for successful collaborative

ventures, echoing the philosophy of Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam—One Earth, One Family, One Future.

– **Roshani Jain**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Panel Discussion

Her Road from India: From Boardrooms to Global Institutions

Day 3: 23 February 2024

As the world slowly inches towards the deadline for the completion of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), there is an urgent need to refocus attention on women and their representation at the world's high tables. The panel discussion, "Her Road from India: From Boardrooms to Global Institutions," focused on this issue, emphasising women's representation across all levels of governments and businesses and the progress that the world has made to ensure that more women are in leadership positions.

Smriti Irani reiterated India's firm commitment to institutionalising women's voices in multilateral organisations. She outlined the importance of the question during India's G20 Presidency and how, unlike previous years, it was a mainstream topic of discussion. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the Government of India has brought about transformational changes

MODERATOR



Shombi Sharp,
UN Resident Coordinator,
India

PANELLISTS



Smriti Irani,
Union Cabinet Minister, Women
and Child Development,
India



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



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



Maggie Sprenger,
General Partner, Audere Capital,
United States



Masuda Bhatti,
Information Commissioner,
Bangladesh

in women's development, ease of living, and other socio-economic indicators, with New Delhi now leading and articulating a paradigm shift in women's leadership and development. Masudha Bhatti stated that even though Bangladesh has made immense progress in women's development and the government has taken out policies in their favour, the persistence



of certain social perceptions and structural challenges still hamper their development.


The lack of progress in gender equality is deemed the major unfinished business of our time. Angela Rayner argued the importance of both the hard tools, i.e., the opportunities and the material resources, to bring about change along with the support of allies to further the development of women, ensuring that they are given equal opportunities and support to succeed in life. Ayoade Alakija expressed how being successful and appreciated for their work is twice as hard for women. Talking about her own experiences, she shared how women are placed in positions of power almost as a last resort when something is bound to fail. She warned how the world's efforts to realise the SDGs won't be successful unless the

attention is refocused on women and their ambitions.

Maggie Sprenger lamented how we still have this conversation despite the statistical proof that women in leadership positions lead to better business outcomes. It is difficult to gauge why women's contribution to tech and policy is still seen as anathema to successful outcomes, even though the reality is starkly different.

Countries worldwide must work towards transforming women's participation and leadership efforts and prioritising women-led development. The panellists hope that concerted, collective efforts will make their ceilings the floor for future generations.

– **Shivam Shekhawat**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Panel Discussion

Talking Heads: Solutions from the South

Day 3: 23 February 2024

The discourse on the widening divide between the Global North and South dominated the conversation at Raisina 2024, revealing a multifaceted approach to addressing existing challenges. Chandra Srikant advocated for cooperation and bridge-building, emphasising India's need to be more active in global politics. Meanwhile, Sunjoy Joshi presented a critical perspective on globalisation, declaring the end of its Cinderella story and urging the creation of new narratives. Comfort Ero underscored the importance of representing the Global South in international institutions, arguing for inclusivity in decision-making processes.

Paolo Magri highlighted the delicate balance between short-term national interests and long-term considerations in the context of geopolitical tensions. The discussions identified pockets of hope amid

crises, exemplified by initiatives such as the UN General Assembly addressing the Ukraine crisis and Türkiye's "Green Deal" to combat food insecurity. The collaborative efforts of the European Union (EU), African Union, and UN Security Council on peacekeeping were also lauded.

MODERATOR



Chandra R Srikanth,
Deputy Executive Editor,
Moneycontrol, India

PANELLISTS



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



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



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



Paolo Magri,
Executive Vice President, ISPI,
Italy



Sunjoy Joshi,
Chairman, Observer Research
Foundation, India



Nada Al Hajjri emphasised the necessity for reframing global narratives and fostering empathy in international relations. This sentiment resonated with Karim El Aynaoui's assertion that humans are inherently inclined towards partnership and connection despite challenges posed by public policies and institutional frameworks. Joshi pointed out the consequences of unilateral actions on global governance and multilateral institutions, advocating for inclusive institutions that adapt to changing global circumstances. The panel deliberated on universally defining terrorism to prevent opportunistic use. The need to reform multilateral institutions, like the UN Security Council, was underscored by Srikant, focusing on relevance and representation.

The subsequent discussion delved into specific action items, emphasising the importance of recognizing positive efforts, focusing on feasible reforms, and avoiding overly ambitious institutional redesigns. The analysis identified essential action items, including working on the reform of UN technical agencies, highlighting unreported positive news, and fostering cooperation on unifying issues rather than grand institutional overhauls.

Ero highlighted that despite high-stakes geopolitical tensions, the Global South has provided opportunities and responses. Al Hajjri called for changing the narrative, emphasising that the world can't be seen in binaries. Magri stressed the need for cooperation between

the Global South and North, cautioning against ideological wars. Joshi raised concerns about the return of the Iron Curtain and the lack of consultation with the Global South in unilateral actions. El Aynaoui urged pragmatism in multilateral organisations' reform during difficult times. The conversation also addressed the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, with Al Hajjri noting that when the world came to a standstill, some Western countries turned inwards while countries like India and China rose.

It is imperative to implement prompt reforms in multilateral institutions to address global

challenges effectively. In this regard, prioritising themes such as collective action, pragmatic solutions, and inclusive representation is crucial. Equally important is enhancing the UN's technical agencies and highlighting their achievements. As expressed by the speakers, encouraging cooperation to promote unity while avoiding impractical redesigns is vital.

– **Inayat Rai**

[Watch the full session here](#) 

Panel Discussion

From the Aegean Sea to the South China Sea: Responding to Maritime Sieges

Day 3: 23 February 2024

Maritime strategies remain pivotal for countries, often proving decisive in war. Even as the spectre of continental warfare re-emerges, the significance of marine strategies remains indispensable. The Indo-Pacific region has become the epicentre of our recent geopolitical debates, encompassing about half the Earth's surface. In his scene-setting remarks, Randy Howard cited the US National Security Strategy in referring to the area as the "most consequential region," which highlighted its salience to geopolitical affairs. The global significance is seen in the commercial sphere, as two-thirds of the world's trade passes through the Indo-Pacific. The region's criticality in the military domain is evidenced by the Exercise Malabar in 2023, which saw military cooperation between the naval forces of India, the United States (US), Japan, and Australia. Randy

SCENE SETTER



Randy Howard,

Vice President, Global Pursuits,
Lockheed Martin, United States

MODERATOR



Samir Saran,

President, Observer Research
Foundation, India

PANELLISTS



Adm. R Hari Kumar,

Chief of Naval Staff,
India



Adm. John C. Aquilino,

Commander, US Indo-Pacific
Command, United States



Adm. Nicolas Vaujour,

Chief of the Naval Staff,
France



Adm. Sir Ben Key,

First Sea Lord and Chief of Naval
Staff, United Kingdom



Air Marshal Robert Chipman,

Chief of the Air Force,
Australia

Howard reiterated the importance of tightly interconnected and interoperable partnerships, which allows for building an integrated and cohesive deterrent capability in the Indo-Pacific.



Adm. Hari Kumar positioned India as a critical player in the conversation by identifying New Delhi as the halfway point between the Aegean and South China seas, making it central to these discussions. He affirmed the importance of history by articulating that the lessons of the past are crucial before looking into the future. Drawing lessons from the Peloponnesian War and Indian colonial history, he elucidated the limitations of military power alone and highlighted the importance of investments in maritime capabilities. Adm. Kumar also spotlighted the changing nature of warfare, evident in Europe and West Asia, and stressed the importance of utilising modern technologies, which are becoming more affordable and accessible.

Adm. John Aquilino emphasised the importance of repositioning our

focus from the effects of conflicts to understanding the bigger question of why they occur. He argued that authoritarian regimes impose their will for political gain, and the changing world order and the faltering rule of law, both of which govern and direct prosperity for nations across the globe through maritime channels. Adm. Aquilino vehemently opposed specific regimes' forceful imposition of rules and stressed the importance of working together to protect their military forces and the free flow of commerce.


Adm. Nicolas Vaujour portrayed a world where competition has given way to contestation and confrontation. He argued that everything, from the global commons to state sovereignty, is now contested. Adm. Vaujour delineated the rapidly evolving maritime superiority dimension,

where legacy metrics like surface ships, aircraft, and submarines now include everything from the seabed to space.

Adm. Sir Ben Key opined that nothing is fundamentally new despite the maritime sphere being beset by flux as the “rhythms of history demonstrate the impact of the sea on land throughout centuries.” He added that one of the complexities of the maritime sphere was that a nation thousands of miles away could also be impacted by any unilateral actions undertaken. Adm. Key reiterated the importance of collaboration by stressing that the global commons are contested in a way that they have not been for a long time, and the impacts will be far from localised.

Air Marshall Robert Chipman detailed the importance of how like-minded allies and partners can help deter coercion and military aggression. He added that Australia sees the US’ presence in the Indo-Pacific as essential. Air Marshall Chipman emphasised the importance of investing in deterrence capacities, as conflict would lead to catastrophic consequences, and the opportunities to return to peace would be an “extraordinarily difficult challenge.”

– **Sanjith Srikanth**

[Watch the full session here](#) 



RAISINA

DIALOGUE 2024

CHATURANGA

CONFLICT, CONTEST, COOPERATE, CREATE

RAISINA QUAD THINK TANK FORUM

The first edition of the Raisina QUAD Think Tank Forum was held on the 24th of February, 2024, at the Sushma Swaraj Bhawan, New Delhi. Organised by the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) and the Ministry of External Affairs, India, it serves as a platform to deepen the ties between the four QUAD countries- Australia, India, Japan, and the United States. It was attended by governmental representatives from the QUAD countries, delegates from other think tanks, and individuals from various ASEAN and Indo-Pacific countries.

This forum has added a new layer of people-to-people interaction, at the think tank level, signalling an increase in strategic convergences amongst the member states, and beyond— with others in the region.

Welcome Address

Vani Rao, Additional Secretary (Americas, Ministry of External Affairs), India



Philip Green, High Commissioner to India, Australia



Hiroshi Suzuki, Ambassador to India, Japan



During the opening address, the ambassadors spoke of the journey of the QUAD alliance and the evolution of its character. Vani Rao and Philip Green stated that in its nascent phase, the QUAD was limited to ministerial-level interactions, not even referred to by this name. However, changes in the geopolitical balance, namely the rise of China, necessitated a rule-based alliance that would serve as an attractive alternative to other countries in the region. This alliance presently extends across various dimensions, such as delivering public goods, emerging and critical technology, cyber and maritime security, and time-sensitive data sharing.

Each ambassador emphasised how the fellow countries are bound together by their shared values, enduring commitment, and consensus on priorities in the Indo-Pacific. Its member states are dedicated to leveraging their collective and differentiated strength—to create a stable, peaceful, and prosperous Indo-Pacific region. Finally, Hiroshi Suzuki highlighted how platforms such as the Raisina QUAD Think Tank create a space for free and productive dialogue, further enhancing member states' cooperation.

— **Roshani Jain and Inayat Rai**

Panel Discussion

Quad @ 30: The Next 10 Years

Day 3: 23 February 2024

Q uad's journey, what comes next, and what more can be done for its partner countries?

To this end, Tomoyuki Yoshida enlightened the audience about the Quad's inadvertent beginnings as a disaster response coordination team after the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami. While it may have stagnated in its original form, a strategic geopolitical juncture emerged with a rising PRC where these "like-minded countries" could revive this alliance again. As put by Satu Limaye, China remains a key driver behind this "sticky strategic cooperation". However, speaking on the future robustness of the organisation, Alexandra Caples maintained that the Quad must stand for something instead of simply an alliance against China. As summarised by Shruti Pandalai, "shared concerns may not add up to an alignment of priorities".

MODERATOR



Harsh V. Pant,

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

PANELLISTS



Shruti Pandalai,

Fellow, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, India



Alexandra Caples,

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



Satu Limaye,

Vice President & Director, East West Center, United States



Tomoyuki Yoshida,

Director General, Japan Institute of International Affairs, Japan



In this vein, discussing the Quad's ad hoc institution-building nature assumed greater importance. The panellists agreed that the alliance might need help with the issue of overpromising and under-delivering.

Thus, care should be taken to ensure the group can deliver the promised public goods sustainably.

– **Roshani Jain and Inayat Rai**

Ministerial Addresses

Day 3: 23 February 2024

A common theme that emerged across the ministerial addresses was the commitment to deepen the cooperation amongst the four countries, and to work towards a Free and Open Indo Pacific. A region that is stable, peaceful, and prosperous. To carry this out, Minister Kamikawa spoke on the importance of a coercion-free and rule-based international order operating in the region. He enlightened the gathering on the strides made by the QUAD in the sectors of maritime security, critical and emerging technology, and cybersecurity, and ended his address with a note on the vibrant diversity of the Indo-Pacific, and how this human capital should be leveraged and ties across countries and regions should be deepened.



Yoko Kamikawa,
Minister for Foreign Affairs, Japan
(Virtual)



Penny Wong,
Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Australia (Virtual)



Kurt Campbell,
Deputy Secretary of State, United
States (Virtual)



S. Jaishankar,
Minister for External Affairs, India

Minister Wong spotlighted the many challenges the QUAD countries must come together and collaborate on such as strategic competition, climate change, and economic disruption in the Indo-Pacific. She concluded her thoughts by emphasising the importance of transparency in the delivery of public goods, and how the four powers can play a role in creating a coercion-free zone. Deputy Secretary Campbell highlighted how the QUAD is a partnership for the global common good and



how member states must offer assistance to Quad's allies with regards to capacity building.

Dr Jaishankar concluded the ministerial remarks by enumerating the qualities of the Think Tank Forum—to debate and generate new ideas, to socialise and enhance interactions, and to counter any negative propaganda regarding the

Quad. He ended this segment with the bold and inspiring claim that the Quad is here to stay, grow and contribute

– **Roshani Jain and Inayat Rai**

Panel Discussion

Quad for the Indo-Pacific

Day 3: 23 February 2024

The forum's second session sought to identify ways for the Quad to demonstrate inclusivity through its actions and priorities. The crux of Quad for the Indo-Pacific is determining whether the grouping, focusing on a Free and Open Indo-Pacific, is perceived as exclusive and the status of efforts to broaden its engagement with likeminded nations. It aims to explore potential partners such as ASEAN, the EU, BIMSTEC, and AUKUS, evaluating their capacities and willingness to collaborate with the Quad.

The discussion was opened by Anil Sooklal, raising critical questions about Africa's absence in the International Parliamentary Exchange Forum (IPEF) during a visit by a bipartisan US congressional delegation. He emphasised the interconnectedness of Indo-Pacific security and the imperative of including Africa in discussions. Likewise, Shanakiyan Rasamanickam called for a more inclusive approach by Quad countries, advocating

MODERATOR



Yoshiyuki Sagara,
Senior Research Fellow, Asia Pacific Initiative, Institute of Geoeconomics, Japan

PANELLISTS



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



Shanakiyan Rasamanickam,
Member of Parliament, Sri Lanka



Hayley Channer,
Director of Economic Security, United States Studies Centre, University of Sydney, Australia



Heungchong Kim,
Distinguished Professor, College of International Relations, Korea University, Republic of Korea



Lynn Kuok,
Visiting Professor, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, United States

for strengthened ties with non-governmental entities to foster regional safety and alignment of interests. Hayley Channer brought a different outlook and highlighted China's effective use of the term "exclusive" to undermine the Quad, expressing discomfort with the term "Quad Plus." Channer



cautioned against viewing the Quad as a panacea, as adding layers could raise expectations and risk unmet commitments. Heungchong Kim acknowledged the inherent exclusivity of groupings like the Quad. The significance of a free and open Indo-Pacific region was emphasised by Kim, who argued that the organisation should be inclusive and open to all. He highlighted the benefits of this approach, including the potential for greater regional cooperation and stability.

Shedding light on Southeast Asia's concerns regarding the Quad, Lynn Kuok suggested focusing on potential impacts on ASEAN centrality, forced alignments, and provocation of China. Kuok argued that the Quad's size is not China's primary concern, and a larger Quad may pose more significant problems.

Yoshiyuki Sagara highlighted the rapidly changing global strategic and geo-economic environment, underlining the Quad's commitment to an inclusive and resilient Free and Open Indo-Pacific. Collectively, these perspectives underscore the importance of inclusivity in regional forums, caution against exclusive branding, and emphasise the evolving dynamics in the Indo-Pacific region. The speakers advocated for nuanced reflections, collaborative approaches, and a balanced understanding of geopolitical complexities to ensure regional stability.

– **Roshani Jain and Inayat Rai**

Panel Discussion

The Quad Tech Network: The Emerging Tech and Connectivity Opportunity

Day 3: 23 February 2024

Strategic tech cooperation in the Indo-Pacific is crucial for addressing supply chain vulnerabilities and promoting cybersecurity and digital infrastructure. The panellists emphasised the need for collaboration in critical technologies, supply chain resilience, and the risks of over-reliance on a single country. Additionally, they highlighted the importance of sharing real-time information on cyber attacks, creating a cyber threat and vulnerability index, and establishing a cyber defence academy for knowledge sharing and learning from each other's experiences.

The session was initiated by Vikram Singh, who underscored the strategic importance of technology in the Quad, particularly in ensuring supply chain resilience and highlighting the vulnerabilities exposed during the pandemic. Michael Bareja introduced the Quad

MODERATOR



Rudra Chaudhuri,
Director, Carnegie India

PANELLISTS



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



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



Vikram Singh,
Senior Advisor, United States
Institute of Peace, United States



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

Investors Network (QUIN), a nascent but promising initiative linking representative organisations from the Quad countries to invest in critical and emerging technologies. Despite being in the early stages, QUIN has the potential to mobilise funding for discussed initiatives through its network of individuals possessing the right mindsets and connections. The discussion



on cybersecurity within the Quad, as highlighted by Bareja, has progressed from strategic alignment to practical implementation. Additionally, Raji Rajagopalan emphasised the imperative of addressing severe vulnerabilities by advocating the creation of a cyber threat and vulnerability index. The transnational nature of the cyber threat was stressed, highlighting the necessity for international collaboration among trusted partners. Lastly, Yuka Koshino connects the Quad's mission of a Free and Open Indo-Pacific with technology, emphasising the

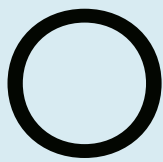
need for resilient and diverse telecommunications infrastructure and advocating for scientific community growth in economically challenged regions. Overall, the session highlighted the multifaceted importance of strategic tech cooperation and the comprehensive measures required to navigate the complex landscape of cybersecurity and emerging technologies in the Indo-Pacific region.

– **Roshani Jain and Inayat Rai**

Associated Events

Raisina Global Student Challenge

February 21-22, 2024



On 21 February, the Raisina-IE Global Student Challenge introductory session took place.

The Observer Research Foundation and IE University School of Politics, Economics, and Global Affairs (SPEGA) jointly organised the Raisina-IE Global Student Challenge, which involved the participation of 19 top Schools of Government and Global Affairs from seven regions (Asia-Pacific, South Asia, MENA, Africa, North America, Latin America, and Europe). For this 2024 inaugural edition of the Challenge, the overarching theme was the future of global governance, focusing on the international climate change regime.

The Challenge was conceptualised in line with the Raisina Dialogue's ethos of inclusion and participation of young voices. The idea was to engage inter-regional teams,

fostering bridges between academic institutions in diverse geographic areas. Students experienced first-hand how different parts of the world approached the same problem differently depending on their geographies and concerns and the difficulties in forging consensus.

Since 1 February, before the Raisina Dialogue, the students have worked virtually in teams under the guidance of their assigned academic advisors to solve a case for the Challenge. Given the complexity of climate governance and the widespread impact of climate change, the case aimed to gather inventive policy solutions from graduate students to reshape the course of global climate governance.

The introductory session began with opening remarks by Harsh V. Pant, Vice President of Studies and Foreign Policy, ORF, and Ángel Alonso Arroba, Vice Dean of



IE, SPEGA. Mid-way through the session, Manuel Muñiz, IE Provost and Dean of IE SPEGA, briefly intervened on the Challenge theme and shared his analysis of the current geopolitical climate.

The session served as the students' and academic advisors' first in-person meeting and official welcome to the Raisina Dialogue. The students had the opportunity to network with each other, come

together in their respective teams, review their work from the previous three weeks, and rehearse their presentations for the jury session the following day.

– **Roshani Jain and Inayat Rai**

Jury Presentations Session

Nineteen students from 19 top Schools of Government and Global Affairs representing seven regions diligently worked in teams to develop policy designs and propose reforms for the climate change governance regime. The culmination of their efforts was showcased on February 22—Day 2 of the Raisina Dialogue.

The five student teams presented their proposals to a distinguished international jury, including Carl Bildt, Former Prime Minister of Sweden; Marise Payne, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Australia; and Dhruva Jaishankar, Executive Director of ORF America.

In line with the conceptualisation of the Challenge, each proposal was developed by a team of students representing diverse backgrounds from different countries, universities, and regions under the guidance of an expert Academic Advisor. Each

team had a 10-minute slot to present the critical aspects of their proposal, outlining their suggested global climate governance framework to address the existing limitations and inefficiencies of current frameworks.

The jury members observed the student presentations, deliberated internally on these based on the provided evaluation criteria, and selected an overall winning team. The winning team comprised Aurelie Chapon, University of Toronto (Munk School), Canada; Bruno Daniel Ygosse Battisti, Fundação Getulio Vargas, Brazil; Abdul Omar Maziko, Tsinghua University, China; and Joy Isoyiza Usman, University of Ibadan, Nigeria; Professor Robert Mizo, University of Delhi advised them. The runner-up team was also announced. Plaques were later presented to the winning team members, and all students received certificates of participation.



To address the limitations of current global governance frameworks, the winning team proposed a Digital Climate Accountability System, improving data gathering, reporting, and transparency in climate-related obligations. This framework utilises advanced technologies and Artificial Intelligence (AI) to monitor carbon emissions, track technology, and financial transfers, and prioritise social inclusion.

For the students, it was a considerable achievement to be nominated by their universities to partake in this Challenge and present their proposals to an esteemed international jury. The vast expertise and knowledge of the jury members greatly enriched the deliberations and provided invaluable insights to

the participating students. The Challenge was a truly global and immersive experience with students from all regions being able to deliberate over crucial issues of the century..

– **Shairee Malhotra**

Associated Events

Asia Bridge: Economic Partnerships for the 21st Century— Closed door Indo-German Business Breakfast

February 21, 2024

India is reworking trade and economic arrangements with other like-minded countries and groups to advance an inclusive, sustainable, and resilient world economic order. It is engaged in wide-ranging discussions with, among others, the UK and the European Union to further this purpose. Today, the EU is India's third largest trading partner, and India is the EU's 10th largest, contributed to by a 30 percent trade increase over the last decade. As the like-mindedness of both entities grows, economic cooperation has immense potential. Consequently, it behoves both to explore further areas of collaboration.

First, the EU and India must finalise their negotiations over the Free Trade Agreement, resolving persistent structural issues. The problem areas in the FTA with the EU are still the same as from 2007-2013: agriculture, services, digital, and the movement of

professionals. In recent negotiations, further complications, such as the new carbon taxes, have surfaced.

Second, India and the EU should realise that India's trade engagements with the EU will differ from China's: India's economic growth has been characterised by political stability, democracy, economic recovery, and investments. Therefore, India cannot follow China's approach to trade with Europe because it is a democracy that will continue to face counterpressures and be tested against constitutional properties. The EU and India should negotiate with each other, realising this crucial difference.

Third, India and Germany, both powerhouses of the world economy, have yet to increase their trade engagement. In 2024, Germany emerged as the 4th largest economy. On the other hand, India continues to grow in real terms at 7 percent and will surpass the



German economy by 2025, reaching US\$7 trillion by 2030 and US\$10 trillion by 2035. However, trade between both countries remains below the potential. The case with China is the opposite, as China is among the biggest trading partners for Europe.

Fourth, India and Germany could also increase their economic cooperation, benefitting both through collaboration in the education, energy, and digitalisation sectors. In terms of renewable energy, Germany is witnessing increasing demand. Both countries can collaborate on solar, wind, and hydropower sectors. Digitalisation, the space sector, smart grids, e-waste, and carbon capture and storage, are potential aspects of cooperation. India could also invite German universities to invest in the country through its New Education Policy, supplementing

existing educational ties between both countries and laying the groundwork for new connections, economic or otherwise.

As major economies de-couple from China, European firms, especially German ones, look to partner with India. India and Europe must navigate challenges and capitalise on opportunities to strengthen their economic partnership, forging a mutually beneficial alliance conducive to sustainable growth and prosperity by addressing structural impediments and fostering innovative approaches. Together, India and the EU have the potential to advance a world economic order that is inclusive, sustainable, and resilient.

– **Aditya Gowdara Shivamurthy**

Associated Events

India-Nigeria Community Bridge

February 21-25, 2024

To create a community of young leaders in Nigeria and India who can become stakeholders in expanding cooperation between the two countries, the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) organised the first edition of the India-Nigeria Community Bridge at this year's Raisina Dialogue. As two strong developing democracies and leaders of the Global South, India, and Nigeria face common challenges requiring collaborative efforts. With the inclusion of the African Union in the G20 during India's presidency, the two countries have the opportunity to not only engage the other's government but also work to develop people-to-people relations. Thus, ORF brought together 18 young leaders from diverse backgrounds, like technology, sports, policy, urban planning, entrepreneurship, and art and culture, to create a community that could work together to

address contemporary challenges and critical global issues.

On 21 February 2024, the delegates attended the inaugural session of the Raisina Dialogue. On 22 February, an introductory session was organised for the cohort to familiarise them with each other. Over the next two days, the delegates could attend the sessions and panel discussions. They also participated in dinner sessions on 22 and 23 February.

The group discussed the cultural, social, and economic similarities between the two countries and avenues for collaboration. On the final day, the ORF team organised a quiz to test what they had learned from the past two days and what they had taken from the conference. These interactions during the conference set the stage for the following two days.



The events under the Bridge started on 24th February, beginning with the Quad Think Tank Forum organised at the Sushma Swaraj Bhawan. The forum included discussions and conversations on the future of the Quad and the scope for cooperation in technology and connectivity. The sessions also included discussing forging new partnerships and focusing on issue-based collaboration. This allowed the delegates to explore how QUAD could be further institutionalised and cooperate with countries in Africa and other regions.

This was followed by a series of interactive sessions scheduled at the office of the Observer Research Foundation. For the first session, Mihir Sharma, Director of the Centre for Economy and Growth Programme at ORF, discussed the importance of effective

communication for leaders and explored common challenges faced by both India and Nigeria. This was followed by an interaction with Ayoade Alakjia, Co-Chair of the African Union's African Vaccine Delivery Alliance; Special Envoy and Co-Chair for ACT-Accelerator, World Health Organisation. Alakjia discussed how the idea for the people's bridge between India and Nigeria came to fruition and how this could work as a framework for increasing collaboration between the two countries. The final session was with Ashok Malik, Partner, The Asia Group, on the rise of the Global South and avenue for development cooperation.

On the final day, the delegates had an informal lunch session with ORF's President, Samir Saran. The conversation focused on the current flux in the world order and how

the Global South can work together during this time. Emphasis was also put on the responsibility that the first cohort of the India-Nigeria Community Bridge had in terms of taking this initiative forward and building on the progress made throughout the previous few days, acting as the stakeholders in the bilateral partnership moving forward, and working together to find ways to expand the Bridge's scope. Finally, Saran and Alakjia handed participation certificates to all the delegates, commemorating

the spark of collective purpose they had helped ignite.

The programme concluded with a guided tour of Humayun's Tomb and its significance in the overall history of the city of Delhi. Participants renewed their hope of leveraging the positive momentum and deepening the partnership between the two countries.



RAISINA

DIALOGUE 2024

CHATURANGA

CONFLICT, CONTEST, COOPERATE, CREATE

AGENDA



DAY ONE: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 2024

0930-1200

Conference Opener at *Mumtaz***India-Armenia Dialogue**

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

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

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

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

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

1230-1400

Conference Opener at *Mumtaz***UNSC First: Reforming Multilateralism**

As the world faces new wars, resurgent conflicts and human crises the United Nations Security Council's ability to function effectively and fairly is being questioned ever more widely. Its permanent membership does not reflect the reality of representation and influence in the 21st century; and its resolutions' efficacy is dwindling. The wars in Gaza and Ukraine are a strong indictment of the Security Council's role; and thus, calls for its equitable and just reform must be answered.

Can the permanent members' veto to serve narrow national interests in the UNSC be defended in the face of deepening and interlocking crises, and how can permanent membership be reformed? How can the UNSC meaningfully accommodate more diverse perspectives and voices? Can a reform of UNSC be meaningful without reforming the outdated permanent member composition which reflects the geopolitical reality of 1945? What are the ways in which the UNSC can recover its lost credibility and authority? Is the Summit of the Future a critical opportunity to save the UN and what tangible measures must be announced in a time bound manner?

Sanja Štiglic, State Secretary for Political and Multilateral Affairs and Development Cooperation, Slovenia

Alexander Marschik, Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Austria

Inga Rhonda King, Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Saint Vincent and Grenadines

Tareq M. A. M. Albanai, Permanent Representative to the United Nations, State of Kuwait

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

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

1800-1900	Inaugural Session at <i>Durbar</i>
1900-1945	Transition
DAY ONE: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 2024	
1945-2145 <i>Inaugural Dinners</i> (By Invite Only)	<p><i>Shahjehan</i> Looking Back, Looking Ahead: The Long Decade</p> <p>Welcome Remarks: Vinay Mohan Kwatra, Foreign Secretary, India Featured Address: James Beacham, Particle Physicist at the Large Hadron Collider, CERN, Switzerland</p> <p>Panel Discussion: Looking Back, Looking Ahead: The Long Decade Humanity in 2024 faces three intensifying crises. First, the foundation of the postwar order has collapsed; a loss of credibility for multilateral institutions renders global action difficult, if not impossible. Peace is its most visible victim. Second, after decades of good economics being good geopolitics, economic efficiency and geopolitical demands are no longer aligned. Globalisation is no longer fashionable. Third, technologies and digital platforms have reshaped societal and national arrangements, with domestic and international compacts unable to keep pace. This panel will look back to look forward, looking for lessons in the past that can inform our solutions for the future.</p> <p>How can we revive, restore and reform multilateralism and create the energy needed for effective global action? On what occasions in the past – from the financial crisis to the pandemic – has global action worked, and what can we learn from those? Can globalisation be saved? What are the lessons from the past three decades of growth that should inform the new age of economic nationalism? How can the choices we make in 2024, in voting booths, boardrooms, and negotiating chambers, pave the way for global collaboration and conciliation?</p> <p>Janaina Isabel Tewaney Mecombo, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Panama Maneesh Gobin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Regional Integration and International Trade, Mauritius Peter Benjamin Mandelson, Member of the House of Lords, United Kingdom Benedikt Franke, Vice-Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Munich Security Conference, Germany Master of Ceremonies: Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>

DAY ONE: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 2024

1945-2145
Inaugural
Dinners

(By Invite Only)

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

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

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

Amitabh Kant, G20 Sherpa, India

Herbert Krapa, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Energy, Ghana

Lucy Corkin, Business Strategist, Rand Merchant Bank, South Africa

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nitya Khemka, Director, PATH, United Kingdom

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

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

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

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

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

DAY ONE: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 2024	
1945-2145 <i>Inaugural Dinners</i> (By Invite Only)	<p><i>Roshanara</i> South Rising: Institutionalising a South First Approach at G20</p> <p>Four successive G20 presidencies in the developing world represent a unique opportunity to highlight the needs, aspirations and ambitions of the Global South. That will require, however, building inclusive systems that represent the voice of all developing countries at the high table of global governance – and ensuring that the ideas created in each of these presidencies sustain and even gain momentum.</p> <p>How can Brazil and South Africa raise issues that are important to the Global South and build on the efforts and success of the Indonesian and Indian G20 presidencies? How does the addition of the African Union change the G20 charter in terms of inclusivity and accessibility? Can attributes such as “green”, “digital first” and “women-led” add to the G20’s positioning and accommodation of new constituencies, mediums and approaches? How can the Global South work with MDBs, intergovernmental organisations and private funds to forge practicable partnerships and to create additional sources of finance?</p> <p>Scene Setter: Candith Mashego-Dlamini, Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa</p> <p>Panel Discussion: Muktesh Kumar Pardeshi, Secretary (CPV and OIA), Ministry of External Affairs, India Saïd Abass Ahamed, Ambassador and Special Envoy of the President of the African Union Anna-Katharina Hornidge, Director, German Institute of Development and Sustainability, Germany Dino Patti Djalal, Founder and Chairman, Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia, Indonesia Fabio Soares, Director, Institute for Applied Economic Research, Brazil Moderator: Sarah Anyang Agbor, Director of African Union Affairs, African Renaissance Trust, Cameroon</p>
2145-2220	Break
2220-2310 <i>Conversations Over Kahwa</i>	<p><i>Mumtaz</i> The State, the Non-state and the Quasi-State: Responding to 3D Terror</p> <p>The threat landscape has evolved drastically, opening new frontiers when it comes to terrorism. Proliferation of terrorism through state-sponsored actors such as those promoted by Pakistan, lone-wolves radicalised on social media, and entities like Hamas perfecting the art of hybrid warfare have demonstrated potential to orchestrate highly destructive operations with minimal resources. Malevolent actors are already exploiting disruptive technologies such as 3D printing and autonomous weapons while also weaponising unregulated spaces such as AI and crypto. Nations grapple with security and humanitarian concerns while seeking to maintain stability in conflict’s rapidly changing landscape.</p> <p>How can nations cooperate to dismantle rogue entities operating under state protection or using friendly states to promote terror? FATF and similar financial measures have had limited success. Are there other economic and political tools available to dissuade states from nurturing and deploying non-state militant actors? Is it time to consider a fresh, all-encompassing multilateral arrangement to eliminate terror sanctuaries and groups operating in different geographies? Is this even feasible? With international cooperation both fragmented and elusive, what are the best practices and strategies for sustainable deterrence against state-sponsored and state-nurtured terrorism?</p>

	<p>Stephen Harper, Former Prime Minister, Canada Erin Saltman, Director of Programming, Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism, United Kingdom James Carafano, Vice President, Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy, The Heritage Foundation, United States Marcin Bużański, Senior Advisor, Warsaw Security Forum, Poland Shlomit Wagman, Harvard University; Rapyd; Former Chair, Money Laundering and Terror Financing Authority, Israel Moderator: Marie Schröter, Country Director, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Philippines, Germany</p>
<p>2220-2310</p> <p><i>Conversations Over Kahwa</i></p>	<p><i>Roshanara</i> Woke Politics? Mobilisations vs Money</p> <p>The word 'woke', once a neutral descriptor that conveyed a wider awareness of racial and social issues, is now a signifier for a deep and politicised cleavage between left and right. Culture wars have taken over the discourse of both boardrooms and academic institutions; a stark divide between 'woke' and 'anti-woke' positions have sharpened through social media mobilisation. Bankers, politicians and celebrities have been forced to take sides. Universities are both incubators of and battlefields for extreme positions on either side, whether through student and faculty protests or decisions by boards and funders.</p> <p>Is conflict brewing between those in positions of leadership in institutions and others in non-leadership positions? Can institutions of higher learning balance academic freedom with unbridled social justice activism? How can institutions and capital allocators navigate the culture wars? Or has the 'S' in ESG become synonymous with wokeness?</p> <p>Ana Miguel dos Santos, Former Deputy of the Portuguese Assembly of the Republic, Portugal Robin Niblett, Distinguished Fellow, Chatham House, United Kingdom Gladden Pappin, President, Hungarian Institute of International Affairs, Hungary Ravi Agrawal, Editor-in-Chief, Foreign Policy, United States Wiebke Winter, Member of the National Board, Christian Democratic Union, Germany Moderator: Shamika Ravi, Member, Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, India</p>

DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024

0730-0845

Shahjehan **Deterrence and Decoupling: Decoding the West's China Stance***Conversations
over Breakfast*

From the vantage point of the Indo-Pacific, the West's narratives on dealing with China's rise appear increasingly confused. Western business continues to depend upon Chinese productivity and industrial heft, and "decoupling" has become "derisking". The Chinese government appears confident of rising above any tech-based embargoes and has not shown any sign of decreasing pressure on Taiwan.

What strategies do the countries of Europe and the United States intend to use to retain a technological edge and economic lead over China? What is the depth of commitment that the countries of the Indo-Pacific could expect if a crisis blows up – say around Taiwan – in 2024, given that politics in some countries has turned inward, and there are already two conflagrations in progress? As the Chinese economy stalls, is Western business more ready to decouple from China in 2024 than it was earlier?

Carl Bildt, Former Prime Minister, Sweden

Allison Hooker, Senior Vice President, American Global Strategies, United States

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

Matt Turpin, Senior Advisor, Palantir Technologies, United States

Theodore Bunzel, Head of Geopolitical Advisory, Lazard, United States

Moderator: Róbert Vass, Founder and President, GLOBSEC, Slovakia

0730-0845

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

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

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

Jorge Quiroga, Former President, Bolivia

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

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

Jaivir Singh, Vice Chairman, PwC India Foundation, India

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

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

DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024

0730-0845

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

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

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

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

Manuel Muñoz Villa, Provost, IE University, Spain

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

Pavlina Pavlova, Public Policy Advisor, CyberPeace Institute, Austria

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

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

0730-0845

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

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

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

	<p>Shehan Semasinghe, State Minister of Finance, Sri Lanka Swarnim Wagle, Member of Parliament, Nepal Moonyung Lee, Policy Analyst, OECD, Republic of Korea Sheikh Fazle Fahim, Chairman, D-8 Chamber of Commerce and Industries, Bangladesh Tshering Dorji, Director, SELISE Digital Platforms, Bhutan Moderator: Riya Sinha, Associate Fellow, Centre for Social and Economic Progress, India</p>
0845-0900	Transition
0900-0950	<p>Northern Lights and Southern Sun: Sustainable De-risking and the New North-South Partnership</p> <p>The realities of global supply chains, climate change, and the technological revolution carry profound implications for partnerships between Europe and the Global South. Dependence on China for rare-earth processing, digital components, and green industrial value chains is a growing political concern in both geographies. Against this backdrop, some countries have leveraged their geopolitical positions to foster wider and deeper ties across the energy, trade, and technology domains.</p> <p>What are the stakes for Europe—including the Nordic and Baltic countries—in the economic realignments underway? Do they have a different assessment to ones in Washington, D.C., New Delhi, and Tokyo? Has the green transition motivated a rethinking of geo-economic strategy? Can the Nordic/Baltic region and Europe more generally collaborate with India and Central Asia on critical minerals, supply chains, and emerging technologies? How can relevant investment into the Global South be scaled up? Will a business-first approach to political changes in East Asia ambush policymakers as they were by their energy dependence two years ago?</p> <p>Gabrielius Landsbergis, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lithuania Lars Løkke Rasmussen, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Denmark Martin Eyjólfsson, Permanent Secretary of State, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Iceland Børge Brende, President, World Economic Forum Ummu Salma Bava, Chairperson and Jean Monnet Chair, Professor for European Studies, Centre for European Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India Moderator: Radhicka Kapoor, Professor, Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations, India</p>

DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024	
0950-1040	<p>A Tapestry of Truths: Can the Two Hemispheres Agree?</p> <p>The South has been castigated for a supposed failure to uphold universal values amid a European war. On the other hand, the South sees hypocrisy and neglect from the West during the pandemic, and in Afghanistan and the Middle East. In a real-time and unmediated world, both sides have enough ammunition to reduce the other to an unprincipled and untrustworthy partner. This polarised reality makes it difficult to respond to challenges that confront us all. The United Nations has been suborned by great powers and is seeking to find new ways to make itself relevant again. Smaller groups and regional clusters have stitched together a kaleidoscope of solutions that are sometimes sub-optimal and sometimes inefficient.</p> <p>Can trust in the international system be rebuilt, even in the absence of effective multilateral institutions? Are emerging powers that are more acceptable to a wider array of international actors obliged to stitch together coalitions that work, or is a patchwork of plurilateral agreements a fait accompli? How can the label “Global South” be made aspirational rather than reductive? Can the West and South collaborate? Will anyone take responsibility for such an undertaking? Or is such a contested ecosystem good for domestic politics and economic self-reliance for all sides?</p> <p>Hanke Bruins Slot, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Netherlands January Yusuf Makamba, Minister of Foreign Affairs and East African Cooperation, Tanzania Jorge Quiroga, Former President, Bolivia Anwar bin Mohammed Gargash, Diplomatic Advisor to the President, United Arab Emirates S. Jaishankar, Minister of External Affairs, India Moderator: Palki Sharma, Managing Editor, Network18, India</p>
1040-1100	Break
1100-1150	<p>Solving the Energy Trilemma: Access, Affordability, Availability</p> <p>Managing the energy transition is a crucial political imperative. It matters to countries across the world that wish to maintain internal cohesion, create new paths to growth, and enhance economic security. Geopolitical contestation has made this task of management more difficult; but technological change and financial engineering might make it easier.</p> <p>What are the energy choices for the next six billion consumers that are sustainable, accessible, affordable, and available? What are the old and new fuels that are relevant to these geographies, and how do we focus on lowering emissions as we cater to aspirations? Where will the finance for the energy transition come from? How can we ensure that finance is affordable and of the scale demanded to expand access? How can governments, private capital, and large corporations collaborate to increase global energy security? Institutions and corporations have maintained order, directed investment, and managed shocks in the energy landscape of the last century. Will new avatars of these be needed?</p>

	<p>Amitabh Kant, G20 Sherpa, India Nalinee Taveesin, Advisor to the Prime Minister, Thailand Fahad Aldhubaib, Senior VP of Strategy & Market Analysis, ARAMCO, Saudi Arabia Nicholas Stern, IG Patel Professor of Economics and Government, London School of Economics, United Kingdom Gwendoline Abunaw, Managing Director, Ecobank, Cameroon Moderator: Yasmine Moezinia, Program Director, Climate Finance, Sequoia Climate Foundation, United States</p>
1150-1220	<p>In Conversation</p> <p>Ashwini Vaishnaw, Minister for Communications, Electronics & Information Technology and Railways, India Virat Bhatia, Managing Director, Apple, India</p>
1220-1420 <i>Lunch Conversations</i> <i>(By Invite Only)</i>	<p><i>Shahjehan</i> From the Indo-Pacific to the Med-Atlantic: Geometries of Growth</p> <p>The world has been reminded of the importance of sustainable and secure links between the Indo-Pacific and the Atlantic-Mediterranean. The two zones might not have identical security concerns or economic constraints; but political actors that span the regions have taken major moves towards integration in the recent past. They share concerns about energy security, infrastructure investment and strategic autonomy at a time of increasing great power contestation. This panel will deliberate on how partnerships between the Indo-Pacific and the Atlantic-Mediterranean can grow, and the problems they must address.</p> <p>How can we create a partnership to secure vital trade between these zones? What promising avenues – such as IMEC – have recently emerged, and what progress has been made? From pipelines to ports, how can we scale up investment in infrastructure that connects these two maritime domains? Is there interest in the private sector for this, and what is the role of the public sector in de-risking new infra proposals? Can people-to-people contact between the regions be expanded? From education to tourism to short-term work permits, is there political appetite for, and economic benefits from, scaling up these interactions?</p> <p>Keynote Address: Giorgos Gerapetritis, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Greece Keynote Address: Dammu Ravi, Secretary (ER), Ministry of External Affairs, India</p> <p>Panel Discussion: Arancha González, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, European Union and Cooperation, Spain; Dean, Paris School of International Affairs, Sciences Po, France Ebtesam Al-Ketbi, CEO, Emirates Policy Centre, United Arab Emirates Federico Banos-Lindner, Group Senior Vice President, Government Relations & Public Affairs, DP World, United Arab Emirates Rosa Balfour, Director, Carnegie Europe, Belgium Stefano Sannino, Secretary-General, European External Action Service, European Union Moderator: Symeon Tsomokos, Founder and President, Delphi Economic Forum, Greece</p>

DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024	
1220-1420 <i>Lunch Conversations</i> <i>(By Invite Only)</i>	<p>Mumtaz Whose AI is it Anyway?</p> <p>If the Global South is not at the AI high table, it will be on the menu. Data-trained algorithms may define future prosperity; but the emerging world can legitimately worry that it will merely be the source of the data on which these are trained, and not the location for their development and application.</p> <p>Will India and other developing countries be left behind in the development of a new wave of technology platforms? How can these emerging systems be made more inclusive in how they are created? How can the benefits and profits that they engender be more widely shared? Are there regulatory structures and hubs of innovation in the emerging world that can challenge the traditional tech centres in the Global North?</p> <p>Abhishek Singh, Additional Secretary, MeitY; President & CEO NeGD, India Andy O'Connell, Vice President, Product Policy and Strategy, META, United States Effy Vayena, Professor, ETH Zurich; Associate Vice President, Digital Transformation & Governance, Switzerland Pamela Mishkin, Member of Technical Staff, OpenAI, United States Pratyush Kumar, Co-Founder, Sarvam AI, India Moderator: Laura Mahrenbach, Adjunct Professor, Technical University of Munich, Germany</p>
1220-1420 <i>Lunch Conversations</i> <i>(By Invite Only)</i>	<p>Roshanara At the Heart of Business: The India Opportunity</p> <p>Conversation with Ashwini Vaishnaw, Minister for Communications, Electronics & Information Technology and Railways, India</p>
1220-1420 <i>Lunch Conversations</i> <i>(By Invite Only)</i>	<p>Jehangir Europe in the Indo-Pacific</p> <p>The European Union and several of its Member States have developed strategies in recent years to step up engagement with the Indo-Pacific. These strategies recognise the importance of the region to Europe's growth, trade, and economic security, amid concerns on the US-China rivalry. However, newer concerns about security in Europe's own neighbourhood have raised questions about its commitment to the Indo-Pacific.</p> <p>How does Europe's leadership view the need to de-risk its supply chains in the region, and how will it incentivise businesses to contribute to economic security and reduce dependence on China? Given the importance of the Ukraine war to Europe, will there be any capacity left for the continent to meaningfully engage with the Indo-Pacific? How do the EU and its members address existing networks in the region, such as the Quad?</p> <p>Dominique Hasler, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Liechtenstein Kajsa Ollongren, Minister of Defence, Netherlands Luminița Odobescu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Romania Tobias Lindner, Minister of State, Federal Foreign Office, Germany Władysław Teofil Bartoszewski, Secretary of State (First Deputy Minister), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland Moderator: Shashi Tharoor, Member of Parliament, India</p>

DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024

1220-1420

Sheesh Mahal: Trends @ Raisina

*Lunch
Conversations
(By Invite Only)*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reinhard Bütikofer, Member of the European Parliament, Germany

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

Nico Lange, Senior Fellow, Munich Security Conference, Germany

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

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

1420-1510

As the Ice Melts: The New Arctic Chessboard

The Arctic region — with a unique geographic location, natural resources from fisheries to rare earths, and expanding shipping traffic — is increasingly significant to global geopolitics and geoeconomics. This region's emergence is now particularly relevant given the dangerous and complicated security environment that Europe faces to its east. The interlinked questions of security in the Arctic, the Baltic, and Europe have become of importance to the world.

Do regional actors have the capability to be security providers in this region and its neighbourhood, and if not, how are they building them up? How are climate change, geopolitical rivalry, and new infrastructure projects reshaping the Arctic region? What are the stakes for the rest of the world in this region's transformation and resources? What are the implications of linking the Arctic to the Indo-Pacific region, and how does this affect global trade and security dynamics? How have new developments in European security affected the strategic positions of the countries of the region? Will the Arctic and the Baltic, areas of unusual co-operation, now become an arena for great power rivalry?

Elina Valtonen, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Finland

Tobias Billström, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sweden

Andreas Motzfeldt Kravik, State Secretary, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway

Alexander Gabuev, Director, Carnegie Russia Eurasia Center, Germany

Eeva Eek-Pajuste, Adviser, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Estonia

Moderator: Karin von Hippel, Director-General, Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies, United Kingdom

DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024	
1510-1520	<p>Ministerial Remarks</p> <p>Meenakashi Lekhi, Minister of State for External Affairs, India</p>
1520-1540	Break
1540-1610	<p>Promethean Puzzle: Will Science Secure – or Upend – the World Order?</p> <p>The study of particle physics and advances in synthetic biology could all implicate geopolitics and geoeconomics? This high-stakes panel discussion brings together eminent scientists and experts to delve into the critical intersections of science, diplomacy, and security. It will consider how the study of particle physics, understanding what is at the end of the universe, or synthetic biology, all could implicate geopolitics and geoeconomics. The session aims to delineate scientific imperatives, and what can be learned from an interdisciplinary approach to critical decision-making.</p> <p>How are institutions of basic scientific research, such as CERN, visible examples of the benefits of international collaboration? How could biological research have implications for global security, and how can scientific innovation be balanced with responsible practices? What role should international frameworks play in mitigating such risks? How do scientific developments influence geopolitics? What role do they play in countries' diplomatic outreach and soft power?</p> <p>Archana Sharma, Principal Scientist - Senior Advisor International Relations, CERN, Switzerland Filippa Lentzos, Associate Professor of Science & International Security, King's College London, United Kingdom James Beacham, Particle Physicist at the Large Hadron Collider, CERN, Switzerland Moderator: Corinna Hoyer, Managing Director and Chief Operating Officer, World Minds, Switzerland</p>
1610-1630	<p>The Delhi Consensus - Towards a Global Climate Framework for Benefit of All</p> <p>Keynote Address: Bhupender Yadav, Union Cabinet Minister for Environment, Forest & Climate Change; and Labour & Employment, India</p>

DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024	
1630-1720	<p>People, Planet, and Prosperity: Invest, Finance and Grow</p> <p>Without a substantial increase in financial support for the emerging world, the goals of the Paris Agreement will not be met. A just transition needs financing at scale; it needs climate capital in emerging economies to be cheaper; and it needs money to flow across national boundaries. But international finance is falling short of its role, as it fails to send private climate finance where it is most needed. Unless the world’s banks sign up to Paris in spirit, it will fail.</p> <p>Why does political risk still serve as an excuse for not acting to reduce climate risk? How can the cost of climate capital be reduced? What solutions work to scale up the availability of green capital? Do these reach the individuals and companies on the frontlines of climate action? Can private capital be made available to support adaptation to climate change as well as mitigation of carbon emissions?</p> <p>V. Anantha Nageswaran, Chief Economic Advisor, Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs, India Jochen Flasbarth, State Secretary, Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, Germany Anna Bjerde, Managing Director, The World Bank, Sweden Pramod Chaudhari, Executive Chairman, Praj Industries Ltd., India Sumant Sinha, Chariman and Chief Executive Officer, ReNew, India Moderator: Geraldine Ang, Clean Energy Finance and Investment Mobilisation Programme, Team Lead, Financial System for Biodiversity and Transition Minerals, and Senior Policy Analyst, OECD</p>
1720-1740	Break
1740-1830	<p>Fractured Politics: Is Development a Casualty of War?</p> <p>Great power rivalries and ambitions—played out as war, sanctions, or diplomatic pressure — have significantly reduced the policy space available to developing countries. Food and fuel inflation have caused humanitarian crises in many countries, and sent others, already scarred by the pandemic, deep into debt. Government balance sheets are under pressure, and even sovereign debt relief is taking longer than it should.</p> <p>How can we re-centre the global agenda on development? What are the levers available to the developing world to force a conversation relevant to its needs? What steps are countries facing supply-chain disruptions taking to re-establish resilience? Who are their global partners in this effort? How can financing for development be redefined and re-examined so that some of the spending pressure is taken off governments? Are existing institutions, like the Bretton Woods set, doing their job?</p> <p>Elmedin Konaković, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bosnia and Herzegovina Igli Hasani, Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs, Albania Tharaka Balasuriya, State Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sri Lanka Abla Abdel Latif, Executive Director and Director of Research, The Egyptian Centre for Economic Studies, Egypt Emanuela Claudia Del Re, EU Special Representative for the Sahel, European External Action Service, European Union Moderator: Chandrika Bahadur, Chief Executive Officer, The Antara Foundation, India</p>

DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024	
1830-1920	<p>Emerging Technologies: A Panacea for the SDGs?</p> <p>Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) on time is only possible through swift adoption of breakthrough technologies. Remote sensing and AI can collect and analyse data to forecast weather, predict natural disasters, anticipate crop yields, detect land change, and assess the impact of climate change. Similarly, drones are being used to deliver medical supplies, map habitats and ecological systems, and manage precision farming. Digital connectivity through secure 5G access and the Internet of Things will be essential for the rollout of multiple tech-based interventions.</p> <p>How can emerging tech support evidence-based policymaking, boost the efficiency of resource allocation, and improve service delivery? What concerns about privacy, data protection and security and the exacerbation of inequalities do these technologies raise? How are governments designing tech-based support systems and their digital infra backbones?</p> <p>Sandiaga Uno, Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy, Indonesia Abhishek Singh, Additional Secretary, MeitY, President & CEO NeGD, India Aditi Avasthi, Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Embibe, India Alex Rogers, President, Qualcomm Technology Licensing & Global Affairs, Qualcomm Incorporated, United States Baratang Miya, Founder, Girlhype Women Who Code & Women Tech Policy Hub, South Africa Moderator: Archana Vyas, PAC Director, Growth, Opportunity, and Empowerment, Global Policy and Advocacy, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, India</p>
1920-1940	Transition

DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024	
1940-2140 Dinner Conversations (By Invite Only)	<p><i>Shahjehan</i> Code, Court & Constitution: Challenging Tech's Monopoly on Influence</p> <p>There is a growing narrative that tech companies are facing a backlash from states around the world. Yet the duty of the state is to define the landscape in which tech operates. Tech regulation is, on the one hand, limiting innovative spaces; on the other, under-regulation is allowing innovators to code laws without any democratic accountability. This is particularly problematic in the age of AI, the development of which implicates multiple domains from bioethics to market dynamics. Naturally, concerns have emerged that technological innovation is pushing ever further into domains traditionally overseen by the state – from platforms that have greater power over speech than even courts, to digital connectivity that is now subject to commercial dimensions. If a consensus is not evolved on a regulatory approach, then other authorities – from courts to bureaucracies – will step in.</p> <p>How can the state reclaim spaces crucial to the delivery of public goods? If technology and its owners and operators span national borders effortlessly, is global regulation essential to ensure states retain domains that have traditionally been theirs? Can we create global coalitions that balance both sovereignty and innovative energy? Is there a danger that uninformed or overenthusiastic regulation will stifle innovation? On the other hand, if vaccines can have a three-stage approval process, why not digital products?</p> <p>Bibek Debroy, Chairman, Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, India Brendan Carr, Commissioner, Federal Communications Commission, United States Basant Hassib, Non-Resident Scholar, Middle East Institute, United States Sunil Abraham, Director, Public Policy India, Data Economy & Emerging Tech, META, India Stephanie Diepeveen, Senior Research Fellow, ODI, Netherlands Moderator: Caitríona Heintl, Executive Director, The Azure Forum for Contemporary Security Strategy, Ireland</p>
1940-2140 (By Invite Only)	<p><i>Mumtaz</i> Policy & Palate (Closed-Door, Off-the-Record Dinner)</p>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024	
1940-2140 Dinner Conversations (By Invite Only)	<p>Jehangir Angry Planet: Investing in the Age of Resilience and Adaptation</p> <p>Launch of Report: Stronger Together: A Compendium of Stories of Courage and Resilience During Disasters</p> <p>Climate change creates multiple axes of vulnerability. Communities that live on the land face uncertain livelihoods; populations across the emerging world are dealing with food insecurity; those that live by the sea and in mountains face landslides and droughts. Even as we set aside financial resources to mitigate future emissions, we must invest now to adapt and to render societies' agricultural systems and their physical environment more resilient. The role of technology, of new platforms, and of innovative solutions -- alongside the mobilisation of capital and multistakeholder cooperation -- are crucial. This session will discuss disaster response, agricultural resilience, and how vulnerable countries can learn from each other by sharing experiences. It will explore ways to make supply chains crucial to food, fuel, and trade more sustainable. And it will delve into key questions on mobilising finance for disaster resilient infrastructure and for adaptation to climate change -- appetite for which seems to be lower in the investor community.</p> <p>How can we develop the human capabilities and competence that will support greater resilience and technological transformation? What might be key enablers of a transformation of rural and vulnerable communities, their livelihoods and productivity? What role does food security and community resilience play in social cohesion and broader socioeconomic stability?</p> <p>Scene Setter: Panel Discussion: Vanita Sharma, Advisor on Strategic Initiatives, Reliance Foundation, India</p> <p>Scott Moe, Premier, Government of Saskatchewan, Canada Jagannatha Kumar, Chief Executive Officer, Reliance Foundation, India Kwame Owino, Chief Executive Officer, Institute of Economic Affairs, Kenya Rahoul Sawani, President, Asia-Pacific, Corteva Agriscience, Singapore Sara Roversi, Founder and President, Future Food Institute, Italy Moderator: Louise van Schaik, Head of Unit, Clingendael Institute, Netherlands</p>
2140-2210	Break

DAY TWO: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024	
2210-2300	<p><i>Mumtaz</i> The Democracy Divide: Universal Norms & Local Practices</p> <p><i>Conversations over Kahwa</i> There are various global headwinds facing the democratic system. These include the rise of authoritarianism, disruptive technologies, populism, fake news – and the notion among voters that democracy is failing ordinary citizens. Consequently, democracy must be reclaimed bottom-up to make it locally relevant and grounded, while still retaining its fundamental attributes of rule of law, separation of powers, and popular sovereignty. While democracy is a universal norm, its contextual application is a prerequisite for its success.</p> <p>How can democracy be made real and attractive in diverse and digital societies? How can differences in existing democratic practices be reconciled and respected across geographies? How can cultural moorings continue to underpin democratic structures and the delivery of political rights across the world? In a hyper-globalised world, can we prevent the weaponisation of differences in the administration of democracy by state and non-state actors?</p> <p>Tony Abbott, Former Prime Minister, Australia Mehdi Jomaa, Former Prime Minister, Tunisia Sanjeev Sanyal, Member, Prime Minister’s Economic Advisory Council, India Ayoade Alakija, Chair, Board of Directors, FIND; Co-Chair, G7 Impact Investment Initiative in Global Health, United Kingdom Rend Al-Rahim, Co-Founder and President, Iraq Foundation, United States Moderator: Palki Sharma, Managing Editor, Network18, India</p>
2210-2300	<p><i>Roshanara</i> The America Files</p> <p><i>Conversations over Kahwa</i> The 2024 presidential election in the United States might be pivotal for the country and the world. The superpower is in a curious and unprecedented situation. Half of the country does not recognise the legitimacy of the President of the United States. On paper, its economic performance and prospects are strong; but rising inflation has complicated the story, with commentators on each side of the divide choosing to highlight the aspect that suits their politics best. Its international partners are deeply uncertain about the US’ future course and what a growing spirit of isolationism would mean for the network of partnerships, friendships and alliances that America has built.</p> <p>What are President Biden’s re-election prospects? Can the Democratic Party hold the Senate? What is working for the party’s political messaging, and what could undermine it? Is Donald Trump’s return as the Republican candidate inevitable? What role will his legal troubles play in his party’s campaign? Can the Republicans control their rowdy right flank, or are we in for four years of chaos? Are there any remaining bipartisan principles that the US’ key partners in the Middle East, the Indo-Pacific and Europe can count on?</p> <p>Lara Setrakian, President, Applied Policy Research Institute, Armenia Max Abrahms, Professor, Northeastern University, United States Rexon Y. Ryu, President, The Asia Group, United States Theresa Fallon, Founder and Director, Centre for Russia, Europe, Asia Studies, Belgium Tilman Kuban, Member of Parliament, German Bundestag, Germany Moderator: Smita Prakash, Chief Editor and Deputy Chief Executive Officer, Asian News International, India</p>

DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024

0730-0845

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

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

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

Dominique Hasler, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Liechtenstein**Reinhard Bütikofer**, Member of the European Parliament, Germany**Antonio de Aguiar Patriota**, Ambassador of Brazil to the United Kingdom, United Kingdom**Hikmat Hajiyev**, Assistant to the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Head of the Foreign Policy Affairs, Department of the Presidential Administration, Azerbaijan**Paula Dobriansky**, Vice-Chair, Atlantic Council Scowcroft Center, United States**Moderator: Lynn Kuok**, Visiting Professor, School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, United States

DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024

0730-0845

Mumtaz The Europe Files*Conversations
over Breakfast*

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

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

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

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

Małgorzata Bonikowska, President, Centre for International Relations, Poland

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

Walter Feichtinger, President, Center for Strategic Analysis, Austria

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

0730-0845

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

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

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

Host: Vikram Misri, Deputy National Security Advisor, India

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

DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024

0730-0845

Jehangir **Desecuritising Development: Resilience in the Indo-Pacific***Conversations
over Breakfast**Launch of Report: **Regional Integration in the Indo-Pacific: Connectivity, Cooperation and New Supply-Chain Linkages*****Briefing on Report: Tetsuya Watanabe**, President, Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, Indonesia

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

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

Scene Setter: Do Hung Viet, Deputy Foreign Minister, Vietnam**Panel Discussion:****Ānjali Kaur**, Deputy Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Asia, US Agency for International Development, United States**Dulciana Somare-Brash**, Development Specialist, DevCom Pacific (PNG) Ltd, Papua New Guinea**Emmanuel Baudran**, Global Head of Infrastructure, Agence Française de Développement, France**Kate O'Shaughnessy**, Research Director, Perth USAsia Centre, Australia**Osamu Yamamoto**, Chief Executive Officer, Unison Capital Management, Japan**Moderator: Anita Prakash**, Director for Policy Relations, Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, Indonesia

DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024

0730-0845

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

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

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

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

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

Panel Discussion:

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

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

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

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

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

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

DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024

0900-0950

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

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

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

Krišjānis Kariņš, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Latvia

Luminița Odobescu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Romania

Margus Tsahkna, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Estonia

Iryna Borovets, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ukraine

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

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

0950-1040

The Wonk Tank: Where Expertise Meets Authority

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

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

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

Michael Fullilove, Executive Director, Lowy Institute, Australia

S. Jaishankar, Minister of External Affairs, India

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

1040-1100

Break

DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024	
1100-1200	<p>The New Wars: Policies, Practices, and Preparation</p> <p>Scene Setter: Vivek Lall, Chief Executive, General Atomics Global Corporation, United States</p> <p>In the evolving landscape of warfare, traditional mechanisms are yielding to unconventional methods and tactics. The implications of these changes in conflict dynamics include the increasingly blurred lines between state and non-state actors, asymmetrical warfare, and the growing role of emerging technologies. These highlight the emergence of a new era of warfare.</p> <p>What are the emerging manifestations of informal warfare, and how do they pose challenges to conventional defence strategies? How should nations adjust their approaches to address non-traditional threats? Will informal warfare become the preferred strategy for nations due to its risk-mitigating qualities?</p> <p>Kajsa Ollongren, Minister of Defence, Netherlands General Anil Chauhan, Chief of Defence Staff, India Andrew Shearer, Director-General, Office of National Intelligence, Australia Sujan Chinoy, Director General, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, India Jenna Ben-Yehuda, Executive Vice President of the Atlantic Council, United States Moderator: Lisa Singh, Chief Executive Officer, Australia India Institute, Australia</p>
1200-1230	<p>In Conversation:</p> <p>Piyush Goyal, Minister of Commerce and Industry, Consumer Affairs, Food and Public Distribution, Textiles; and Leader of the House, Rajya Sabha, India Ashok Malik, Partner and Chair of the India Practice, The Asia Group, India</p>

DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024

1230-1430

Shahjehan **Democratic Dollars: Can the Planet Reclaim the Bretton Woods?***Lunch
Conversations

(By Invite
Only)*

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

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

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

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

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

Jayant Sinha, Member of Parliament, India

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

Divyata Ashiya, Trustee, RUSI, India

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

DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024	
1230-1430	Mumtaz Fragile Dividend: Addressing the 'Old' versus the 'New' in West Asia
<i>Lunch Conversations</i> <i>(By Invite Only)</i>	<p>Violence broke out in West Asia in 2023, highlighting the continuing complexities of the region at a time of multiple global crises. But breakthroughs such as the Abraham Accords and the Iran-Saudi Arabia rapprochement showed the region's desire to progress towards regional security, and by association, economic growth. Qatar's successful hosting of the 2022 FIFA World Cup, Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030, and the UAE's hosting of COP28 are nonetheless reflective of a structural transformation: the future is being prioritised over the past.</p> <p>What are the implications for the region if the Israel-Palestine conflict continues unresolved? What are the emerging groupings and partnerships that are influencing the region's geopolitical and geoeconomic progress? Can we envision a stable and peaceful West Asia by addressing historical fissures? What do new economic highways with India such as IMEC and I2U2 bring to the table?</p> <p>Hans-Christian Hagman, Deputy National Security Adviser for Strategy, Prime Minister's Office, Sweden John Chipman, Executive Chairman, The International Institute of Strategic Studies, United Kingdom Maha Akeel, Lecturer, Dar Al Hekma University, Saudi Arabia Mina Al-Oraibi, Editor in Chief, The National, United Arab Emirates Vali Nasr, Professor, International Affairs and Middle East Studies, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, United States Moderator: Elena Lazarou, Senior Fellow, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy; Associate Fellow, Chatham House, United Kingdom</p>
1230-1430	Roshanara Commerce, Connectivity & Value Chains: A Long View from Delhi
<i>(By Invite Only)</i>	Conversation with Piyush Goyal , Minister of Commerce and Industry, Consumer Affairs, Food and Public Distribution, Textiles, and Leader of the House, Rajya Sabha, India

DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024	
1230-1430	<p><i>Jehangir</i> Quad Tech Alliance: Innovate, Integrate, Inspire</p> <p><i>Lunch Conversations</i> <i>(By Invite Only)</i></p> <p>As the Quad enters its third decade, it has transformed from an idea to a living partnership between democracies. There is, however, more work to be done. An institutional framework must be developed to harness the strengths of member countries to serve the larger Indo-Pacific. Given the importance of tech partnerships within the Quad, this panel will discuss the scope and scale of the Quad's technological future.</p> <p>How can Quad partners scale cooperation in technology and cybersecurity? How can the Quad collaborate on digital highways for the common good? Can the Quad enhance trusted financial interconnectivity between themselves? Is there space for Quad partners to set frameworks for growth in the Indo-Pacific? How do countries utilise their specific strengths and capabilities to create an institutional proposition for tech solutions?</p> <p>Arvind Gupta, Founder Member, Digital India Foundation, India Marcus Bartley Johns, Senior Director, Asia, Government and Regulatory Affairs, Microsoft, Singapore Mihoko Matsubara, Chief Cybersecurity Strategist, Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Corp., Japan Raghuram S., Joint Secretary (Policy Planning and Research), Ministry of External Affairs, India Erin Watson, Director at Mandala Partners and Adjunct Research Fellow at Griffith Asia Institute, Australia Moderator: Trisha Ray, Associate Director and Resident Fellow, Atlantic Council, United States</p>
1230-1430	<p><i>Sheesh Mahal</i> The Africa Files</p> <p><i>Lunch Conversations</i> <i>(By Invite Only)</i></p> <p>In a few years, the cumulative GDP of the African continent will reach \$5 trillion. The countries of Africa have some of the youngest populations in the world and are urbanising and industrialising rapidly. The region is also moving swiftly towards economic integration. This panel will examine the continental growth story and the pivotal roles its countries play in emerging narratives about geopolitics and security.</p> <p>How can economic integration change the nature of economic growth and development in Africa? What infrastructure investments are needed to leverage trade agreements? How are African nations dealing with demands on their capacity that come with playing a leading role in global policy conversations? How do countries in Africa increase their agency when it comes to determining the security of their supply chains – for example of food or fuel? How can they achieve independence from decisions made in the Global North, such as sanctions, that may constrict these supply chains? What does the rest of the world make of opportunities in Africa's growth story?</p> <p>Candith Mashego-Dlamini, Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa Said Abass Ahamed, Ambassador and Special Envoy of the President of the African Union Puneet Roy Kundal, Additional Secretary (E&SA), Ministry of External Affairs, India Rachel Toku-Appiah, Director, Director, Program Advocacy Communications - Africa, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, South Africa Sara Hasanaa Mokaddem, Manager, Strategic Monitoring & Analysis Unit, Policy Center for the New South, Morocco Moderator: Sarah Mosoetsa, Chief Executive Officer, Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa</p>

DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024

1430-1530

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

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

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

Jan Lipavský, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic**Juraj Blanár**, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Slovakia**Marise Payne**, Professor of Practice, International Relations and Public Policy, Western Sydney University; Former Minister for Defence of Australia, Australia**Elisabetta Belloni**, Director General, Security Intelligence Department, Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Italy**Jorge Guajardo**, Partner, Dentons Global Advisors; Former Ambassador of Mexico to China, Mexico**Moderator: Indrani Bagchi**, Chief Executive Officer, Ananta Aspen Centre, India

DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024	
1530-1630	<p>Development Deficit: Towards a Post 2030 Agenda</p> <p>In the post-pandemic era, the global community needs a new framework for development and cooperation that is more agile, inclusive, and effective in addressing the complex challenges of our times. It must also ensure sustainable and equitable outcomes. Enhanced cooperation between the private sector, policymakers and civil society is vital here, to develop an agenda that takes into consideration the interests of diverse stakeholders and especially the Global South.</p> <p>What kinds of platforms, processes and cooperation mechanisms are needed to create additional sources of finance for development? How can the private sector be a partner in this process? What should be the goals and timelines of a post-2030 development agenda? How can South-South cooperation shape this agenda, and ensure a more inclusive and agile framework for development? What role will the circular economy and sustainable production and consumption mechanisms play?</p> <p>Virtual Address: Amina J. Mohammed, Deputy Secretary-General, United Nations; Chair, United Nations Sustainable Development Group</p> <p>Panel Discussion:</p> <p>D.N. Dhungyel, Minister for Foreign Affairs and External Trade, Bhutan Narayan Prakash Saud, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nepal Tatjana Jović, Advisor to the President, Serbia Angelo George, Chief Executive Officer, Bisleri, India Isabelle Tschan, Resident Representative a.i, UNDP India Moderator: Jacqueline Lam, Regional Director for Asia, Sustainable Energy for All, Singapore</p>
1630-1640	<p>Ministerial Remarks</p> <p>Rajkumar Ranjan Singh, Minister of State for External Affairs, India</p>
1640-1650	Break

DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024	
1650-1740	<p>Her Road from India: From Boardrooms to Global Institutions</p> <p>Moving beyond tokenism to actual and effective representation of women in positions of power and decision-making requires political will. India has shown this through legal provisions to enhance female representation. This panel will discuss how female representation can be increased across domains and geographies – including the private sector and international governance.</p> <p>Can we rely on the incumbents in positions of power – namely, men – to cede space? If not, how can we carve that space? How can we ensure that multilateral institutions reflect the enhanced role that women now occupy in national and local governance? How do we increase the number of women in foreign policy? How can we move closer to a world in which women are employed at equal positions and in equivalent numbers as men – and paid as much? Have we made sufficient advances in ensuring that women are represented in the academic and professional tracks – from AI to energy – that will determine tomorrow’s economic outcomes? Can maternity be turned from a disadvantage, to be compensated for, to an advantage in the workplace?</p> <p>Smriti Irani, Minister of Women and Child Development and Minister of Minority Affairs, India</p> <p>Angela Rayner, Shadow Deputy Prime Minister; Labour MP for Ashton-under-Lyne; Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, United Kingdom</p> <p>Ayoade Alakija, Chair, Board of Directors, FIND; Co-Chair, G7 Impact Investment Initiative in Global Health, United Kingdom</p> <p>Masuda Bhatti, Information Commissioner, Bangladesh</p> <p>Moderator: Shombi Sharp, UN Resident Coordinator, India</p>
1740-1800	Break

DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024

1800-1850

Talking Heads: Solutions from the South

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Paolo Magri, Executive Vice President, ISPI, Italy

Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India

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

DAY THREE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2024	
1850-1950	<p>From the Aegean Sea to the South China Sea: Responding to Maritime Sieges</p> <p>Scene Setter: Randy Howard, Vice President, Global Pursuits, Lockheed Martin, United States</p> <p>Maritime strategies remain pivotal for countries, often proving decisive in war. Even as the spectre of continental warfare reemerges, the significance of maritime strategies remains indispensable. Recent political developments in Taiwan, the criticality of supply routes and key materials and heightened political tensions will change how countries interact in this region. Sea routes to the Mediterranean are in peril already with states and non-states acting on these to pursue their objectives. It is critical that sustainable and effective frameworks be put into place now by democratic, like-minded countries in the wider Indo-Pacific.</p> <p>Can lessons from historical precedents inform contemporary strategies? How can nations effectively respond to and mitigate maritime threats posed by China's expansiveness and political muscularity? What are the new partnerships necessary to safeguard the dense trading links between the Indo-Pacific and the Med-Atlantic? Are our defence capabilities in need of a significant upgrade to cope with the new disorder on the high seas?</p> <p>Adm. R Hari Kumar, Chief of Naval Staff, India Adm. John C. Aquilino, Commander, US Indo-Pacific Command, United States Adm. Nicolas Vaujour, Chief of the Naval Staff, France Adm. Sir Ben Key, First Sea Lord and Chief of Naval Staff, United Kingdom Air Marshal Robert Chipman, Chief of the Air Force, Australia Moderator: Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>
1950-2000	Closing Remarks: Vinay Mohan Kwatra , Foreign Secretary, India
2000 Onwards	Dinner
2000-2130	<i>Shahjehan</i> Raisina Young Fellows Alumni Dinner
Dinner Conversation <i>(By Invite Only)</i>	
2200 <i>(By Invite Only)</i>	Raisina Afterparty

RAISINA QUAD THINK TANK FORUM

Sushma Swaraj Bhawan

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 2024

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

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

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 2024	
1310-1350	<p>Session 3: The Quad Tech Network: The Emerging Tech and Connectivity Opportunity</p> <p>This session will explore the growing potential for collaboration in emerging technologies among the Quad countries. It will assess the progress made by the existing tech initiatives and what additional steps the group can and should take in this domain.</p> <p>What are the most effective models for collaborative research and development on technology within the Quad? How and why has collaboration on emerging tech emerged as a key pillar for the Quad partnership? Can the Quad create new digital infrastructure that could serve the development needs of the region, while also respecting key security considerations? What role does trust play in the future of tech supply chains and technology transfer? How does a partnership like the Quad affect the flows of investment and innovation, and is it time for a Quad Start-Up fund for the region?</p> <p>Michael Bareja, Deputy Director, Cyber, Technology and Security Program, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Australia Rajeswari Rajagopalan, Director, Centre for Security, Strategy, and Technology, Observer Research Foundation, India Vikram Singh, Senior Advisory, United States Institute of Peace, United States Yuka Koshino, Associate Fellow, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Japan Moderator: Rudra Chaudhuri, Director, Carnegie India, India</p>
1350-1400	<p>Closing Remarks:</p> <p>Nagaraj Naidu, Joint Secretary (AMS), Ministry of External Affairs, India Raghuram S., Joint Secretary (Policy Planning & Research), Ministry of External Affairs, India</p>
1400	Lunch

Raisina IdeasPod

In partnership with Asian News International

The Asian Matrix: Taiwan's Road Ahead

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

Sana Hashmi, Fellow, Taiwan-Asia Exchange Foundation, India

Satoru Nagao, Non-Resident Fellow, Hudson Institute, Japan

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

Has the State surrendered to the Street?

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

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

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

The Forgotten Battlefield – The Fight for Development

M. Hari Menon, India Country Director, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, India

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

Moderator: Sunaina Kumar, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

From Athens to Delhi: The Road to Growth, Stability and Sustainability

In Conversation

Kyriakos Mitsotakis, Prime Minister of Greece

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

Decluttering the Discourse: Women of Iran

Zohreh Nosrat Kharazmi, Professor, Tehran University, Iran

Fariba Alasvand, Professor, Women and Family Research Institute, Iran

Masoomeh Seif Afjehee, Head of the Department of Human Rights and Women's Studies Centre for Political and International Studies, Iran

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

In Conversation

Gabrielius Landsbergis, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lithuania

Moderator: Harsh V. Pant, Vice President, Studies & Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India

Decoding the 21st Century Workforce

Martin Kocher, Federal Minister of Labour and Economy, Austria

Narek Mkrtchyan, Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, Armenia

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

In Conversation

Luminița Odobescu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Romania

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

In Conversation

Tobias Billström, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sweden

Moderator: Ajay Bisaria, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

In Conversation

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

Moderator: Malancho Chakrabarty, Senior Fellow and Deputy Director (Research), Observer Research Foundation, India

Transforming the Blue from Brown to Green

Olivier Poivre d'Arvor, French Ambassador for the Poles and Maritime Issues, France

Finn Mortensen, Executive Director, State of Green, Denmark

Johannah Christensen, Chief Executive Officer, Global Maritime Forum, Denmark

Moderator: Mannat Jaspal, Associate Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

In Conversation

Janaina Tewaney Mencomo, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Panama

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

In Conversation

Maneesh Gobin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Regional Integration and International Trade, Mauritius

Moderator: Nilanjan Ghosh, Director, Observer Research Foundation, India

Fireside Chat: War from 1945 to Ukraine

David Petraeus, Former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, United States

Moderator: Rajiv Sinha, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

In Conversation

Elina Valtonen, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Finland

Moderator: Mihir Sharma, Director, Centre for Economy and Growth Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India

In Conversation

Elmedin Konaković, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bosnia and Herzegovina

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

In Conversation

Dominique Hasler, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Liechtenstein

Moderator: Mihir Sharma, Director, Centre for Economy and Growth Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India

In Conversation

Margus Tsahkna, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Estonia

Moderator: Ajay Bisaria, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

24 Months: Deconstructing the Battlefield

Alexander Gabuev, Director, Carnegie Russia Eurasia Center, Germany

Nico Lange, Senior Fellow, Munich Security Conference, Germany

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

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

In Conversation

Lars Løkke Rasmussen, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Denmark

Moderator: Mihir Sharma, Director, Centre for Economy and Growth Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India

Dousing the Flames: A New Framework Against Terror

Max Abrahms, Professor, Northeastern University, United States

Oshrit Birvadker, Senior Fellow, Jerusalem Institute for Strategy and Security, Israel

Sushant Sareen, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

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

Is the Arctic the next Global Highway?

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

Valery Konyshov, Professor, St. Petersburg State University, Russia

Moderator: Rajeshwari Pillai Rajagopalan, Director of the Centre for Security, Strategy, and Technology, Observer Research Foundation, India

In Conversation

Krišjānis Kariņš, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Latvia

Moderator: Harsh V. Pant, Vice President, Studies & Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India

In Conversation

Air Marshal Vivek Ram Chaudhari, Chief of the Air Staff, India

Moderator: Harsh V. Pant, Vice President, Studies & Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India

Multilateralism, Pluralism, and Global Governance

Manuel Lafont Rapnouil, Head of Policy Planning, Ministry of Europe and Foreign Affairs, France

Kairat Sarybay, Secretary General of CICA (Conference on Confidence Building Measures in Asia), Kazakhstan

Moderator: Alica Kizeková, Senior Research Fellow, Slovak Foreign Policy Association, Slovakia

Safeguarding Development in Europe

Tigran Yepremyan, Dean of the Faculty of International Relations, Yerevan State University, Armenia

Nino Shekriladze, Head of the United Nations Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia, Georgia

Moderator: Kabir Taneja, Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

The Future of the Western Balkans

Marija Risteska, Founder and Executive Director, Center for Research and Policy Making, North Macedonia

Ornela Çuçi, Vice President, IKAR Holdings, Albania

Moderator: İlke Toygür, Director, Center for Innovation in Global Politics and Economics, Spain

In Conversation

Vyacheslav Nikonov, First Deputy Chairman, Committee on International Affairs of the State Duma, Russia

Moderator: Harsh V. Pant, Vice President, Studies & Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India

In Conversation

Anwar bin Mohammed Gargash, Diplomatic Advisor to the President, United Arab Emirates
Moderator: Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation, India

In Conversation

Margus Tsahkna, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Estonia
Moderator: Ajay Bisaria, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

In Conversation

Igli Hasani, Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs, Albania
Moderator: Dhruva Jaishankar, Executive Director, Observer Research Foundation America, United States

In Conversation

Khalil Shirgholami, Vice President of IPIS, Iran
Moderator: Kabir Taneja, Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

The Pakistan Poser

Geoffrey Van Orden, Former Chairman, European Parliament Delegation for Relations with India, United Kingdom
Leslie Vinjamuri, Director, US and Americas Programme, Chatham House; Professor of International Relations, SOAS University of London, United Kingdom
Ajay Bisaria, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India
Moderator: Smita Prakash, Chief Editor and Deputy Chief Executive Officer, Asian News International, India

In Conversation

Narayan Prakash Saud, Foreign Minister, Nepal
Moderator: Harsh V. Pant, Vice President, Studies & Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India

Rights, Security and Innovation in the Digital Century

Henri Verdier, Ambassador for Digital Affairs, France
Kaja Ciglic, Senior Director, Microsoft, Slovenia
Moderator: Trisha Ray, Associate Director, and Resident Fellow, Atlantic Council, United States

In Conversation

Jan Lipavský, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic
Moderator: Dhruva Jaishankar, Executive Director, Observer Research Foundation America, United States

In Conversation

Juraj Blonar, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Slovakia

Moderator: Jaibal Naduvath, Vice President and Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

The Power of Storytelling

Sara Wahedi, Chief Executive Officer and Founder, Ehtesab, Afghanistan

Aakanksha Tangri, Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Re:Set, Canada

The Year of the Dragon

Jorge Quiroga, Former President, Bolivia

Noah Barkin, Senior Advisor, China Practice, Rhodium Group, United States

Philippe Le Corre, Senior Fellow, Asia Society Policy Institute, France

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

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

Decluttering the Discourse: Iranian Women

Mojgan Golchin, Head of Department, International Educational Cooperation Centre for Political and International Studies, Iran

Neda Raefipour, Diplomat, IPIS, Iran

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

Strategic Autonomy for Asia in a Decoupling World

Hiroyuki Akita, Foreign & International Security Commentator, Nikkei, Japan

Heungchong Kim, President, The Korea Association of APEC Studies, Republic of Korea

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

Moderator: Rajeshwari Pillai Rajagopalan, Director of the Centre for Security, Strategy and Technology, Observer Research Foundation, India

Associated Events

FEBRUARY 19-29, 2024

Raisina Young Fellows Programme - QUAD Edition

FEBRUARY 21, 2024

0900-1300 *Jehangir* **Raisina-IE Global Student Challenge**

11:00-1300 *Roshanara* **Asia Bridge: Economic Partnerships for the 21st Century**
- Closed-Door Indo-German Business Breakfast

FEBRUARY 22, 2024

1000-1130 *Roshanara* **Raisina-IE Global Student Challenge**

1100-1200 *Jehangir* **Book Panel: India-US Perspectives on Nuclear Security**

1800-1930 *Mumtaz* **Tripling Renewables: India as the new Safe Haven for investors in clean energy**

FEBRUARY 23, 2024

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

FEBRUARY 24, 2024

0900-1300 *ORF Office* **India-Russia Track 2 Dialogue**

1500-1800 *ORF Office* **India-Nigeria Community Bridge** (Day 1)

FEBRUARY 25, 2024

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

RAISINA 2024 PARTNERS





RAISINA

DIALOGUE 2024

CHATURANGA

CONFLICT, CONTEST, COOPERATE, CREATE