



# kālachakra

PEOPLE PEACE PLANET

## CONFERENCE BOOKLET

17-19 March 2025  
New Delhi





**RAISINA**

DIALOGUE 2025

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PEOPLE PEACE PLANET



# RAISINA

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## DIALOGUE 2025

Organising Partners



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Government of India



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The information contained in this booklet was gathered from the speakers, participants, and other key organisers of the event. Although due diligence has been applied while editing and publishing the book, inadvertent human errors are sometimes unavoidable. The programme provided in this booklet is accurate at the time of production and publication. Please check [www.raisinadialogue.org/agenda](http://www.raisinadialogue.org/agenda) for the latest agenda.

For any publishing or factual errors, please notify [publish@orfonline.org](mailto:publish@orfonline.org)



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**MESSAGES**



### **MESSAGE**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**(Dr. S. Jaishankar)**



### **MESSAGE FROM THE FOREIGN SECRETARY OF INDIA**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**(Vikram Misri)**



## Sunjoy Joshi

### Chairman, Observer Research Foundation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**- Sunjoy Joshi**



**Samir Saran**  
**President, Observer Research Foundation**  
**Curator, Raisina Dialogue**

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

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

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

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

We have broadened our audience in other ways as well. Our Young Fellows programmes have been running for 15 years, even predating the Raisina Dialogue. Our alumni—we've counted



2,500 so far—are helping change the world through leadership positions in government, business, and civil society. At our Raisina Forum for the Future of Diplomacy, early-career diplomats gather to build the bridges needed in this complex new era.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**- Samir Saran**



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**PROGRAMME**



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## PROGRAMME

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

DAY ONE: MONDAY, MARCH 17, 2025

1100-1150

Mumtaz

### Curtain Raisers

#### Stress Test: Treaties Face Moment of Truth

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

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

**Szu-Chien Hsu**, Advisor, Taiwan Foundation for Democracy

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

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

**Carolin Albrecht**, Managing Director, Berlin Global Dialogue, Germany

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

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

## DAY ONE: MONDAY, MARCH 17, 2025

1100-1215

Roshanara

**Curtain Raisers****Churning the Indo-Pacific: Investment, Innovation and Energy**

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

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

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

**Initiators**

**Karan Bilimoria**, Member, House of Lords, United Kingdom

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

**Osamu Yamamoto**, Chief Executive Officer, Unison Capital Management Pte. Ltd., Japan

**Ruchira Shukla**, Co-Founder & Managing Partner, Synapses, India

**Sara Ahmadian**, Founder, Anar Ventures, United States of America

## DAY ONE: MONDAY, MARCH 17, 2025

1230-1320

Mumtaz

### **Curtain Raisers** at Mumtaz

#### **Guardians and Angels: Preventing Disinvestment from Development**

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

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

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

**Susan Ferguson**, Country Representative India, UN Women

**Pamla Gopaul**, Senior Programme Officer, Data Analyst, African Union Development Agency

**Sonam Yangchen**, Health Policy and Systems Researcher, Institute of Health Partners, Bhutan

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

**Moderator: Louise van Schaik**, Head of Unit EU & Global Affairs, Clingendael, Netherlands

## DAY ONE: MONDAY, MARCH 17, 2025

1230-1320

Roshanara

**Curtain Raisers****Crisis Coordination: New Economic Order Imperatives**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



## DAY ONE: MONDAY, MARCH 17, 2025

|                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1800-1900                             | Durbar   |
|                                       | <b>Inaugural Session</b>   |
| 1900-1945                             | <b>Transition</b>  |
| 1945-2145                             | Shahjehan  |
| Inaugural Dinners<br>(By Invite Only) | <p><b>Welcome Remarks:</b> <b>Vikram Misri</b>, Foreign Secretary, India</p> <p><b>Featured Address:</b> <b>India's Tech Journey: Innovation, Transformation, and the Road Ahead</b><br/><b>Nandan Nilekani</b>, Co-Founder and Chairman, Infosys, India</p> <p><b>Panel Discussion: Compete and Cooperate: Securing the Future</b></p> <p>Globalisation is being reshaped by a triad of factors: security concerns and sanctions; economic nationalism; and the search for resilience and trust. The structure of re-globalisation emerging under these conditions will impact trade, connectivity, and investment. This panel will examine the contours of the emerging geo-economic order and discuss how investments—including in connectivity—affect growth and national security. It will also address the various ways in which nations respond to demands to choose between geo-economic poles.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How can re-globalisation balance national security concerns with the need for open, inclusive, and sustainable economic networks? How are security concerns being communicated to enterprise and industry?</li> <li>• How are countries that serve as hubs of trade and finance responding to the forces that pressure them to take sides? Will it give them greater or lesser agency?</li> <li>• Can existing trade networks remain viable? How will new infrastructure be designed and financed amidst this global churn?</li> <li>• What role does trust play in economic decisions today? How can countries and companies build trust in and with each other?</li> </ul> <p><b>Tanja Fajon</b>, Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Slovenia<br/> <b>Hassan El Khatib</b>, Minister of Investment and Foreign Trade, Egypt<br/> <b>Maka Botchorishvili</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Georgia<br/> <b>Jonathan Powell</b>, National Security Adviser, United Kingdom<br/> <b>Rizwan Soomar</b>, Chief Executive Officer and Managing Director, Middle East, North Africa and India Subcontinent, DP World, United Arab Emirates<br/> <b>Moderator:</b> <b>Samir Saran</b>, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p> |

## DAY ONE: MONDAY, MARCH 17, 2025

1945-2145

Mumtaz

Inaugural Dinners  
(By Invite Only)**Concert of Oceans: Towards A Digital Indo-Pacific**

The Indo-Pacific region will increasingly be shaped by technology partnerships on cybersecurity and the digital economy, particularly in payments, data flows, and supply chains. As QUAD, ASEAN, BIMSTEC, and other regional stakeholders develop their policies, it may have now become possible to create an interconnected ecosystem—a 'Digital Ocean'. This panel will explore how countries across the region can enhance cooperation on governance, as well as develop a vision that promotes economic security, innovation, and resilience.

- How can the Indo-Pacific region balance digital innovation with user privacy and data sovereignty across diverse regulatory landscapes?
- What are the threats and vulnerabilities that confront this sector? What is the response to them? How can like-minded countries partner to respond to cyber threats and make the digital space safe and secure?
- What are the innovative models for public-private partnerships that Indo-Pacific countries can embrace to accelerate fintech adoption, especially in underserved markets?
- How can regional stakeholders in the Indo-Pacific create a unified framework that secures cross-border data flows, ensures that digital trade and investment thrive, and does not compromise cybersecurity?

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

**Amit Shukla**, Joint Secretary, Cyber Diplomacy Division, Ministry of External Affairs, India

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

**Melissa Conley Tyler**, Executive Director, Asia-Pacific Development, Diplomacy & Defence Dialogue, Australia

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

**Moderator: Sharon Stirling**, Chief Operating Officer, ORF America, United States of America

1945-2145

Roshanara

Inaugural Dinners  
(By Invite Only)**Resilience and Diversification: The Trade Recast**

**Conversation with Piyush Goyal**, Minister for Commerce and Industry, India

**Moderator: Ashok Malik**, Partner and Chair, India Practice, The Asia Group, India

## DAY ONE: MONDAY, MARCH 17, 2025

1945-2145

Jehangir

Inaugural Dinners  
(By Invite Only)**Making Money Meet Mitigation: Green Finance and Nativist Risks**

Finance is central to the fight against climate change. Directing capital towards sustainable projects reduces greenhouse gas emissions and promotes resilient green growth. However, traditional financing may not be designed for the unique challenges faced by the Global South, and innovative financing instruments such as hedging mechanisms, guarantees, and green bonds are essential. Integrating climate considerations with development finance and aligning investments with the Paris Agreement goals are imperatives for a sustainable and equitable future. This panel will explore innovative financing for a resilient future.

- How can governments and global regulatory bodies promote responsible and sustainable financial practices?
- What innovative financing mechanisms and de-risking instruments can help make green transitions more affordable in the Global South?
- What are the social and ecological consequences of financial practices that prioritise short-term profits over long-term environmental health?
- Is the Conference of the Parties (COP) still effective in addressing climate change, or has it outlived its benefits? Should new forums be established to tackle the issues of green financing and equity between the Global North and Global South?

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

**Amitabh Kant**, G20 Sherpa, India

**Ornela Cuci**, Former Vice Minister of Environment and Tourism, Albania

**Osamu Yamamoto**, Chief Executive Officer, Unison Capital Management Pte. Ltd., Japan

**Yasmine Moezinia**, Program Director, Climate Finance, Sequoia Climate Foundation, United States of America

**Moderator: Mannat Jaspal**, Director and Fellow, Climate and Energy, ORF Middle East, United Arab Emirates

2145-2220

**Break**

## DAY ONE: MONDAY, MARCH 17, 2025

2220-2310

Mumtaz

Conversations  
Over Kahwa(For Speakers  
and Delegates  
only)**Secret City: Agents, Aid, Agenda**

In today's world, aid, trade, and influence operations are perceived as being readily interchangeable tools of foreign policy. Given the growth of concerns about development agencies and their weaponisation, possible political agendas underlying such cross-border mechanisms is the subject of domestic and international discussion. This panel explores the games states play and how aid agencies and the private sector further their strategic interests.

- Are the revelations about USAID just the tip of the iceberg? Will this result in irreparable damage to development agencies or will it make this sector more transparent?
- How can we protect the SDGs from the subversive agendas of nations and corporations? What will rebuild trust?
- Will domestic social sector organisations dither from partnering with foreign nations? Will countries now demand full transparency and accountability from donor agencies like India and some others do?
- What can be done to prevent international organisations from being hijacked by nations and non-state actors to further their own interests?

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

**Jürgen Stock**, Former Secretary General, INTERPOL

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

**Bonnie Glick**, Adjunct Senior Fellow, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, United States of America

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

**Moderator: Padmaja Joshi**, Senior Executive Editor, TV9 Group, India

## DAY ONE: MONDAY, MARCH 17, 2025

2220-2310

Roshanara

Conversations  
Over Kahwa(For Speakers  
and Delegates  
only)**As Atlantis Sinks, Does China Rise?**

The transatlantic relationship, keystone of the global order since 1945, is now under intense pressure. Sharpening divisions over trade, technology, culture, and climate change, compounded by the looming question of the future of America's security guarantee to Europe, threaten a head-on collision. This panel will deliberate on the winners and losers in this emerging confrontation.

- Is Europe the new frontline in America's culture wars? Does it face the choice of either aligning with the current US administration's cultural agenda or enduring a transatlantic decoupling that pushes it towards a China that does not share its values?
- Is the US salami-slicing Europe by selectively engaging with its EU partners? What implications does this have for the future of European unity?
- Has Europe been excessively dependent on US guarantees and become incapable of surviving as an industrial or security actor on its own?
- Can Europe wean itself off from economic interdependence with China? Will it even feel the need to do so if the transatlantic alliance frays beyond repair? Who will win the battle for the soul and treasury of Europe: Washington DC, or Beijing?

**Kishore Mahbubani**, Distinguished Fellow, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore

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

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

**Peter Grk**, Secretary General, Bled Strategic Forum, Slovenia

**James Carafano**, Senior Counselor to the President and E.W. Richardson Fellow, The Heritage Foundation, United States of America

**Moderator: Tara Varma**, Visiting Fellow, Brookings Institution, United States of America

## DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

0730-0845

Shahjehan

Conversations  
over Breakfast**Multipolar Disorder: No Takers for a G2**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

|                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| 0730-0845                    | Mumtaz  |
| Conversations over Breakfast | <p><b>Climate-Proofing the Indo-Pacific: Food, Water, Economic Resilience</b></p> <p>The Indo-Pacific is the frontline of the climate crisis. The need for food and water security, alongside economic resilience, is paramount for this region; countries are prioritising stronger supply chains and disaster risk management. This panel will explore strategies, partnerships, and networks for financing climate adaptation, expanding access to critical resources and addressing regional vulnerabilities through cross-sector collaboration.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How can the Indo-Pacific region build resilient food and water systems that can withstand the increasing pressures of climate change?</li> <li>• In what ways can climate-smart agriculture contribute to building more resilient food systems in the region?</li> <li>• What innovative financing models and partnerships are needed to support climate adaptation efforts, particularly for vulnerable communities?</li> <li>• How can regional governments, businesses, and civil society strengthen collaborative networks to enhance supply chain and economic stability and mitigate disaster risk?</li> </ul> <p><b>Silvia Bender</b>, State Secretary, Federal Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Germany<br/> <b>Nilanjan Ghosh</b>, Vice President, Development Studies, Observer Research Foundation, India<br/> <b>Claire Alembik</b>, Investment Specialist, Asian Development Bank<br/> <b>Lise Breuil</b>, Country Director, Agence Française de Développement, India<br/> <b>Robert Kaan</b>, President, Asia Pacific, Corteva Agriscience<br/> <b>Moderator: Erin Watson</b>, Founder and Managing Director, Baker &amp; York, Australia</p>  |
| 0730-0845                    | Jehangir  |
| Conversations over Breakfast | <p><b>The Iran Factor: Crisis, Convergence, Competition</b></p> <p>The attack by Hamas on Israel in October 2023 and the muscular response that followed is reshaping what was already a fast-changing extended Middle East. The foreign policy aims of many countries, including Iran and global powers with a footprint in the region, have been re-oriented. Tehran has re-engaged the Arab world and sought new political and diplomatic ties within the region and with the Global South. Dramatic changes in Syria have further complicated matters and raised Turkey's stakes. The US and Europe are back as players in the region's fractious politics. This panel will examine the multiple agendas at play today and ask whether a 'new' Middle East can emerge from the ruins of the 'old'.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How important is a rapprochement between Iran and influential Arab states when it comes to the success of a ceasefire in Gaza?</li> <li>• Are the US's new suggestions for a resolution to the Gaza crisis a challenge for the region, or is it an opportunity to forge a regional counter-response?</li> <li>• What is the future of China-led mediation in the Middle East? Can Beijing outmanoeuvre Washington DC?</li> <li>• How will great-power competition and influence play out in the Middle East? Could it lead to the region working together to insulate itself?</li> </ul> <p><b>Vahan Kostanyan</b>, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Armenia<br/> <b>Seyed Mohammad-Kazem Sajjadpour</b>, Distinguished Senior Fellow, Institute for Political and International Studies and Advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Iran<br/> <b>Manish Tewari</b>, Member of Parliament, Lok Sabha, India<br/> <b>Hind Kabawat</b>, Director, Interfaith Peacebuilding, George Mason University Center for World Religions, Diplomacy, &amp; Conflict Resolution, United States of America<br/> <b>Maha Yahya</b>, Director, Malcolm H. Kerr Carnegie Middle East Center, Lebanon<br/> <b>Moderator: Mohamad Ali Harisi</b>, Foreign Editor, The National, United Arab Emirates</p> |



## DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

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| 0730-0845                    | Roshanara  |
| Conversations over Breakfast | <p><b>Digital Divide to Digital Solution: Tech-First Path to SDGs</b></p> <p>With only 17% of the targets of the SDGs on track, the use of tech-driven development solutions needs to be accelerated. The challenges are foundational – including unequal opportunities to access tech, uneven levels of digital transformation, and a shortage of investment in proven technological needs. This panel will explore how leveraging technology can bridge digital divides and boost progress on the SDGs and decarbonisation.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How can we ensure equitable access to digital infrastructure in the Global South?</li> <li>• How can the rollout of tech solutions and access to development finance be ring-fenced from geopolitical volatility?</li> <li>• How can government and private sector work together on scaling technology innovation and adoption to advance the development and decarbonisation agenda?</li> <li>• How can the economic gains from digital growth made by private capital be re-invested into bridging the digital divide and advancing the SDGs? Can impact funds play this role?</li> </ul> <p><b>Abhishek Singh</b>, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology, India<br/> <b>Andreas Urschitz</b>, Chief Marketing Officer and Member of the Management Board, Infineon Technologies AG, Germany<br/> <b>Del Titus Bawuah</b>, Chief Executive Officer, Web3 Africa Group, Ghana<br/> <b>Marianne Demarchi</b>, Chief Executive Officer, Europe Middle East and Africa, Swift<br/> <b>Stephanie Diepeveen</b>, Senior Research Fellow, Digital Societies, ODI Global, United Kingdom<br/> <b>Moderator: Mohamed Alsharhan</b>, Managing Director, World Governments Summit; Director of Government Leaders and Talents Department, Ministry of Cabinet Affairs; United Arab Emirates</p> |
| 0845-0900                    | Transition   |
| 0900-0910                    | Durbar   |
|                              | <p><b>Ministerial Remarks</b></p> <p><b>Towards a 'Green Future' for Sustainable Development: India's Climate Initiatives for Environmental Cooperation</b></p> <p><b>Kirti Vardhan Singh</b>, Minister of State, Ministry of External Affairs, India</p>  |

## DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

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

## DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

1120-1220

Durbār

### Waging Peace: Looking Back to Look Ahead

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

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

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

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

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

**Espen Barth Eide**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Norway

**Shashi Tharoor**, Member of Parliament, Lok Sabha;

Chairperson, Parliamentary Standing Committee on External Affairs, India

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

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

1120-1220

Mumtaz

(Parallel Session)

### Blue Economy: Balancing Prosperity, Sustainability and Resilience

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

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

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

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

**Teenah Jutton**, Former Member of Parliament, Mauritius

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

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

**Moderator:** Ambika Vishwanath, Director, Kubernein Initiative, India

## DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

1220-1310

Durbar

**The Peace Tableau: Actions and Aspirations**

In the three years since February 2022, traditional assumptions about diplomacy, military deterrence, and regional stability have been upended. Pathways toward peace might involve complex compromises and strategic recalibrations. Uncertainty surrounding any potential deal is compounded by shifting global alignments, particularly the impact of the changed US political landscape and developments within the European Union. This panel will explore the evolving dynamics of the peace efforts and the roles of various global players in shaping the future of this conflict.

- What is the new vision for Ukrainian, and therefore European security? Who can contribute, and how will Europe become a security actor?
- What should be the contours of any peace agreement, and which actors must play a pivotal role if peace is to last?
- Is the redrawing of maps inevitable—and if so, how can we ensure that any newly-drawn lines hold?
- Is it possible to reconstruct Ukraine without the US? Can Europe do this by itself?

**Mihai Popșoi**, Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Moldova

**Andrii Sybiha**, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ukraine

**Baiba Braže**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Latvia

**Péter Szijjártó**, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Hungary

**Hanna Notte**, Director, Eurasia Nonproliferation Program, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, United States of America

**Moderator: DB Venkatesh Varma**, Former Ambassador of India to Russia, India

1310-1510

Shahjehan

Lunch  
Conversations  
(By Invite Only)

**Uninterrupted Peaks: Rethinking Energy Access, Affordability, and Security**

The politics and economics of energy have shifted in 2025, prompting countries to redesign strategies for access and economic security. Emerging economies and the cradles of future growth fear volatility in energy prices; advanced economies must contend with the political fallout of energy policy. New and alternative fuels—from hydrogen to nuclear power—are attracting attention. This panel will explore how the energy pathways available to the world have shifted, and how technological and financial innovation can help fuel nations' aspirations.

- How can global energy policies be rebalanced to support emerging market energy needs while still advancing renewables?
- How can we integrate hydropower and nuclear energy into a diversified, future-proof energy portfolio?
- Can sustainable biofuels become a viable and profitable alternative, and what innovations are needed to realise their potential? What role do international partnerships play in this effort?
- Are the financial markets ready to invest in nuclear energy and newer forms of energy?
- With peak oil still on the horizon, what role can investments in carbon energy storage and science play in commercialising traditional energy sources? Which technological innovations can help us re-think energy?

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

**Rafael Mariano Grossi**, Director General, International Atomic Energy Agency

**Bjørn Lomborg**, President, Copenhagen Consensus Center, Denmark

**Pramod Chaudhari**, Founder and Chairman, Praj Industries, India

**Divyata Ashiya**, Managing Director, Fortescue Capital, United Kingdom

**Moderator: Kelly Gallagher**, Dean and Professor of Energy & Environmental Policy, The Fletcher School, Tufts University, United States of America

## DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

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| 1310-1510                                  | Mumtaz  |
| Lunch<br>Conversations<br>(By Invite Only) | <p><b>Policy Perch: Technology, Industry, Individuals</b></p> <p><b>Opening Remarks: Ricky Gill</b>, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, National Security Council Senior Director for South and Central Asia, United States of America</p> <p>Grand strategists face a complex web of actors and issues. They must deal with transnational tech platforms and industries that have quasi-sovereign capabilities. Issues like climate change and the SDGs, once the subjects of global consensus, are today embroiled in zero-sum games. This panel will bring together policymakers, thought leaders, and industry experts to debate the key drivers of contemporary national strategies and examine how technology, industry, and global institutions are reshaping global priorities.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How are non-state actors, such as multinational corporations and tech giants, influencing national strategies and global decision-making in ways that traditional state-to-state relations cannot?</li> <li>• In what ways is the evolving role of technology reshaping global policy priorities, particularly in areas like climate change and the SDGs?</li> <li>• How can governments balance industry interests with public welfare in an increasingly tech-driven and competitive global landscape?</li> <li>• What role do individuals, particularly thought leaders and activists, play in shaping national strategies and challenging global power structures?</li> </ul> <p><b>Benedetta Berti</b>, Director, Policy Planning, Office of the Secretary General, NATO<br/> <b>Muath Alwari</b>, Director, Policy Planning Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Arab Emirates<br/> <b>Raghuram S</b>, Joint Secretary, Policy Planning &amp; Research, Ministry of External Affairs, India<br/> <b>Tristan Aureau</b>, Head of the Policy Planning Department, Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, France<br/> <b>Rory Medcalf</b>, Head, National Security College, Australian National University, Australia<br/> <b>Moderator: Elena Lazarou</b>, Senior Research Fellow, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy; Associate Fellow, US and the Americas Programme, Chatham House, United Kingdom</p> |
| 1310-1510                                  | Jehangir  |
| Lunch<br>Conversations<br>(By Invite Only) | <p><b>Interaction with Raisina Young Fellows</b></p> <p><b>Shaping Sustainable Cities</b></p> <p>This session will explore how sustainable urban development is shaped by international cooperation. The creation of new hubs for industry and innovation lies at the intersection of diplomacy and urbanism. Expo City Dubai is a starting point for a discussion about the future of sustainable cities.</p> <p><b>John McGinnis</b>, Senior Manager, Programme and Events, Expo City Dubai, United Arab Emirates<br/> <b>Misha Mittal</b>, Senior Manager, City Advisory, Expo City Dubai, United Arab Emirates</p>  |

## DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

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| 1310-1510                                  | Roshanara   |
| Lunch<br>Conversations<br>(By Invite Only) | <p><b>Demographic Deficits: Migration, Education, Economic Growth</b></p> <p><b>Presentation:</b> <b>Sanjeev Krishan</b>, Chairman, PwC, India</p> <p>A paradox underlies current approaches to skilling and migration. Developed countries, facing demographic deficits, require skilled labour to re-energise growth but face populist pressure to restrict immigration. Meanwhile, developing countries are struggling to upgrade human capital and educational systems to meet new demands, driven in part by technological innovation. There are new opportunities for productivity and income growth through upskilling and labour migration—but a re-evaluation of facilitative approaches beckons. This panel will explore solutions to align skilling, migration, and employment strategies for the common good.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How can countries effectively bridge gaps in aspirations, skills, and capabilities to cultivate a future-ready workforce?</li> <li>• Can digital innovation and automation reshape education and skilling to meet the demands of a changing labour market?</li> <li>• Can we create a more global workforce that increases incentives to invest in education and human capital in emerging economies, while also meeting political demands and economic needs in the developed world?</li> <li>• Are primary, secondary, and tertiary education systems effectively imparting the skills required by a globalised workforce?</li> </ul> <p><b>James Lawless</b>, Minister for Further and Higher Education, Research, Innovation and Science, Ireland</p> <p><b>Ila Patnaik</b>, Chief Economist, Aditya Birla Group, India</p> <p><b>Karthik Muralidharan</b>, Tata Chancellor's Professor of Economics, University of California San Diego, United States of America</p> <p><b>Maitreyi Das</b>, Director, Trust Funds and Partner Relations, Development Finance, World Bank</p> <p><b>Manish Sabharwal</b>, Executive Vice Chairman, TeamLease Services, India</p> <p><b>Moderator:</b> <b>Terri Chapman</b>, Research Fellow, George Washington University Institute of Public Policy, United States of America</p> |
| 1310-1510                                  | Sheesh Mahal  |
| Lunch<br>Conversations<br>(By Invite Only) | <p><b>Interaction with the US-India AI Fellows</b></p> <p>This discussion will address key challenges and opportunities in AI development, governance, and cross-cultural cooperation between India and the US.</p> <p><b>Abhishek Singh</b>, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology, India</p> <p><b>Moderator:</b> <b>Andreas Kuehn</b>, Senior Fellow, ORF America, United States of America</p>   |

## DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

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| 1510-1600 | Durbar   |
|           | <p><b>The Continent Debates: Europe's Role in the World</b></p> <p>Europe's role on the global stage is being redefined. As a 'new America' emerges, focused on its domestic priorities and armed with unilateral strategies, Europe is reconsidering its own path—investing in security, technology, and infrastructure development to assert its influence. This panel will explore the strategic shifts necessary for Europe to lead in a multipolar world.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How can Europe redefine its strategic role to form a balanced partnership with a 'new America' in today's multipolar order? What key challenges must be addressed within Europe for the transatlantic alliance to endure?</li> <li>• How can the nations of Europe reinvigorate the continent's economy, particularly given the vast amounts of state aid being poured into frontier sectors in the US and China? How does the European Union view its economic security today, given its commitment to openness?</li> <li>• In what ways can Europe leverage its technological innovation and digital expertise to enhance its global influence alongside the US?</li> </ul> <p><b>Xavier Bettel</b>, Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade; Minister for Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Affairs, Luxembourg<br/> <b>Maria Malmer Stenergard</b>, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sweden<br/> <b>Ruben Brekelmans</b>, Minister of Defence, Netherlands<br/> <b>Diego Martinez Belio</b>, State Secretary for Foreign and Global Affairs, Spain<br/> <b>Florence Gaub</b>, Director of the Research Division, NATO Defense College, Italy<br/> <b>Moderator: Vanessa Ghanem</b>, Arab Affairs Editor, The National, United Arab Emirates</p> |
| 1600-1650 | Durbar   |
|           | <p><b>Avenues for the Americas: Deciphering the Latin Beat</b></p> <p>The nations in the American continents must navigate a newly assertive US and persistent economic courtship from China. Across the region, ideological affinities are intersecting with international relations and economic pragmatism. This panel will examine how policymakers in the region are balancing the practical imperatives of development with this complex geopolitical environment and highlight the opportunities and choices for an increasingly multipolar hemisphere.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How is domestic politics across the hemisphere responding to shifts in its largest economy, the US? What does this churn mean for China's increasing economic influence?</li> <li>• Are there any signs that a cohesive regional policy on issues such as trade and biodiversity is emerging?</li> <li>• What strategic partnerships are essential for Latin America to maintain autonomy while navigating divergent great-power interests? What role does an enhanced economic relationship with the EU play?</li> </ul> <p><b>Elmer Schialer Salcedo</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Peru<br/> <b>E. P. Chet Greene</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Antigua &amp; Barbuda<br/> <b>Héctor Cárdenas</b>, President, Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales, Mexico<br/> <b>Keiti da Rocha Gomes</b>, Director, International Studies, Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, Brazil<br/> <b>Aude Darnal</b>, Research Analyst and Project Manager, The Stimson Center, United States of America<br/> <b>Moderator: Carolina Chimoy</b>, Political Correspondent and News Presenter, Deutsche Welle, United States of America</p>   |



## DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

1600-1650

Shahjehan

(Parallel Session)

**Rescripting the Liberal Order: Can Tariffs Trump China?**

The increasing use of tariffs, barriers, and sanctions marks the abandonment of the liberal global order that created wealth and prosperity across the world. As nations turn to mercantilism, protectionism, and industrial policy to shield and nurture domestic industry, patterns of trade and investment are shifting as well. This panel will analyse the impact of economic nationalism on global growth, innovation, and trade.

- Is the use of tariffs and controls effective in controlling the path of investment and trade? Have they managed to reshape the technological destiny of nations, or will China's tech sector and others shake them off in time?
- Is the golden age of the multilateral trading system over, and must we rely on plurilateral or bilateral deals? Does that not advantage large trading powers like China?
- How can nations deal with the excess productive capacity that has been built up in China, and how can we restore our competitiveness?
- Can countries that are raising tariffs and other barriers offer the emerging world an economic proposition that competes effectively with China's, or will they cede global economic leadership to Beijing?

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

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

**Jane Holl Lute**, President and Chief Executive Officer, SICPA, United States of America

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

**Alicia Garcia Herrero**, Chief Economist, Asia Pacific, Natixis; Senior Fellow, Bruegel Hong Kong

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

## DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

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| 1600-1650          | Roshanara   |
| (Parallel Session) | <p><b>Checkmate or Comeback? EMDEs in the Great Global Macroeconomic Rebalancing (Raisina Economic Forum)</b></p> <p>Countries across the world are seeking to secure their growth paths while faced with regulatory and geopolitical uncertainty. Great-power rivalry and shifting domestic politics threaten to fragment the global economic architecture; multilateral institutions and constraints increasingly appear moribund. Leaders are in search of agile policy responses to shifting circumstances: from debt sustainability and new fiscal challenges to concerns about capital flight and currency stability.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What does this mean for EMDEs?</li> <li>• How can they adapt, compete, and secure financial stability in a world where multipolarity is not just a trend but a new reality?</li> <li>• How can EMDEs sustain growth amid tighter global liquidity and capital outflows?</li> <li>• Can regional alliances mitigate supply chain disruptions, climate shocks, and debt vulnerabilities?</li> </ul> <p><b>Chair: N.K. Singh</b>, Co-Convenor, G20 Independent Expert Group on Strengthening MDBs; President, Institute of Economic Growth; Chairman, 15th Finance Commission, India</p> <p><b>Initiators:</b><br/> <b>Hannah Wanjie Ryder</b>, Chief Executive Officer, Development Reimagined, Kenya<br/> <b>Heungchong Kim</b>, Distinguished Professor, College of International Relations, Korea University, South Korea<br/> <b>Kate O'Shaughnessy</b>, Research Director, Perth USAsia Centre, Australia<br/> <b>Karim El Aynaoui</b>, Executive President, Policy Center for the New South, Morocco<br/> <b>Rahul Bajoria</b>, Managing Director, Head of India and ASEAN Economic Research, Bank of America, India<br/> <b>Moderator: Poonam Gupta</b>, Director General, National Council of Applied Economic Research, India</p> |
| 1650-1710          | Break   |

## DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

1710-1800

Durbār

**Climate Cataclysm: The Adaptation Agenda is Gasping**

While climate change poses a grave risk for all countries, for the nations of the Vulnerable Twenty (V20) Group, it is an existential question. The V20's vulnerability is further compounded by a growing debt crisis and fragile balance sheets as climate-fuelled impacts permeate national economies, affecting infrastructure, supply chains, social protection, and small businesses. Collaborative efforts to mobilise resources and enhance climate resilience are not merely political but essential for their continued survival. This panel will discuss actionable strategies to strengthen climate resilience and financial stability for V20 nations.

- Given that current adaptation efforts may not be keeping pace with the increasing frequency and intensity of extreme weather events, how do we dramatically accelerate adaptation and minimise future economic losses in the V20?
- Why have China and the Paris Club not managed to construct a unified approach to debt restructuring?
- Does the Global South need a climate Marshall Plan? If so, who will lead the effort?
- Do debt-for-nature swaps provide a possible answer to the problems of financing adaptation and development, or do they ignore the basic needs of vulnerable nations?

**Eduardo Martínez Díaz**, Deputy Prime Minister, Cuba

**Abdulla Khaleel**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Maldives

**Arzu Rana Deuba**, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Nepal

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

**Wangari Muchiri**, Director of Africa, Global Wind Energy Council, Kenya

**Moderator: Kira Vinke**, Head, Center for Climate and Foreign Policy, German Council on Foreign Relations, Germany

1710-1800

Shahjehan

(Parallel Session)

**Overtures from Penn Avenue: Will Kremlin Respond?**

The world watches as Russia and the US seem poised on the brink of yet another 'reset'. Can new talks with fewer presumptions resolve long-standing conflicts and usher a new era of cooperation? The impact on these dynamics of Russia's growing ties with China and the evolution of the transatlantic alliance will also be watched. This panel will discuss the potential for cooperation, the implications for international diplomacy in a multipolar world, and the future of great-power alignment.

- Can dialogue between the US and Russia prove the path to peace, or is it merely political posturing to pause a conflict without addressing the underlying issues?
- Can the deep distrust and suspicions that have marred US-Russia relations be overcome, or should we at best expect a Cold War-style thaw that maintains the balance of power?
- How will Russia manage its increasingly complex relationship with China, and what role will this dynamic play in shaping the US's ability to balance Europe?
- How will other major and middle powers respond to a potential shift in US-Russia relations, and which are the likely supporters or spoilers?

**Vyacheslav Nikonov**, Member of the State Duma, Federal Assembly, Russia

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

**Georgette Mosbacher**, Co-Chair, Three Seas Programming, Europe Center, Atlantic Council, United States of America

**Paul Saunders**, President, Centre for the National Interest, United States of America

**Rachel Rizzo**, Senior Fellow, Europe Centre, Atlantic Council, United States of America

**Moderator: Dhruva Jaishankar**, Executive Director, ORF America, United States of America

## DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

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|--------------------|---|
| 1710-1800          | Roshanara   |
| (Parallel Session) | <p><b>The Southern Handover: Sustaining G20 Solidarity Agenda</b></p> <p><b>Scene Setter:</b> <b>Abhishek Singh</b>, Joint Secretary, Multilateral Economic Relations; Sous-Sherpa for G20, BRICS, IBSA, Ministry of External Affairs, India</p> <p>The G20 has had four successive developing-country presidencies which have reframed the grouping before it is handed over back to presidencies from the Global North. Indonesia, India, Brazil, and South Africa have risen to the challenges posed by COVID-19 and the tortuous path to economic recovery, moving the G20 agenda forward on economic cooperation and giving it new momentum. As a multilateral platform that is a bridge between the Global North and Global South, enhancing the G20's capacity is a global good.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the South African presidency's priorities, and how should these ideas be framed so that they carry over into the next year and beyond?</li> <li>• What are the ways in which the developing country presidencies have shifted the nature of economic governance, and what role does the G20 now play in mainstreaming questions of economic development?</li> <li>• What are the prospects for G20 collaboration and action at a time when multilateralism is under pressure from all sides?</li> </ul> <p><b>Initiators</b><br/> <b>Elizabeth Sidiropoulos</b>, Chief Executive, South African Institute of International Affairs, South Africa<br/> <b>Héctor Cárdenas Suárez</b>, President, Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales, Mexico<br/> <b>Keiti da Rocha Gomes</b>, Director, Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, Brazil<br/> <b>Markus Brunnermeier</b>, Edwards S. Sanford Professor of Economics, Princeton University, United States of America<br/> <b>Riatu Mariatul Qibthiyyah</b>, Director, Institute for Economic and Social Research, University of Indonesia, Indonesia<br/> <b>In the Chair:</b> <b>Harsh V. Pant</b>, Vice President, Studies and Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India</p> |

## DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

1800-1840

Durbār

**Winning the AI Marathon: India in the Global AI Race**

Is the AI race, like the space race of old, merely between big powers? If not, where does India stand, and what advantages will it bring to the table? This conversation will reveal India's plans for the AI age.

- Progress in AI requires big startup investments – including in compute infrastructure. Can countries like India compete with wealthier economies here? Do emerging economies have access to the leading-edge chips that many consider necessary for AI advancement?
- Countries with a diverse linguistic heritage, like India, face special challenges in developing widely used and accurate large language models. How are we overcoming that? And, reversing that, are the efficiency benefits of AI greater in countries that have language diversity?
- How do you see the US vs China race on AI developing in the next few years? Does the US have an insurmountable lead, or are new Chinese advancements, like DeepSeek, demonstrating an ability to catch up by crunching costs and resources?
- How can policy in India help address the need for AI software engineers? How skill-intensive is AI development, and are we keeping up with the sector's skilling requirements?
- What specific advantages will countries like India – with a large workforce and a history of cost-conscious implementation – bring to the AI contest?
- What partnerships will define the age of AI? Is it inevitable that countries like the US, India, and the UAE will collaborate, or will their domestic AI strategies take them in different directions?

**Ashwini Vaishnaw**, Minister for Railways; Information & Broadcasting; Electronics & Information Technology, India

**Ronnie Chatterji**, Chief Economist, OpenAI, United States of America

**Vinod K. Dham**, Founder and Executive Managing Partner, Indo-US Venture Partners, United States of America

**Moderator: Shereen Bhan**, Managing Editor, CNBC-TV18, India

1840-1900

Break

## DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

1900-1950

Durbār

### Secure Waters: ASEAN, Quad, and the Indo-Pacific

The Indo-Pacific region is characterised by a complex interplay of alliances and strategic partnerships. Its evolving geometry of partnerships—ASEAN and the Quad among them—reflects a shift from traditional bilateral alliances to more dynamic frameworks. The future of regional peace and stability, and of a free and open Indo-Pacific, depends on how these groupings evolve and engage with shifting global dynamics. This panel will examine the chances of success for these emerging geopolitical and geo-economic collaborations.

- How can Indo-Pacific nations strategically reconcile their individual national interests with the imperative for cohesive multilateral cooperation to foster enduring regional stability?
- What impacts could the new administration in Washington DC have on the US's role in the Indo-Pacific, and on the strategic commitments and geopolitical alignments of states in the region?
- What impact does the rise of non-state actors and transnational threats have on traditional state-centric security paradigms?

**Enrique Manalo**, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Philippines

**Maris Sangiampongso**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thailand

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

**Hiroiyuki Akita**, Foreign Affairs and International Security Commentator, Nikkei, Japan

**Ji Yeon-Jung**, Assistant Professor, Department of Military History and Strategy, Republic of Korea Naval Academy, South Korea

**Moderator: Lisa Singh**, Chief Executive Officer, Australia India Institute, Australia

1950-2010

Transition

## DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

|   |  |
|---|--|
| 2010-2210                                   | Shahjehan  |
| Dinner<br>Conversations<br>(By Invite Only) | <p><b>Rethinking Partnerships: Minerals, Materials and Monopolies</b></p> <p><b>Scene Setter:</b> <b>Dammu Ravi</b>, Secretary, Economic Relations, Ministry of External Affairs, India</p> <p>The global race for rare-earth minerals has accelerated, driven by advances in battery tech, renewable energy, sustainable mobility, and quantum computing. Nations are forging novel partnerships across the value chain—from rare-earth processing to materials innovation. These are shifting from traditional buyer-seller relationships to deeper strategic alliances involving joint investments, technology sharing, and coordinated infrastructure development that could de-risk rare-earth dependencies. This panel will deliberate on how we can ensure supply chain resilience in a volatile world.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How can geopolitical risks be minimised through the diversification of supply chains? What incentives would motivate potential partners including the private sector, to join in?</li> <li>• How can international partnerships in the critical minerals and materials ecosystem be structured to share both risks and rewards? How can private capital be a part of this relationship?</li> <li>• How can nations develop supply chain resilience for sectors vital to future growth and employment, such as electric vehicles and transportation? What role do public-private partnerships and transnational collaborations have?</li> <li>• How do we promote responsible mining practices, including recycling and urban mining, to reduce reliance on primary extraction of rare-earth minerals?</li> </ul> <p><b>Tadashi Maeda</b>, Chairman of the Board, Japan Bank for International Cooperation, Japan<br/> <b>Brendan Nelson</b>, President, Boeing Global, United Kingdom<br/> <b>Gopala Krishnan CS</b>, Chief Manufacturing Officer, Hyundai Motor India Ltd<br/> <b>Agatha Kratz</b>, Partner, Rhodium Group, France<br/> <b>Kate O'Shaughnessy</b>, Research Director, Perth USAsia Centre, Australia<br/> <b>Moderator: Xenia Wickett</b>, Director, Wickett Advisory, United Kingdom</p> |
| 2010-2210                                   | Mumtaz   |
| Dinner<br>Conversations<br>(By Invite Only) | <b>Policy &amp; Palate</b>   |

## DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

|                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 2010-2210                             | Jehangir  |
| Dinner Conversations (By Invite Only) | <p><b>Capital's Gender Bias: Making Money Flow to Women Entrepreneurs</b></p> <p>A stark dichotomy exists between the entrepreneurship possibilities open to men and women. Despite a growing number of women-led start-ups, significant barriers remain in securing funding, limiting their potential for growth. Is this funding gap merely a matter of economics or a result of deeper cultural issues? The structural underrepresentation of women in investment decision-making roles may amplify these cultural problems. This panel will discuss how the start-up world can be made truly gender inclusive.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the key challenges preventing women-led companies from receiving the same level of funding as those led by men?</li> <li>• How do societal biases and gender stereotypes contribute to the perception of women entrepreneurs as 'risky investments', and how can this be changed?</li> <li>• What specific policy reforms and industry actions are needed to close this funding gap and promote sustainable growth of women-led businesses?</li> <li>• Does politics influence financial decisions when it comes to funding women-led start-ups, and how can we shift this dynamic to catalyse growth?</li> </ul> <p><b>Priyanka Chaturvedi</b>, Member of Parliament, Rajya Sabha, Government of India, India<br/> <b>Cecilia Oldne</b>, Chief India Representative, Sweden-India Business Council; Founding Partner, Visceral Capital, India<br/> <b>Kiyoto Matsuda</b>, Co-Founder and Chairman, Topaz Capital, Japan<br/> <b>Aakanksha Tangri</b>, Founder, Re:Set, United Arab Emirates<br/> <b>Thanuja Jayawardhane</b>, Head, Women Go Beyond, MAS Holdings, Sri Lanka<br/> <b>Moderator: Lara Setrakian</b>, President, Applied Policy Research Institute, Armenia</p> |
| 2010-2210                             | Roshanara   |
| Dinner Conversations (By Invite Only) | <p><b>The India Opportunity: Growth with Stability</b></p> <p><b>Conversation: Nirmala Sitharaman</b>, Minister of Finance and Minister of Corporate Affairs, India<br/> <b>with N.K. Singh</b>, Co-Convenor, G20 Independent Expert Group on Strengthening MDBs; President, Institute of Economic Growth; Chairman, 15th Finance Commission, India</p> <p><b>Welcome Remarks: Ashok Malik</b>, Partner and Chair of the India Practice, The Asia Group, India</p>  |
| 2010-2210                             | Sheesh Mahal  |
| Dinner Conversations (By Invite Only) | <p><b>Interaction with the US-India AI Fellows</b></p> <p>This discussion will address key challenges and opportunities in AI development, governance, and cross-cultural cooperation between India and the US.</p> <p><b>Arvind Gupta</b>, Co-Founder, Digital India Foundation, India<br/> <b>Moderator: Anulekha Nandi</b>, Fellow, Technology, Economy, and Society, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>  |
| 2210-2240                             | Break   |



## DAY TWO: TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 2025

|  |  |
|--|--|
| 2240-2330  | Mumtaz   |
| Conversations over Kahwa (For Speakers and Delegates only) | <p><b>End of Christendom: Whose European Values Are They Anyway?</b></p> <p>Christianity offered a cultural, linguistic, philosophical mooring that united a continent. Its contemporary, cosmopolitan avatars have instead emphasised divergence and difference. The lack of a singular moral structure may have contributed to shifts in social cohesion, the rise of individualism, and the inability to address complex challenges. The historical alignment of Europe and North America with ecclesiastical values provided a framework that, though asynchronous with other belief systems, might have been more understood and even accepted by the rest of the world.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How has the historical alignment of Christianity with Western values influenced international relations, and what implications does this have for current geopolitical conflicts?</li> <li>• How can the erosion of a unifying moral framework, as seen in contemporary society, affect the stability and predictability of international alliances? Has globalism replaced religion as a supranational ideology?</li> <li>•</li> </ul> <p><b>Angelika Niebler</b>, Member of the European Parliament; Chair of the Delegation for Relations with India<br/> <b>Attila Demkó</b>, Head of the Strategic Foresight Program, John Lukacs Institute, Ludovika University of Public Service, Hungary<br/> <b>Gladden Pappin</b>, President, Hungarian Institute of International Affairs, United States of America<br/> <b>Patrick Deneen</b>, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Notre Dame, United States of America<br/> <b>Stefania Benaglia</b>, Foreign Policy Expert, European Union<br/> <b>Moderator: Velina Tchakarova</b>, Founder and Geopolitical Strategist, FACE, Austria</p>   |
| 2240-2330  | Roshanara  |
| Conversations over Kahwa (For Speakers and Delegates only) | <p><b>Importing Dissent: Immigration and National Cohesion</b></p> <p>Immigration is an increasingly polarising topic across the world. As nativism reasserts itself, questions about cultural integration, social fragmentation, and the perceived economic strain imposed by newcomers have become politically salient. Policymakers are seeking a balance between welcoming migrants who can contribute economically, and ensuring social cohesion. This panel will discuss the complexities of immigration, national identity, and the need for policies that foster integration while addressing societal concerns.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How can states with liberal founding principles balance respect, tolerance, and national solidarity? Is there an emerging consensus about how immigrants should be treated?</li> <li>• Are nations that host expansive diasporas prepared to deal with the impact that extremism and political divisions might have on their own domestic politics, or on their international partnerships?</li> <li>• Are there regions or countries that have successfully integrated immigrants while maintaining social cohesion which can serve as examples for the world?</li> </ul> <p><b>Karoline Sophie Czychon</b>, State Chairwoman, Junge Union, Niedersachsen for Junge Union, Germany<br/> <b>Nathan A. Sales</b>, Nonresident Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council; Former U.S. Acting Under Secretary of State, United States of America<br/> <b>Stefan Mair</b>, Director, German Institute for International and Security Affairs; Executive Chairman, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Germany<br/> <b>Sushant Sareen</b>, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India<br/> <b>Nathalie Tocci</b>, Director, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Italy<br/> <b>Moderator: Indrani Bagchi</b>, Chief Executive Officer, Ananta Centre, India</p> |

## DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

| 0730-0845                       | Shahjehan   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Conversations<br>Over Breakfast | <p><b>Shahjehan Pole Vaults: The Revanchist West and a Rising South</b></p> <p>As the United States seeks to redefine its global engagement through assertive unilateralism and exceptionalism, this panel will examine the tensions between American revanchism, the expectations of its transatlantic partners, and the aspirations of an increasingly confident Global South. With the American G20 presidency as backdrop, we will explore how American impulses would work in a multipolar world and whether traditional transatlantic partnerships can adapt, while also accommodating emerging voices and powers.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How might assertive and unilateral actions under a second Trump presidency impact the cohesion and effectiveness of traditional transatlantic alliances in a multipolar global order?</li> <li>• What are the potential ramifications of the American weaponisation of geography—such as annexing Greenland or renaming strategic regions—on US credibility and leadership? How will it affect global governance?</li> <li>• In an increasingly multipolar world, how can transatlantic partnerships evolve to integrate the aspirations of the Global South while dealing with American unilateralism?</li> <li>• How can other nations navigate US exceptionalism in collaborative global governance and ensure that emerging players have a seat at the table in shaping a future global order?</li> </ul> <p><b>Alexander Dynkin</b>, President, Primakov National Research Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia<br/> <b>Ebtesam Al-Ketbi</b>, Founder &amp; President, Emirates Policy Center, United Arab Emirates<br/> <b>Karim El Aynaoui</b>, Executive President, Policy Center for the New South, Morocco<br/> <b>Manjeet Kripalani</b>, Executive Director, Gateway House, India<br/> <b>Paolo Magri</b>, Managing Director and President of the Advisory Board, Italian Institute for International Political Studies, Italy<br/> <b>Moderator: Ken Jimbo</b>, Head, Institute of Geoeconomics, Japan</p> |

## DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

0730-0845

Mumtaz

Conversations  
Over Breakfast**Beyond the Crises: Prospects for Peace and Progress in the Middle East**

In the Middle East, economic transformation and persistent conflicts create a stark study in contrasts. The region showcases remarkable economic vitality and ambitious initiatives like Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030 and the UAE's economic diversification programmes. However, this progress exists alongside humanitarian and security crises in Gaza, Yemen, and Syria. The October 2023 escalation of conflict between Israel and Hamas, ongoing tensions with Iran, and broader regional rivalries have created a complex web of challenges that demand both immediate conflict resolution and long-term strategic solutions.

- Are economic reconciliation and political reconciliation both possible in the region? Will such reconciliations be sequential, or simultaneous? What will such a balancing act entail?
- Do we need a neutral global commission to look into what happened in the Israel-Palestine conflict? Can we move ahead without looking back at all, or is some form of closure and accountability necessary?
- How will the US's new attempts to bring peace in the region change minds, incentives and actions? What sort of buy-in from other actors will be necessary, and is such support visible?
- What is the significance of Beijing's role in facilitating the rapprochement between Iran and Saudi Arabia, and is this a harbinger of more such agreements?

**David Petraeus**, Partner, KKR & Chairman, KKR Global Institute, United States of America

**Eden Bar Tal**, Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Israel

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

**Rainer Rudolph**, Vice-Chairman, Munich Security Conference, Germany

**Oana Popescu Zamfir**, Director, GlobalFocus Center, Romania

**Moderator: Leslie Vinjamuri**, Director, US and Americas Programme; Chair of the Faculty, Queen Elizabeth II Academy, Chatham House, United Kingdom

## DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

0730-0845

Jehangir

Conversations  
Over Breakfast**A Bridge Between Continents: Development, Adaptation and Food Security****Scene Setter: Jaideep Mazumdar**, Secretary, East, Ministry of External Affairs, India

The Asian and the African continents are the two greatest hopes for global growth in the coming decade. Collaboration on agriculture and food security can serve as the bedrock for their future development; but this also needs the creation of new and better infrastructure and connectivity, as well as the promotion of hubs for trade and innovation on their coastlines. The panel will discuss the role of technological innovation and climate adaptation finance, and evolving governance frameworks in boosting food security and creating resilient communities.

- How can we create land and sea bridges between African and Asian growth centres? What are the partnerships and projects that make this possible?
- The elimination of food insecurity is a priority for governments in both the regions. What role do new networks of trade and innovation play in this effort?
- How can countries in the region collaborate to direct finance towards climate adaptation strategies, including in agriculture and in infrastructure—and what partners can they find in this effort internationally?

**Sarah Agbor Anyang**, Vice President, Forum for African Women Educationalists, Kenya; Former Commissioner, African Union

**Chevaan Daniel**, Executive Group Director, Capital Maharaja Group, Sri Lanka

**Rob Hewett**, Chairman, Silver Fern Farms, New Zealand

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

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

**Moderator: Sunaina Kumar**, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

## DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 0730-0845                                     | Roshanara   |
| Conversations Over Breakfast (By Invite Only) | <p><b>From Zero-Sum to Tech for Good: Securing Innovation</b></p> <p>Technological change and geopolitical contestation have radically altered the framework for innovation and its dissemination. There are concerns that innovation is less globalised and democratic than it has been in the recent past, and that we are hurtling towards a zero-sum game. There are fears that security-related pressures could deprioritise human-centric development as a desired goal for research and innovation. Meanwhile, the scramble for minerals, materials and components critical for technological and green transition is as intense as that for hydrocarbons was in the past century. Choices policymakers make today will determine whether the ongoing tech revolution will leave us safer and better off – or the opposite.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How will countries navigate the space between different models of technological ownership and regulation? If the US and China dominate AI, for one, how can other nations and groupings ensure they are at the table and not on the menu?</li> <li>• Is there a way to ensure like-minded countries, which believe in open markets and open societies, remain competitive in the race for critical minerals?</li> <li>• Is economic and national security the main driver of innovation-related policy? What are the overlaps and co-benefits between security and development?</li> <li>• Which actors, enterprises and partnerships drive innovation for peace and war? What role do the private sector and the defence-industrial complex play? Can trust be built across national and regional frontiers to enable an equitable spread of innovation?</li> </ul> <p><b>Keynote Address: Air Chief Marshal Amar Preet Singh</b>, Chief of the Air Staff, India</p> <p><b>In the Chair: Pavan Kapoor</b>, Deputy National Security Adviser, India</p> |
| 0730-0845                                     | Sheesh Mahal  |
| Conversations Over Breakfast (By Invite Only) | <b>Breakfast Meeting: India-US AI Task Force</b>  |
| 0845-0900                                     | Transition  |
| 0900-0910                                     | Durbar  |
|   | <p><b>Ministerial Remarks</b></p> <p><b>India's Outreach to Latin America: New Vistas for Untapped Potential</b></p> <p><b>Pabitra Margherita</b>, Minister of State, Ministry of External Affairs, India</p>   |

## DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

0910-0950

Durbar

**Destiny or Destination: Culture, Connectivity and Tourism**

As the world becomes more interconnected, countries compete on culture, commerce, and connectivity; tourism has been turned into a complex chessboard for geopolitics and economics. The rise of experiential tourism demands a balance between preserving cultural and ecological heritage and fostering growth. Nations must invest in infrastructure that connects remote areas to hubs while respecting indigenous cultures and ecosystems. This panel will explore how cities and nations can navigate these challenges to create sustainable, culturally respectful tourism.

- How can cities effectively monetise heritage and ecological assets while maintaining sustainable tourism practices?
- What infrastructure investments are essential to connect remote regions to global tourism hubs? How can such infrastructure support the growth of the 'experience' economy?
- How can we balance heritage commercialisation with preserving indigenous traditions and ecological ecosystems?
- How do the politics of tourism influence global competition, and how can tourism offerings be differentiated at time when authenticity is prized?

**Mohamed Nasheed**, Former President; Secretary-General, Climate Vulnerable Forum and V20, Maldives

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

**Noura bint Mohammed Al Kaabi**, Minister of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Arab Emirates

**Amitabh Kant**, G20 Sherpa, India

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

0950-1040

Durbar

**Verses and Wars: Navigating Hybrid Theatres**

The landscape of modern conflict is shaped by hybrid warfare—an amalgamation of traditional military power, cyber operations, disinformation, economic coercion, and non-state actors. Digital warfare has emerged as a critical front, with recent conflicts highlighting the increasing role of cyber capabilities. As threats evolve across both physical and digital realms—from the streets to cyberspace—nations must navigate a new world of fluid, unpredictable, and multifaceted confrontations. This panel will explore how countries are adapting to these emerging threats, strengthening defence partnerships and collaborating to enhance resilience in an interconnected, digitally driven world.

- How can nations effectively distinguish between traditional and hybrid warfare? What frameworks may be adopted to address the blurred boundaries? How are security doctrines adapting to digital arenas of conflicts?
- In an era where non-state actors, cyber threats, and disinformation play a central role, how can states strengthen national security, particularly in the digital domain?
- As hybrid warfare increasingly involves economic tools like sanctions and trade disruptions, how can countries balance their economic interests with national security priorities?
- How can international partnerships strengthen intelligence sharing, address software-driven threats, and build collaborative strategies to counter digital and cyber warfare effectively?

**General Anil Chauhan**, Chief of Defence Staff, India

**David Petraeus**, Partner, KKR & Chairman, KKR Global Institute, United States of America

**Vivek Lall**, Chief Executive, General Atomics Global Corporation, United States of America

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

**Pavlina Pavlova**, Fellow, New America, United States of America

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

## DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

|                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 0950-1040                            | Roshanara  |
| (Parallel Session)                   | <p><b>The Decade Ahead: Ideas for BRICS Presidencies</b></p> <p><b>Scene Setter:</b> <b>Abhishek Singh</b>, Joint Secretary, Multilateral Economic Relations; Sous-Sherpa for G20, BRICS, IBSA, Ministry of External Affairs, India</p> <p>For many countries in the Global South, the freshly expanded BRICS grouping is a useful location to discuss issues of mutual concern involving growth and development. Despite strategic competition between some of the members, the need to keep human-centred development on track drives BRICS cooperation. Issues from supply chain disruptions to financial stability and infrastructure deficits have led to calls to redefine global governance structures; this panel will explore the role that the BRICS could play in this effort.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• With political upheaval in the West, is it up to BRICS to keep the flag of development and growth flying?</li> <li>• What pitfalls does the BRICS group need to avoid if it is not to repeat the mistakes of the current multilateral order?</li> <li>• How can BRICS foster greater collaboration in areas such as climate change and digital innovation?</li> <li>• How can BRICS foster greater connectivity and logistical resilience to move on the shared objective of trade facilitation?</li> </ul> <p><b>Initiators:</b><br/> <b>Sarah Mosoetsa</b>, Chief Executive Officer, Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa<br/> <b>Victoria Panova</b>, Head, BRICS Expert Council; Vice Rector, HSE University; Russian W20 Sherpa, Russia<br/> <b>Xie Chao</b>, Associate Professor, Institute of International Studies, Fudan University, China<br/> <b>Alireza Gholipour</b>, Deputy Director General of IPIS &amp; Director, Unit for European Studies; Unit for Asian Studies, Coordinator &amp; Chair of Iran Delegation at BRICS Think-Tank Council, Institute for Political and International Studies, Iran<br/> <b>Walter Desidera</b>, Researcher and Coordinator of Studies in Economic Relations, Institute for Applied Economic Research, Brazil<br/> <b>In the Chair:</b> <b>Sunaina Kumar</b>, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p> |
| 1040-1100                            | Break  |
| 1100-1110                            | Durbar   |
|                                      | <p><b>Report Launch</b></p> <p><b>Combined Skies: Unlocking the Benefits of UAE-India Aviation Liberalisation for Indian Travellers</b><br/> <b>Presentation by:</b> <b>Abdulnasser Jamal Alshaali</b>, Ambassador of the United Arab Emirates to India</p>  |
| DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025 |  |

1110-1150

Durbar

**Commisars and Capitalists: Politics, Business, and New World Order**

Business and geopolitical imperatives are reshaping global trade, finance, and digital landscapes. Like-minded governments, along with their partners in finance and the private sector, are cobbling together means to respond to increasing influence of non-compatible forces: China builds half the world's ships, controls 70 percent of cargo cranes and dominates dry cargo shipping containers. Digital trade and tech sectors in most nations are shaped by CCP's strategic interests. Meanwhile, governments of advanced economies have not been loath to weaponise economic, financial, and trade instruments either. This panel will explore how political decisions are shaping businesses and are being implicated by them.

- How are governments and diplomacy responding, and how is foreign policy evolving amidst shifting global dynamics of trade and finance, and digital weaponisation?
- How are companies exerting their power and how are they responding to increasing ability to determine social, economic, and political outcomes across the world? Are boardrooms cognisant of the responsibility that comes with this new power?
- How is the government-private enterprise relationship evolving in this age of declared and undeclared national champions? What does it mean for trade, finance, and technology?
- How can emerging markets and global supply chains adapt to shifting geopolitical realities in both the physical and cyber domains, ensuring that innovation and free trade are maintained?

**Joel Kaplan**, Chief Global Affairs Officer, Meta, United States of America

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

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

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

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



## DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

1150-1250

Durbar

**Deepwater Perils: Securing Trade Through Red Zones**

**Scene Setter:** **Mara Motherway**, Vice-President, Strategy and Business Development, Lockheed Martin, United States of America

Threats emanating from state and non-state actors are increasingly conflated, with both employing similar tactics and strategies. This shift raises critical questions about the preparedness of armed forces, the evolution of defence architectures, and the adaptation of military doctrines. Nations must determine how to respond to sub-sovereign provocations without escalating conflicts beyond their control. This panel will examine the shifting nature of maritime threats, risks for global security and trade, and the evolving responses required to safeguard vital trade routes.

- With non-state and quasi-state actors often employing asymmetric tactics, are current naval doctrines and technologies truly adequate to counter these unconventional threats?
- With the emergence of 'dark fleets' operating outside regulatory frameworks, what collaborative measures can nations take to improve transparency and accountability in maritime trade?
- With the rapid advancement of defence technologies, how are combat forces integrating innovations such as artificial intelligence, unmanned systems, and cyber capabilities into military preparedness?
- Are current alliances and force deployments sufficient to guarantee freedom of navigation and trade?

**Admiral Dinesh K. Tripathi**, Chief of the Naval Staff, India

**Admiral Justin Jones**, Chief of Joint Operations, Australia

**Admiral Samuel Paparo**, Commander, US Indo-Pacific Command, United States of America

**General Romeo S. Brawner**, Chief of Staff, Armed Forces of the Philippines

**General Yoshihide Yoshida**, Chief of Staff of the Joint Staff, Japan

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

## DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

1250-1500

Shahjehan

Conversations over  
Lunch  
(By Invite Only)

**Virtual Rubicon: Governing Digital Frontiers**

Digital spaces are increasingly turning into battlegrounds, yet policymakers must ensure a secure, open, and prosperous online ecosystem. They recognise that the spread of extremist ideologies and the weaponisation of platforms threaten societal stability and national security. Policymakers must address threats to networks and infrastructure, while promoting innovation and maintaining a secure, global digital environment. This panel explore ways to explore effectively regulate digital ecosystems, and balance innovation, stability, and sovereignty.

- How can nations assert sovereignty in cyberspace, particularly regarding telecom networks and information ecosystems, without compromising the open and global nature of digital platforms?
- What regulatory frameworks can curb the spread of extremism and prevent the incitement of violence online, particularly within digital ecosystems and information networks?
- How can tech companies and consumer-facing brands work with governments, regulators, and multi-stakeholder groups to collaborate to support digital ecosystems that balance security, free speech, and innovation in an era of rising cyber threats?
- What role should international cooperation play in establishing global standards for digital governance, ensuring both security and the protection of democratic values across borders?

**Athanasios Ntokos**, National Security Adviser, Greece

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

**Carl Pei**, Chief Executive Officer, Nothing, United Kingdom

**Vrinda Kapoor**, Chief Executive Officer, 3rdiTech, India

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

**Moderator: Pranjal Sharma**, Economic Analyst and Author, India is now the moderator for the session

## DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

1250-1500

Mumtaz

Conversations over  
Lunch  
(By Invite Only)

**Authoritarian AI: Understanding the Politburo of Innovation**

Traditional arms races are now being replicated in the digital domain—and AI is the new space race, at the forefront of a growing technological competition. Chinese tech has beaten the odds, producing innovations like DeepSeek that operate at lower costs and with fewer resources. This panel will discuss the implications of China's AI advancements, how authoritarian governance shapes technological progress, and the global impact of this emerging 'Politburo of Innovation'.

- How has China's AI surge dealt with US exports controls? Can these be altered or improved to maintain the West's tech edge?
- As tech hubs and the state grow closer in the US as well as in China, is it still possible to build leadership in AI and frontier tech without replicating China's state-driven model?
- As both the US and China invest heavily in military applications of AI, what risks does this pose for global security? Could an arms race in autonomous weapons lead to new forms of conflict or destabilisation?
- As countries in Africa, Southeast Asia, and Latin America adopt differing AI platforms, models, and regulations, will those choices impact their geopolitical positions? Will the AI revolution reduce their bargaining power, or will it instead allow them to challenge traditional powers?

**Smriti Irani**, Former Minister of Women and Child Development and Minister of Minority Affairs, India

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

**Faheem Ahamed**, Group Chief Marketing and Communication Officer, G42, United Arab Emirates

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

**Tehilla Schwartz Altshuler**, Senior Fellow and Head of Tech Policy and Human Rights Program, Israel Democracy Institute, Israel

**Moderator: Debjani Ghosh**, Distinguished Fellow, NITI Aayog, India

## DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

| 1250-1500                                    | Roshanara  |
|--|--|
| Conversations over Lunch<br>(By Invite Only) | <p><b>Trends@Raisina: Timeline 2026</b></p> <p>A thought-provoking luncheon symposium, which will feature business leaders, policy experts, and practitioners delving into trends that have dominated the past year and predicting those that will emerge in the next.</p> <p><b>Davit Karapetyan</b>, Secretary General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Armenia</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>As geopolitical contestation intensifies, what does 2025 have in store for the nature and effectiveness of multilateralism?</li> </ul> <p><b>Romana Vlahutin</b>, Visiting Distinguished Fellow, German Marshall Fund, Belgium</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>How can the EU's connectivity strategy leverage partnerships with like-minded nations to promote sustainable infrastructure development, digital connectivity, and human exchange, while countering the influence of competing global initiatives?</li> </ul> <p><b>Manuel Muñiz</b>, Provost &amp; Professor of Practice of International Relations, IE University, Spain</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Can the transatlantic relationship maintain its relevance and strength, address shared security concerns, and promote economic cooperation?</li> </ul> <p><b>Nitin Seth</b>, Co-Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Incedo, United States of America</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Can emerging AI technologies like DeepSeek, with its advanced architecture and cost-effectiveness, serve as a model for other countries to develop similar tools?</li> </ul> <p><b>Noella Coursaris Musunka</b>, Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Malaika; Ambassador, The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, United States of America</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>How can the convergence of education, economic empowerment, and health programmes influence the future of women's leadership globally?</li> </ul> <p><b>Moderator: Julia Ganter</b>, Programme Director, Körber-Stiftung, Germany</p> |
| 1250-1500                                    | Jehangir   |
| Conversations over Lunch<br>(By Invite Only) | <p><b>Ministerial Interactions   Fractured Order: Rewriting the Rules or Rebalancing the High-Table?</b></p> <p><b>Northern Lights:</b><br/><b>Espen Barth Eide</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Norway</p> <p><b>A View from the Caucasus:</b><br/><b>Maka Botchorishvili</b>, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Georgia</p>  |
| 1250-1500                                    | Sheesh Mahal   |
| Conversations over Lunch<br>(By Invite Only) | <p><b>Mayoral Roundtable with Dubai Expo</b></p> <p>The roundtable will involve discussions and interactive exchanges prompted by the experiences of participants in responding to urban governance challenges and opportunities. It will bring together a kaleidoscope of innovative solutions implemented by the participants who have led their communities in urban settings and seek to put forth some common threads at the end of the exercise. The mayors will also share insights on how their cities are plugged into international networks of cities and how it is assisting in the dispensing of their responsibilities.</p> <p><b>Nadia Verjee</b>, Executive Director, Global Initiatives and Advisory, Expo City Dubai, United Arab Emirates</p> <p><b>Misha Mittal</b>, Senior Manager, City Advisory, Expo City Dubai, United Arab Emirates</p>  |

## DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| 1500-1540   | Durbar  |
|             | <p><b>Dark Matters: The Geopolitics of Space</b></p> <p>Space used to be the domain of superpowers; today 80 nations and multiple big corporations have staked a claim to Earth's final frontier. In 2023, governments spent US\$117 billion on space exploration, yet the future seems poised to belong to the private sector. With untapped natural resources, the technological capacity required to open new pathways to orbit, and valuable near-earth real estate, privatisation by stealth is occurring, raising concerns about the creation of monopolies and restricted access. Privatised R&amp;D, resource extraction, and orbit control create challenges for excluded nations by creating a new and perverse architecture undermining global cooperation. This panel will explore the implications of the privatisation of space.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Earth's near-space was previously perceived to be part of the global commons; how can we prevent the creeping capture through privatisation? Is the same fate equally likely for other celestial domains?</li> <li>• How will emerging economies access space, given the privatisation of R&amp;D, resource extraction, and infrastructure that directly prevents them from being able to do so?</li> <li>• How does the dominance of private capital in space challenge state sovereignty?</li> </ul> <p><b>Ritu Karidhal</b>, Senior Scientist, Indian Space Research Organisation, India<br/> <b>Jessy Kate Schingler</b>, Board Member, Open Lunar Foundation, United States of America<br/> <b>Sara Sabry</b>, Astronaut, Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Deep Space Initiative, Egypt<br/> <b>Moderator: Corinna Hoyer</b>, Co-Chief Executive Officer, WORLD.MINDS, Switzerland</p> |
| 1540 - 1610 | Durbar  |
|             | <p><b>When Economics is Political</b></p> <p>Uncertainty abides about the path of growth over the next few years: Tariff wars, capital flight and the weaponisation of finance and trade complicate any prognosis. India is an island of stability and development; but what of its emerging-economy peers?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Will China meet its ambitious growth targets or is it underestimating the costs of geo-economic conflict?</li> <li>• Will the United States continue to beat the economic odds, or will decades of spending and debt finally catch up?</li> </ul> <p><b>Nouriel Roubini</b>, Professor Emeritus, New York University, United States of America<br/> <b>Amitabh Kant</b>, G20 Sherpa, India<br/> <b>Moderator: Shamika Ravi</b>, Member, Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, India</p>   |
| 1610-1630   | Break   |

## DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

1630-1710

Durbar

**Climate Action Without Currency: Politics and Reform of Multilateral Finance**

How can multilateral finance respond to the climate crisis? Some advocate green priorities for the existing framework, including multilateral development banks; while others argue that this would dilute these institutions' existing mandate to mobilise resources and facilitate financial flows to developing countries. Current lending models for multilateral finance are largely misaligned with the complexities of climate finance or the demands of the private sector. New or radically recast institutions prioritising innovative strategies may be needed to accelerate climate action. This panel will examine the potential for reforming multilateral finance to address the climate crisis.

- What role does perceived risk play in delaying green investment, and how can that be effectively addressed by the multilateral framework? Are MDBs set up to properly hedge currency risk, or are new processes and institutions needed?
- What progress has been made on enhancing the resources available to MDBs? Are alternative routes available for catalytic finance in relevant sectors?
- What mechanisms can be established for MDBs to collaborate with national and local governments to ensure that finance addresses local needs and priorities? How can more effective pipelines for relevant, green projects be constructed?
- Is the traditional role of multilateral finance—poverty alleviation and infrastructure development—being lost or ignored in a rush to find new directions for the existing architecture?

**N.K. Singh**, Co-Convenor, G20 Independent Expert Group on Strengthening MDBs; President, Institute of Economic Growth; Chairman, 15th Finance Commission, India

**André Corrêa do Lago**, President, COP30, Brazil

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

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

**Moderator: Christie Ulman**, President, Sequoia Climate Foundation, United States of America

## DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

1630-1720

Mumtaz

(Parallel Session)

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

In February 2025, European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen's visit to India with the full College of Commissioners underscored the EU's deepening relationship with India. As a new geopolitical moment unfolds, the India-EU partnership may play a central role in serving the international order and addressing the imperatives of climate change, digital transformation, connectivity, and security. This panel will explore the strategic significance of the India-EU partnership and the prospects for their expanding collaboration.

- Can India and the EU design a unified and impactful proposition that shapes how multilateral institutions respond to key planetary and human challenges?
- What is the potential for an India-EU FTA by the end of this year—and what are other ways to enhance trade and investments in crucial connectivity, infrastructure, and industrial projects?
- In an era where political power is increasingly intertwined with technological and economic influence, how can India and the EU safeguard common interests and values in emerging technology and digital domains?
- How can both actors catalyse implementation of connectivity projects that link the Indo-Pacific with the Mediterranean, and how can Global Gateway be rendered more effective and influential?

**Anna Lührmann**, Minister of State at the Federal Foreign Office, Germany

**Jonatan Vseiov**, Secretary General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Estonia

**Tanmaya Lal**, Secretary, West, Ministry of External Affairs, India

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

**Garima Mohan**, Senior Fellow, Indo-Pacific Program, German Marshall Fund, Germany

**Moderator: Amrita Narlikar**, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

# DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 1710-1800 | Durbar  |
|           | <p><b>Made in Africa: The Continent that will Shape our Future</b></p> <p>The people of the African continent will not be spectators but architects of the 21<sup>st</sup> century's global order. From sustainable energy and climate action to peace, security, trade, and connectivity, perspectives crafted by the nations of Africa will increasingly shape the global agenda. The continent's abundant natural resources and its vibrant demography offer a blend of strengths and opportunities. This panel will examine African countries' evolving roles in global affairs and their contributions to shaping the rest of the century.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What strategies are being devised in African capitals to connect the continent's diverse economic zones to international hubs, and to convert economic growth to last-mile development?</li> <li>• Given Africa's mineral wealth and enviable resources, can we prevent extractive economics from defining the continent's future and invest in Africa-first value addition?</li> <li>• How should African nations select and adopt emerging technologies that are both sustainable and economically viable? What type of partners should they prioritise?</li> <li>• As political polarisation intensifies in the world, with divergent agendas and ideological divides, how can the countries of the continent navigate turbulent geopolitical currents?</li> </ul> <p><b>Mehdi Jomaa</b>, Former Prime Minister, Tunisia<br/> <b>Moussa Mara</b>, Former Prime Minister, Mali; Member, Club de Madrid<br/> <b>Sarah Agbor Anyang</b>, Vice President, Forum for African Women Educationalists, Kenya; Former Commissioner, African Union<br/> <b>Gwendoline Abunaw</b>, Managing Director, Ecobank, Cameroon<br/> <b>Karim El Aynaoui</b>, Executive President, Policy Center for the New South, Morocco<br/> <b>Moderator: Elizabeth Sidiropoulos</b>, Chief Executive, South African Institute of International Affairs, South Africa</p> |
| 1800-1830 | Break   |
| 1830-1840 | Durbar  |
|           | <p><b>Valedictory Address</b><br/> <b>Sunjoy Joshi</b>, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>   |



## DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

|                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1840-1930                            | Durbar  |
|                                      | <p><b>The Big Picture: The World in 50 Minutes</b></p> <p>This session invites a diverse and eclectic group of leaders, thinkers, and trailblazers to offer their perspectives on the world of tomorrow. With bold questions and candid insights, this session will explore the challenges, opportunities, and transformative forces shaping our global future across politics.</p> <p><b>Carl Bildt</b>, Former Prime Minister, Sweden<br/> <b>Anna Lührmann</b>, Minister of State at the Federal Foreign Office, Germany<br/> <b>Mark Suzman</b>, Chief Executive Officer and Board Member, Gates Foundation, United States of America<br/> <b>Marietje Schaake</b>, International Policy Director, Cyber Policy Center, Stanford University, United States of America<br/> <b>Vikram Misri</b>, Foreign Secretary, India<br/> <b>Moderator: Samir Saran</b>, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p>   |
| 1930-2000                            | Transition  |
| 2000 - 2130                          | Shahjehan   |
| Dinner Conversation (By-invite Only) | <p><b>Raisina Young Fellows Alumni Dinner</b></p> <p><b>S. Jaishankar</b>, Minister of External Affairs, India</p>  |
| 2000 - 2130                          | Roshanara   |
| Dinner Conversation (By-invite Only) | <p><b>Technical Workshop on Peace-making</b></p> <p>An in-depth discussion on conflicts in West Asia, Africa, and Europe. Each session will feature experts on the region and the specific conflict being studied.</p> <p><b>Co-Chairs:</b><br/> <b>Dag Nylander</b>, Director, Norwegian Centre for Conflict Resolution, Norway<br/> <b>Ajay Bisaria</b>, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India</p> <p><b>Initiators:</b><br/> <b>Volker Perthes</b>, Senior Distinguished Fellow, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Germany<br/> <b>Charles Petrie</b>, Former Assistant Secretary General, United Nations<br/> <b>Itonde Kakoma</b>, President, Interpeace, Switzerland<br/> <b>Yair Hirschfeld</b>, Senior Lecturer, Department of Middle East History, University of Haifa, Israel<br/> <b>Almut Wieland-Karimi</b>, Advisory Board Member, Stiftung Mercator, Germany<br/> <b>Danielle Alakija</b>, Founder &amp; Chief Executive Officer, The SOLI Group, Nigeria</p> |

## DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 2000-2130                               | Mumtaz  |
| Dinner Conversation<br>(By-invite Only) | <p><b>Mumtaz Urban Innovators Lab: Shaping Solutions for Cities with Expo City Dubai</b></p> <p>This session will be an engaging townhall where students will collaborate, ideate and engage the most pressing challenges cities around the world are confronted with. Their ideas and inputs would form part of the discussions at the Asia Pacific Cities Summit &amp; Mayors' Forum 2025.</p> <p><b>John McGinnis</b>, Senior Manager, Programme and Events, Expo City Dubai, United Arab Emirates<br/> <b>Misha Mittal</b>, Senior Manager, City Advisory, Expo City Dubai, United Arab Emirates</p>  |
| 2130-2145                               | Transition  |
| 2145-2215                               | Durbar  |
| (For Speakers and Delegates only)       | <b>Sahakriya: A Musical Performance</b>   |
| 2215-2245                               | Durbar  |
| (For Speakers and Delegates only)       | <p><b>The Curtain Call</b></p> <p>Join three leading journalists as they share unique takes on the most pressing global events shaping our world today. With insights from India, Australia, and the US, this conversation promises to offer a dynamic view of the challenges and transformations across continents. This session reverses the gaze, with interrogators becoming instead the subjects of inquiry.</p> <p><b>In Conversation with:</b><br/> <b>Palki Sharma</b>, Managing Editor, Firstpost, India<br/> <b>Matthew Kaminski</b>, Editor at Large, POLITICO, United States of America<br/> <b>Yalda Hakim</b>, Lead World News Presenter, Sky News, United Kingdom<br/> <b>Moderator: Samir Saran</b>, President, Observer Research Foundation, India</p> |



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PEOPLE PEACE PLANET

## DPI CONCLAVE

MARCH 20, 2025

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| 0900      | Arrival at Sushma Swaraj Bhawan  |
| 0900-0950 | <b>Breakfast</b>   |
| 0950-1000 | <b>Welcome Address</b><br><b>Vikram Misri</b> , Foreign Secretary, India |

MARCH 20, 2025

1000-1030

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

The DPI ecosystem has evolved rapidly in the last few years. While the initial efforts on DPI were undertaken by the governments to support digital transformation, this new phase of DPI is characterised by joint efforts of the markets, national governments, DPG asset holders, international organisations and philanthropies. Accordingly, the role of international organisations becomes increasingly important as witnessed in the Universal DPI Safeguards process and the Global Digital Compact.

- How are UN and other international organisations responding to the growth of DPI globally?
- How can DPI support the aspirations of the Global South?
- How can we develop a consensus on the regulation and safeguards for the DPI?
- How important is the UN when it comes to the future of global DPI?

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

1030-1115

**DPI: Accelerating Innovation?**

DPIs have emerged as powerful enablers of entrepreneurship by providing the foundational layers on which enterprises can build innovative solutions. By offering open technology standards and interoperable frameworks, DPIs lower entry barriers, reduce business costs, and create an environment conducive to experimentation and innovation. However, there are concerns that DPIs may inadvertently hinder certain aspects of innovation due to challenges like over-regulation, the risk of market concentration, and the potential for market lock-ins.

- How can DPIs be designed to minimise innovation while ensuring robust security and privacy protections?
- What strategies can be employed to minimise risks like over-regulation and market concentration?
- Additionally, what role does the private sector play in harnessing DPIs for innovation, and how can public-private collaborations be leveraged to enhance entrepreneurial outcomes?

**Innar Liiv**, Professor of Big Data, Tallinn University of Technology, Estonia

**Jainaba Sowe**, Public Relations Officer, Open Gambia Network and Human Resources Assistant National Water and Electricity Company Ltd, Gambia

**Shriyanka Hore**, Managing Director, Global Head of Industry Engagement, Swift

**Tshering Cigay Dorji**, Former Chief Executive Officer, Thimphu TechPark, Bhutan

**Moderator: Pranjal Sharma**, Economic Analyst and Author, India

1115-1135

**Break**

MARCH 20, 2025

1135-1225

**DPI Diplomacy: Building Bridges, Benefiting Nations**

DPIs' transformative success in India, and their demonstrated replicability across diverse country contexts, has led to their emergence as a new tool for international cooperation and diplomacy. For instance, a host of countries in the Indo-Pacific have begun to adopt and adapt the DPI model; multilaterals like the Quad and the SCO are keen to utilise DPIs for regional development; the US and the EU have expressed interest in partnering with India to provide global leadership around DPI and support third countries; and the EU and India are working towards making their digital infrastructures more interoperable. These collaborations could enable national and cross-border digital transformation, and open up new avenues for innovation using frontier and emerging technologies.

- Is DPI helping inaugurate a new era of international cooperation and diplomacy?
- Which elements and attributes of the Indian DPI model hold the greatest appeal for the world?
- How might businesses better leverage the opportunities for public-private cooperation and innovation that DPIs offer?
- Are there any major instances of foreign ministries working with the private sector on DPI initiatives that could act as operating models?

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

**C V Madhukar**, Chief Executive Officer, Co- Develop, India

**Erin Watson**, Managing Director, Baker & York, Australia

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

**Sanjay Jain**, Director, DPI, Gates Foundation, India

**Moderator: Anirban Sarma**, Director, Center for Digital Societies, Observer Research Foundation, India

MARCH 20, 2025

1225-1315

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

The integration of Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) with Artificial Intelligence (AI) presents a powerful opportunity to create widespread societal benefits. Data housed within DPI systems—spanning critical sectors such as healthcare, education, transportation, and governance—can fuel AI solutions that are not only transformative but also inclusive. By unlocking this data, AI can enhance capabilities, boost efficiencies, and deliver data-driven solutions to complex challenges that benefit diverse communities.

- What are the primary challenges in integrating AI with DPI systems, particularly in terms of technical, ethical, and regulatory hurdles?
- How can the need for data be balanced with the right to privacy?
- How can data sharing be facilitated across sectors while maintaining transparency, trust, and accountability?

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

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

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

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

**Sharad Sharma**, Co-Founder, iSPIRT, India

**Moderator: Rahul Matthan**, Partner, Trilegal, India

1315-1330

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

1330-1340

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

**Closing Remarks: Sunjoy Joshi**, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India

1340 onwards

**Lunch**



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PEOPLE PEACE PLANET

## Raisina Ideas Pod

in Partnership with  
**FirstPost**

### In Conversation

**Christopher Luxon**, Prime Minister, New Zealand

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

### AU in the G20

This session will examine the evolving role of the African Union within the G20 framework and its implications for Africa's global influence, especially as the continent aligns its aspirations with the AU's Agenda 2063.

**Samuel Okudzeto Ablakwa**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ghana Sarah Agbor Anyang, Vice President, Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE), Kenya; Former Commissioner, African Union

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

### In Conversation

**Ruben Brekelmans**, Minister of Defense, The Netherlands

**Moderator: Harsh V. Pant**, Vice President, Observer Research Foundation, India

### In Conversation

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

**Moderator: Mihir Swarup Sharma**, Director, Centre for Economy and Growth Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India

### Crypto Bros or Cons

This session will explore the ongoing debate over crypto currency's role in the financial world, scrutinising whether it is a legitimate asset or just a speculative gamble, and how regulators should respond at the national and global level.

**Hoda Al Khzaimi**, Assistant Professor and Director, Center for Cyber Security, NYU, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates

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

**Moderator: Lydia Kostopoulos**, Senior Strategy and Emerging Technologies Advisor, Abundance Studio, United States of America

### In Conversation

**Andrii Sybiha**, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ukraine

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

### Europe's East Asia Conundrum

As Europe re-examines its strategic capabilities and its future in a polarised world, questions will be asked about its relationship with the great powers, including China. This session will examine Europe's economic dependencies and strategic interests in the immediate future and how Europe can reassert its values and agency in response to the assertive powers.

**Baiba Braže**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Latvia

**Marco Perestrello**, President of NATO Parliamentary Assembly; Member of Parliament, Portugal

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

### In Conversation

**Dominique Hasler**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Education and Sport, Liechtenstein

**Moderator: Shairee Malhotra**, Deputy Director, Strategic Studies Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India

### Conflicts Less Spoken About

While the Western gaze might be turned towards Ukraine or Gaza, there are frozen and active conflicts in the African continent that deserve greater global attention. This session will explore how the broader geopolitical landscape impacts the choices of African capitals and peace-making prospects in the continent.

**Moussa Mara**, Former Prime Minister, Mali

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

**Moderator: Lukhanyo Neer**, Chief Operating Officer, Thabo Mbeki Foundation, South Africa

### Taking Stock of the Asian Century

This session will explore the evolving dynamics of the 'Asian Century' examining the complex interplay between collaboration and contestation in the region, particularly as influenced by a new Trump presidency. The discussion will delve into how China is likely to react to developments in Europe and across the Atlantic, and how East Asian countries, including South Korea and Japan, are positioning themselves in this shifting geopolitical landscape.

**Kishore Mahbubani**, Distinguished Fellow, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore

**Moderator: Harsh V. Pant**, Vice President, Observer Research Foundation, India



**In Conversation****Péter Szijjártó**, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Hungary**Moderator: Kanchan Gupta**, Senior Advisor, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India**An Age for Partnerships, not Alliances?**

Unlike the security in the Atlantic, which was based on alliances, security in the Indo-Pacific will be based on partnerships. This session will delve into how countries in the Indo-Pacific region are navigating these partnerships and will analyse the benefits, challenges, and future trajectories of such partnerships in an increasingly tense Indo-Pacific region.

**Abraham Denmark**, Director, Asia Program, The Asia Group, United States of America**Bernard Philip**, First Assistant Secretary, International Policy Division, Australia**Moderator: Dhruva Jaishankar**, Executive Director, ORF America, United States of America**Distressed Democracy**

This session will discuss how the US has been grappling with deepening divisions and is now mired in internal crises and discord. The current discourse is marked by hostility rather than constructive dialogue; economic inequality; racial injustice; and generational disconnect.

**Jane Holl Lute**, President and Chief Executive Officer, SICPA, United States of America**Max Abrahms**, Associate Professor of Political Science, Northeastern University, United States of America**Moderator: Gautam Chikermane**, Vice President, Observer Research Foundation, India**ASEAN in a Polarised World**

Southeast Asia is at the centre of growth and trade in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, but it must also deal with a shifting security landscape in the Indo-Pacific. This session will explore how Thailand and the Philippines view their strategic interests and their future.

**Maris Sangiampongsa**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thailand**Enrique Manalo**, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Philippines**Moderator: Palki Sharma**, Managing Editor, Firstpost, India**In Conversation****Rafael Mariano Grossi**, Director General, International Atomic Energy Agency**Moderator: Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman**, Observer Research Foundation, India**In Conversation**

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

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

**Strategic Actor or Woke Continent?**

With the recent elections, is the European consensus further frayed? In the fight between centripetal forces and centrifugal forces, who is winning? This panel will explore Europe's ability to rise beyond this discord and rebuild its role on the global stage as a strategic actor and a key geopolitical influencer.

**Gladden Pappin**, President, Hungarian Institute of International Affairs, United States of America

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

**Moderator: Kanchan Gupta**, Senior Advisor, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, India

**In Conversation**

**Noura bint Mohammed Al Kaabi**, Minister of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Arab Emirates

**Moderator: Navdeep Suri**, Visiting Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

**What Does the South Want?**

This session will discuss the growing influence of the Global South in international forums, and how its diverse aspirations can be constructively channelled to modernise traditional power structures.

**Arzu Rana Deuba**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nepal

**Julia Ganter**, Programme Director, Körber-Stiftung, Germany

**Moderator: Prathik S Vinod**, Associate Producer, Firstpost, India

**In Conversation**

**Elmer Schialer Salcedo**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Peru

**Moderator: Dhruva Jaishankar**, Executive Director, ORF America, United States of America

**Japan's Strategic Investments**

This session will explore Japan's strategies for investing in a strategic future, focusing on its role in global supply chains, securing access to critical minerals, and maintaining relevance in an evolving global landscape.

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

**Osamu Yamamoto**, Chief Executive Officer, Unison Capital Management Pte. Ltd., Japan

**Moderator: Jhanvi Tripathi**, Associate Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

**DEI Disrupted**

This session will explore how the evolving US stance on DEI is impacting global policies, corporate practices, and international governance, and whether it signals the beginning of a broader rethinking of diversity efforts around the world.

**James Carafano**, Senior Counselor to the President and EW. Richardson Fellow, The Heritage Foundation, United States of America

**Bonnie Glick**, Adjunct Senior Fellow, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, United States of America

**Moderator: Gursshheen Gahlen**, Senior Associate Producer, Firstpost, India

### Why Can't Europe Agree on China?

Across the European continent, divergent positions on China have created a patchwork of policies and incoherent politics. This fragmentation has complicated the EU's ability to develop a unified and strategic approach toward Beijing.

**Laimonas Talat-Kelpša**, Political Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lithuania

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

**Moderator: Gautam Chikermane**, Vice President, Observer Research Foundation, India

### What's Next for Energy and the Green Deal?

The global green transition requires new energy supply chains to be robust, resilient, and well financed. Scaling up new energy ecosystems and achieving green growth will require international collaboration: with finance, technology, and production capabilities from different geographies being brought together. This session examines the prospects of a global green deal, exploring the challenges and opportunities for countries to collaborate on green energy and decarbonisation.

**Jayant Sinha**, Former Minister of State for Civil Aviation, India

**Alok Sharma**, Former President, COP26, 26th United Nations Climate Change Conference

**Moderator: Mannat Jaspal**, Director & Fellow, Climate and Energy, ORF Middle East, United Arab Emirates

### China Down Under

This session will examine the shifting security dynamics in the Indo-Pacific region, with a focus on China's growing influence and its implications for regional stability.

**Rory Medcalf**, Head, National Security College, Australian National University, Australia

**Masafumi Ishii**, Special Adjunct Professor, Faculty of Law, Gakushuin University, Japan

**Moderator: Lisa Singh**, Chief Executive Officer, Australia India Institute, Australia

### In Conversation

**Admiral Samuel Paparo**, USN, Commander, U.S. Indo-Pacific Command

**Moderator: Harsh V. Pant**, Vice President, Observer Research Foundation, India

### Leadership in a Crisis

This session will delve into the critical role of leadership during a crisis, whether in political or business contexts. Jemma King will discuss how effective leaders navigate uncertainties, make tough decisions, and inspire confidence in turbulent times. The conversation will explore the traits and strategies that define strong leadership when the stakes are high.

**Jemma King**, Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Queensland School of Psychology; Specialist External Advisor to McKinsey & Co., Australia

**Moderator: Lavanya Mani**, Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

### Trilateral North–South Connectivity

The International North–South Transport Corridor (INSTC) envisioned a new bridge for trade, connecting the fast-growing economic dynamos of the Global South with markets to their north. Built into the concept was the centrality of the Caucasus as a bridge between north and south. In April 2023, India, Armenia and Iran jointly took responsibility for reinvigorating the work on the corridor and overcoming the challenges in an era of disruption and uncertainty.

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

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

**Moderator: Harsh V. Pant**, Vice President, Observer Research Foundation, India

### From Cape Town to Capitol Hill

The G20 presidency is due to shift from South Africa to the US, which will create a new dynamic in global governance. This discussion explores the impact of US leadership on the G20's agenda and its ability to address global issues such as economic inequality, climate change, and security. With an emphasis on America's influence, the session looks ahead to how the G20 will evolve under this transition.

**Feride İnan**, Director, Geoeconomic Studies Center, Economic Policy Research Foundation, Turkey

**Keiti da Rocha Gomes**, Director, Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, Brazil

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

**Moderator: Elizabeth Sidiropoulos**, Chief Executive, South African Institute of International Affairs, South Africa

### Connectivity Blueprint from the Indo-Pacific to the Mediterranean

The maritime landscape from the Indo-Pacific to the Mediterranean is witnessing a transformation through enhanced shipbuilding capabilities, new shipping routes and port modernisation initiatives. This session will discuss the opportunities that this evolving seascape presents for technology sharing, green shipping corridors and coordinated port infrastructure development across this vital maritime expanse.

**Tristan Aureau**, Head, Policy Planning Department, Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, France

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

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

### Europe in the Concert of Waters

As the Arctic and Indo-Pacific regions become key areas of geopolitical competition, this session will examine the security challenges posed by the growing influence of China and Russia in these regions, and how the West, particularly Europe, can respond.

**Nicolai Ruge**, Ambassador, Special Representatives for Maritime Security, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Denmark

**Hans-Christian Hagman**, Deputy National Security Adviser for Strategy, Head of the Office for Strategic Analysis and National Security Coordination, National Security Council, Prime Minister's Office, Sweden

**Moderator: Kabir Taneja**, Deputy Director and Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

### Calm over the Taiwan Strait

This session will explore the many issues that centre on Taiwan examining its relationship with the mainland, its extraordinary geo-economic importance, and its evolving role on the global stage amidst rising geopolitical tensions.

**I-Chung Lai**, President, The Prospect Foundation

**Hiroyuki Akita**, Foreign & International Security Commentator, Nikkei Asia, Japan

**Moderator: Gurssheen Gahlen**, Senior Associate Producer, Firstpost, India

### Rewriting Germany's Limits

Germany's political landscape is undergoing a significant shift as the country moves to loosen its constitutional debt restrictions to enable €1 trillion in defence and infrastructure spending. This strategic shift challenges long-standing fiscal policies, aiming to bolster national security and economic growth and promises major implications for both the domestic economy and Europe's security landscape.

**Bastian Schneider**, Judge, Karlsruhe Administrative Court, Germany

**Adrian Haack**, Director, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, India

**Moderator: Prathik S Vinod**, Associate Producer, Firstpost, India

### Opportunities Connect

This session will examine how the India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor (IMEC) can reshape global connectivity, foster economic growth, and enhance geopolitical stability through enhanced cooperation between India, the Middle East, and Europe.

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

**Francesco Parisi**, Chief Executive Officer, Parisi Group of Companies, Italy

**Romana Vlahutin**, Visiting Distinguished Fellow, German Marshall Fund, Belgium

**Moderator: Kaush Arha**, President, Free & Open Indo-Pacific Forum, United States of America

### The Need to Invest in Liberal Fleets

This session will examine the geopolitical implications of China's dominance in shipping and maritime infrastructure, exploring how global trade dynamics are shifting and what policies may be necessary to ensure a more diversified and secure maritime future.

**Sanjeev Sanyal**, Member, Economic Advisory Council of the Prime Minister, India

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

**Moderator: Rachel Rizzo**, Senior Fellow, Europe Center, Atlantic Council, United States of America

### Financing Climate Resilience

This session will explore how climate finance can be restructured to address the unique needs of vulnerable nations, focusing on debt sustainability and scalable solutions. It will examine how global initiatives can foster climate resilience and sustainable development in at-risk countries

**Pepukaye Bardouille**, Director of Bridgetown Initiative; Special Adviser on Climate Resilience, Prime Minister's Office, Barbados

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

**Moderator: Mannat Jaspal**, Director & Fellow, Climate and Energy, Observer Research Foundation Middle East, United Arab Emirates

### In Conversation

**Athanasios Ntokos**, National Security Adviser, Greece

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



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PEOPLE PEACE PLANET

**ASSOCIATED  
EVENTS**

**MARCH 17, 2025**

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 0900-1300 | ORF Conference Room <b>India-France Track 1.5 Dialogue</b>                              |
| 1030-1300 | Jehangir <b>Raisina IE Global Students Challenge</b>                                    |
| 0900-1030 | Roshanara <b>The Asia Bridge: Shaping the Future of EU-India Economic Opportunities</b> |

**MARCH 18, 2025**

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 1600-1730 | Jehangir <b>Raisina IE Global Student Challenge</b> |
|-----------|---|

**MARCH 19, 2025**

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 1600-1730 | Jehangir <b>Raisina IE Global Student Challenge</b> |
|-----------|---|

**MARCH 20, 2025**

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| 0930-1400 | Sushma Swaraj Bhawan <b>DPI Conclave</b> |
|           | Oberoi <b>India-US-Russia Trilateral</b> |



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PEOPLE PEACE PLANET

**SPEAKERS**





# INAUGURATION SPEAKERS

Monday, 17 March 2025

1800-1900, Durbar



**NARENDRA  
MODI**

Prime Minister  
of India



**CHRISTOPHER  
LUXON**

Prime Minister of  
New Zealand



**Aakanksha Tangri**

Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Re:Set, United Arab Emirates



**Abraham Denmark**

Director, Asia Program, The Asia Group, United States of America



**Abdulla Khaleel**

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Maldives



**Admiral Dinesh Kumar Tripathi**

Chief of the Naval Staff, India



**Abdalnasser Jamal Alshaali**

Ambassador of the United Arab Emirates to India,



**Admiral Justin Jones**

Chief of Joint Operations, Australia



**Abhishek Singh**

Additional Secretary, Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology, India



**Admiral Samuel Paparo**

Commander, U.S. Indo-Pacific Command, United States of America



**Abhishek Singh**

Joint Secretary, Multilateral Economic Relations; Sous-Sherpa for G20, BRICS, IBSA, India



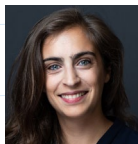
**Adrian Haack**

Director, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, India



**Abba Abdel Latif**

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



**Agatha Kratz**

Partner, Rhodium Group, France



**Air Chief Marshal  
Amar Preet Singh**

Chief of the Air Staff,  
India



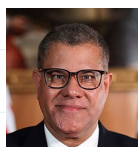
**Almut Möller**

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



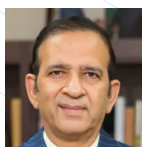
**Ajay Tyagi**

Distinguished Fellow,  
Observer Research Foundation,  
India



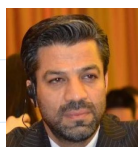
**Alok Sharma**

Former President, COP26, 26th  
United Nations Climate Change  
Conference



**Ajay Bisaria**

Distinguished Fellow, Observer  
Research Foundation, India



**Alireza Gholipour**

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



**Alicia Garcia Herrero**

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



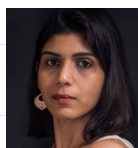
**Amandeep Singh Gill**

Under Secretary General; Secretary  
General's Envoy on Technology,  
United Nations



**Alexander Dynkin**

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



**Ambika Vishwanath**

Director, Kubernein Initiative,  
India



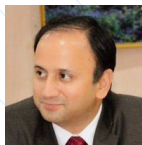
**Amitabh Kant**

G20 Sherpa,  
India



**Andreas Urschitz**

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



**Amit Shukla**

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



**André Corrêa do Lago**

President,  
COP30, Brazil



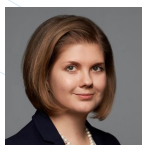
**Amrita Narlikar**

Distinguished Fellow, Observer  
Research Foundation, India



**Anulekha Nandi**

Fellow, Technology, Economy,  
and Society, Observer Research  
Foundation, India



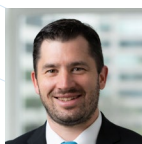
**Anastasia Likhacheva**

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



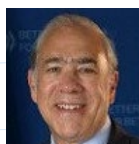
**Andrii Sybiha**

Minister for Foreign Affairs,  
Ukraine



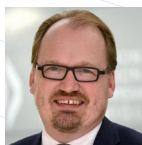
**Andreas Kuehn**

Senior Fellow,  
ORF America, United States of  
America



**Angel Gurría**

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



**Andreas Schaal**

Director, Global Relations and Co-  
operation; Sherpa to the G7,  
G20 and Asia-Pacific Economic  
Cooperation, Organisation for  
Economic Co-operation and  
Development



**Anna Lührmann**

Minister of State, Federal Foreign  
Office, Germany



**Angelika Niebler**

Member of the European Parliament; Head of the Parliamentary Committee of India, Germany



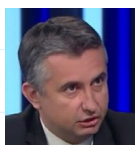
**Athanasios Ntokos**

National Security Adviser, Greece



**Anwar Bin Mohammed Gargash**

Diplomatic Advisor to the President, United Arab Emirates



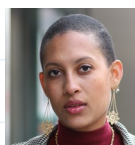
**Attila Demkó**

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



**Arvind Gupta**

Co-founder, Digital India Foundation, India



**Aude Darnal**

Research Analyst and Project Manager, Stimson Center, United States of America



**Arzu Rana Deuba**

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nepal



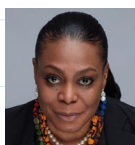
**Axel Berger**

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



**Ashok Malik**

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



**Ayode Alakija**

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



**Ashwini Vaishnav**

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



**Baiba Braže**

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Latvia



**Bastian Schneider**

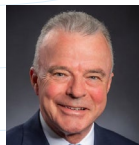
Judge, Karlsruhe Administrative Court, Germany

**Börje Ekholm**

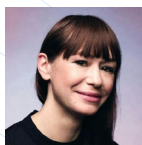
President and Chief Executive Officer, Ericsson, Sweden

**Bernard Philip**

First Assistant Secretary, International Policy Division, Australia

**Brendan Nelson**

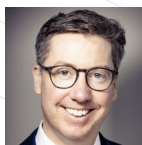
President, Boeing Global, United Kingdom

**Benedetta Berti**

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

**Brent Sadler**

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

**Benedikt Franke**

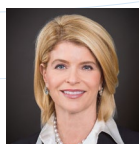
Vice Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Munich Security Conference, Germany

**Carl Bildt**

Former Prime Minister, Sweden

**Bjørn Lomborg**

President, Copenhagen Consensus Center, Denmark

**Carla Sands**

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

**Boris Ruge**

Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs and Security Policy, NATO

**Claire Alembik**

Investment Specialist, Asian Development Bank



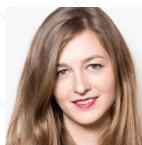
**Carolina Chimoy**

International Correspondent,  
Deutsche Welle, United States of  
America



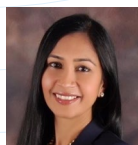
**Chevaan Daniel**

Executive Group Director,  
Capital Maharaja Group, Sri Lanka



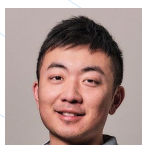
**Carolin Albrecht**

Managing Director,  
Berlin Global Dialogue,  
Germany



**Chitkala Kalidas**

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



**Carl Pei**

Chief Executive Officer,  
Nothing, United Kingdom



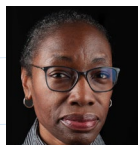
**Christie Ulman**

President, Sequoia Climate  
Foundation, United States of  
America



**Cecilia Oldne**

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



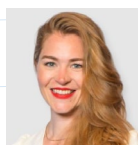
**Comfort Ero**

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



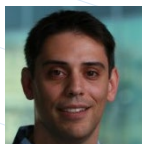
**Charles Petrie**

Former United Nations Assistant  
Secretary-General



**Corinna Hoyer**

Co-Chief Operating Officer,  
WORLD.MINDS, Switzerland



**Charles Rocko Carafano**

Global Product Strategy,  
Mechatronics and Robotics,  
Amazon, United States of America



**Dammu Ravi**

Secretary, Economic Relations,  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
India

**Dag Nylander**

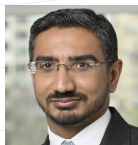
Director, Norwegian Centre for  
Conflict Resolution, Norway

**D.N. Dhungyel**

Minister for Foreign Affairs and  
External Trade, Bhutan

**David Petraeus**

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

**Dhruva Jaishankar**

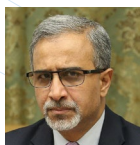
Executive Director, ORF America,  
United States of America

**Davit Karapetyan**

Secretary General, Ministry of  
Foreign Affairs, Armenia

**Dominique Hasler**

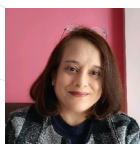
Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Education and Sport,  
Liechtenstein

**DB Venkatesh Varma**

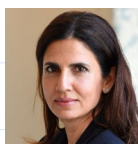
Former Ambassador of India to  
Russia, India

**Dino Patti Djalal**

Founder, Foreign Policy Community  
of Indonesia, Indonesia

**Debjani Ghosh**

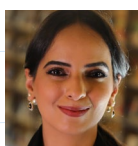
Distinguished Fellow, NITI Aayog,  
India

**Divyata Ashiya**

Managing Director, Fortescue  
Capital, United Kingdom

**Del Titus Bawuah**

Chief Executive Officer, Web3  
Africa Group, Ghana

**Dubai Abulhoul**

Founder, Fiker Institute,  
United Arab Emirates





**Ebtesam Al-Ketbi**

Founder and President, Emirates Policy Center, United Arab Emirates



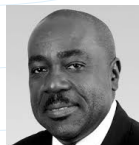
**Enrique Manalo**

Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Philippines



**Eden Bar-Tal**

Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Israel



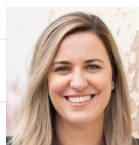
**E P Chet Greene**

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Antigua and Barbuda



**Eduardo Martínez Díaz**

Deputy Prime Minister, Cuba



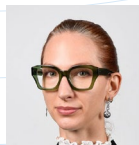
**Erin Watson**

Managing Director, Baker & York, Australia



**Elena Lazarou**

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



**Erin Saltman**

Membership and Programs Director, Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism, United Kingdom



**Elizabeth Sidiropoulos**

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



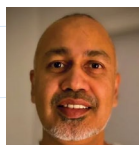
**Espen Barth Eide**

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Norway



**Elmer Schialer Salcedo**

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Peru



**Faheem Ahamed**

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



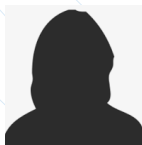
**Florence Gaub**

Director, Research Division,  
NATO Defense College,  
Germany



**General Upendra Dwivedi**

Chief of the Army Staff,  
India



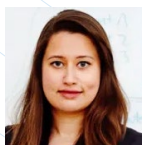
**Francesco Paris**

President of Trieste Business  
Association, Italy



**General Yoshihide Yoshida**

Chief of Staff, Joint Staff,  
Japan



**Garima Mohan**

Senior Fellow, German Marshall  
Fund, Germany



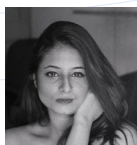
**Georgette Mosbacher**

Co-chair, Three Seas, Atlantic  
Council, United States of America



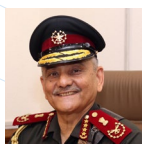
**Gladden Pappin**

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



**Gursheen Gahlen**

Senior Associate Producer, Firstpost,  
India



**General Anil Chauhan**

Chief of Defence Staff,  
India



**Guido Crosetto**

Minister of Defence, Italy



**General Romeo S. Brawner**

Chief of Staff, Armed Forces,  
Philippines



**Gilberto Correia Carvalho Silva**

Minister of Agriculture and  
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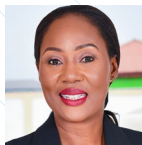
**Güven Sak**

Managing Director, Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey, Türkiye



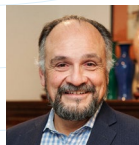
**Harsh V. Pant**

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



**Gwendoline Abunaw**

Managing Director, Ecobank, Cameroon



**Héctor Cárdenas Suárez**

President, Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales, Mexico



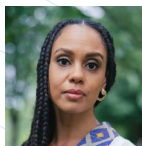
**Hanna Notte**

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



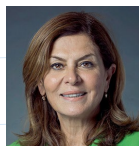
**Heungchong Kim**

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



**Hannah Wanjie Ryder**

Chief Executive Officer, Development Reimagined, Kenya



**Hind Kabawat**

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**James Carafano**

Senior Counselor to the President;  
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**Ila Patnaik**

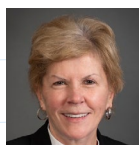
Chief Economist, Aditya Birla  
Group, India


**James Lawless**

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


**Ilan Berman**

Senior Vice President,  
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**Jane Holl Lute**

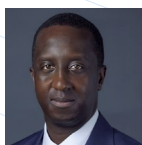
President and Chief Executive  
Officer, SICPA,  
United States of America


**Indrani Bagchi**

Chief Executive Officer,  
Ananta Centre,  
India


**Jayant Sinha**

Former Minister of State for  
Civil Aviation


**Itonde Kakoma**

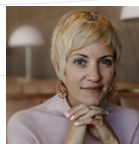
President,  
Interpeace


**Gemma King**

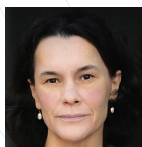
Founder & Director,  
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**Jaideep Mazumdar**

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**Jessy Kate Schingler**

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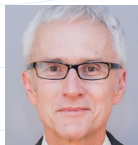
**Jonathan Powell**

National Security Adviser, United Kingdom



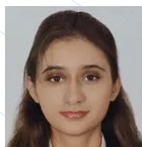
**Ji Yeon-Jung**

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



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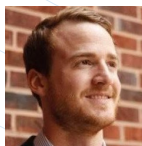
**Jhanvi Tripathi**

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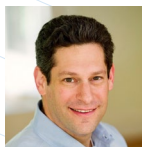
**John McGinnis**

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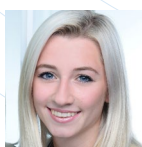
**Karthik Muralidharan**

Tata Chancellor's Professor of  
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**Keiti da Rocha Gomes**

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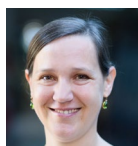
**Kiyoto Matsuda**

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Senior Fellow, German Marshall  
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**Lise Breuil**

Country Director, Agence Française  
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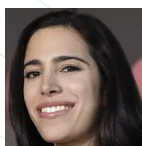
**Laimonas Talat-Kelpša**

Political Director, Ministry of Foreign  
Affairs, Lithuania



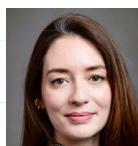
**Louise van Schaik**

Head of Unit EU & Global Affairs,  
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**Lara Setrakian**

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**Louise Marie Hurel**

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**Leslie Vinjamuri**

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II Academy for Leadership in  
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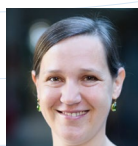
**Lydia Kostopoulos**

Senior Strategy and Emerging  
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**Liew Chin Tong**

Deputy Minister, Ministry of  
Investment, Trade,  
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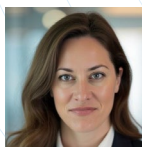
**Lisa Singh**

Chief Executive Officer,  
Australia India Institute,  
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**Maka Botchorishvili**

Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Georgia



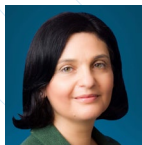
### Maggie Sprenger

Co-founder and General Partner,  
Audere Capital,  
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### Manjula Singh

Executive Director, Children's  
Investment Fund Foundation,  
India



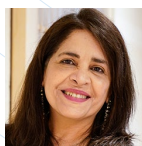
### Maha Yahya

Director, Malcolm H. Kerr Carnegie  
Middle East Center,  
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### Mannat Jaspal

Director & Fellow, Climate and  
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### Maitreyi Das

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### Manuel Muniz

Provost, IE University,  
Spain



### Manish Sabharwal

Vice President, TeamLease Services,  
India



### Maria Malmer Stenergard

Minister for Foreign Affairs,  
Sweden



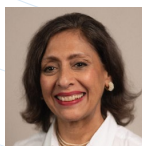
### Manish Tewari

Member of Parliament,  
Lok Sabha, India



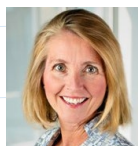
### Maris Sangiampongsa

Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Thailand



### Manjeet Kripalani

Executive Director, Gateway House,  
India



### Mara Motherway

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





**Marcus Bartley Johns**

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



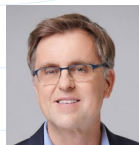
**Masood Ahmed**

President Emeritus,  
CGDev, United States of America



**Marianne Demarchi**

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



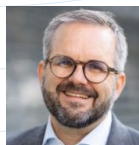
**Matthew Kaminski**

Editor at Large,  
POLITICO, United States of  
America



**Marietje Schaake**

International Policy Director, Cyber  
Policy Center, Stanford University,  
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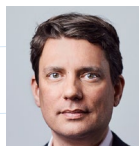
**Matthias Berninger**

EVP Public Affairs,  
Science, Sustainability & HSE,  
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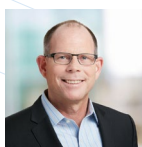
**Markus Brunnermeier**

Edwards S. Sanford Professor,  
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**Matthias Catón**

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**Melissa Conley Tyler**

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**Michael Anton**

Director, Policy Planning Staff,  
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**Mohamad Ali Harisi**

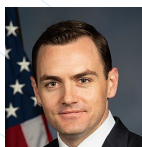
Foreign Editor, The National,  
United Arab Emirates


**Mihai Popșoi**

Deputy Prime Minister; Ministry  
of Foreign Affairs and European  
Integration, Moldova


**Moussa Mara**

Former President of Mali; Member,  
Club de Madrid, Mali


**Mike Gallagher**

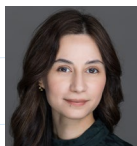
Former United States  
Representative; Head of Defence,  
Palantir Technologies,  
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**Muath Alwari**

Director, Policy Planning  
Department, Ministry of Foreign  
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**Misha Mittal**

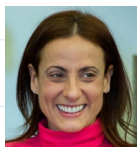
Senior Manager, City Advisory,  
Expo City Dubai, United Arab  
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**Nada Al Hajjri**

President, Yemen Information  
Center, Yemen


**Mohamed Nasheed**

Former President; Secretary-  
General, Climate Vulnerable 20,  
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**Nathalie Tocci**

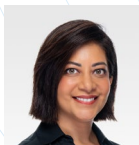
Director, Istituto Affari  
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**Mohamed Al Sharhan**

Managing Director, World  
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**Nathan A. Sales**

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**Nadia Verjee**

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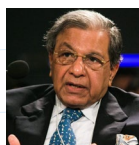
**Nitin Seth**

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



**Navdeep Suri**

Visiting Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India



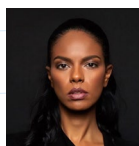
**N.K. Singh**

Co-Convenor, G20 Independent Expert Group on Strengthening MDBs; President, Institute of Economic Growth; Chairman, 15th Finance Commission, India



**Nandan Nilekani**

Co-Founder and Chairman, Infosys, India



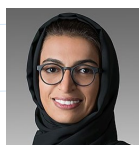
**Noella Coursaris Musunka**

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



**Nicolai Ruge**

Ambassador, Special Representatives for Maritime Security, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Denmark



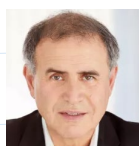
**Noura bint Mohammed Al Kaabi**

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



**Nilanjan Ghosh**

Vice President, Development Studies, Observer Research Foundation, India



**Nouriel Roubini**

Professor Emeritus, New York University, United States of America



**Nirmala Sitharaman**

Minister of Finance and Corporate Affairs, India



**Oana Popescu Zamfir**

Director of GlobalFocus Center, Romania



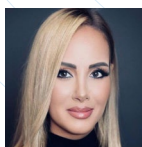
### Oneidge Walrond

Minister of Tourism,  
Industry and Commerce,  
Guyana



### Pamla Gopaul

Senior Programme Officer,  
Data Analyst, African Union  
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### Ornela Çuçi

Former Vice Minister of  
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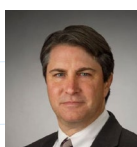
### Paolo Magri

Managing Director and President of  
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### Osamu Yamamoto

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### Pabitra Margherita

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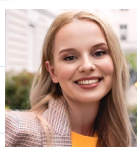
### Paul Saunders

President, Center for the National  
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### Padmaja Joshi

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### Pavlina Pavlova

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### Palki Sharma

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### Pavan Kapoor

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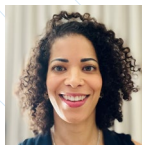
**Peter Grk**

Secretary General, Bled Strategic Forum, Slovenia



**Piyush Goyal**

Minister of Commerce and Industry, India



**Pepukaye Bardouille**

Director, Bridgetown Initiative; Special Adviser on Climate Resilience, Prime Minister's Office, Barbados



**Pooja Kapur**

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**Peter Sawczak**

First Assistant Secretary, Geostrategy and Partnerships Division, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Australia



**Pradeep Khosla**

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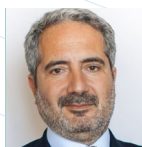
**Péter Szijjártó**

Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Hungary



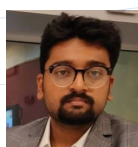
**Pramod Chaudhari**

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**Pierroberto Folgiero**

Chief Executive Officer & Managing Director, Fincantieri, Italy



**Prathik S Vinod**

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**Pippa Malmgren**

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**Priyanka Chaturvedi**

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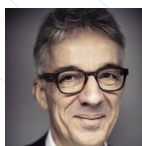


**Raghuram S**

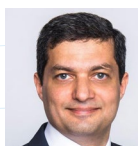
Joint Secretary (Policy Planning & Research), Ministry of External Affairs, India

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**Rainer Rudolph**

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**Rizwan Soomar**

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**Rajeev Chandrashekar**

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**Rob Hewett**

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**Rajesh Gupta**

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**Romana Vlahutin**

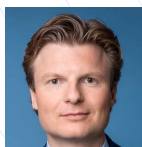
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**Rory Medcalf**

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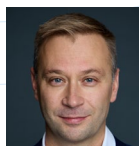
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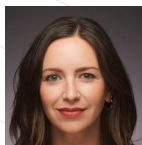
**Pravin Krishna**

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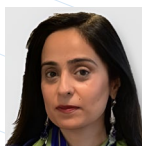
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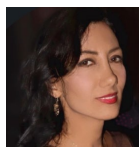
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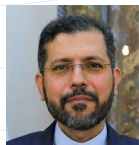
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**Saeed Khatibzade**

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**Sanjeev Krishan**

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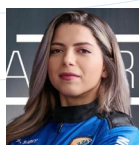
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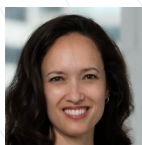
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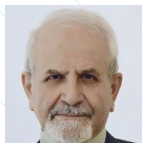
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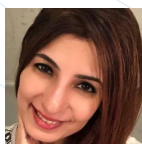
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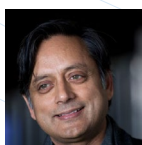
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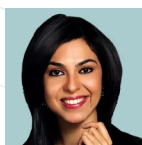
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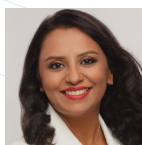
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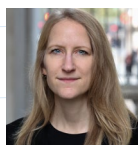
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**Shriyanka Hore**

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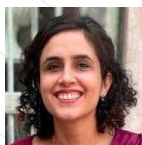
**Sunjoy Joshi**

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**Suzannah Jessep**

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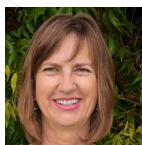
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**Takehiko Matsuo**

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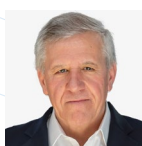
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**Tanmaya Lal**

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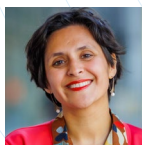
**Symeon Tsomokos**

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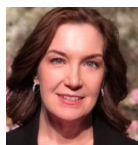
**Tanja Fajon**

Deputy Prime Minister; Minister  
of Foreign and European Affairs,  
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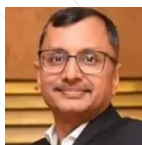
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**Theresa Fallon**

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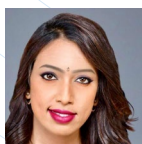
**Tarun Garg**

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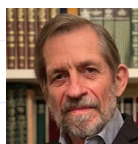
**Thilan Wijesinghe**

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TWC Corp (Pvt) Ltd, Sri Lanka



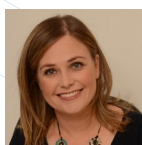
**Teenah Jutton**

Former Member of Parliament,  
Mauritius



**Thomas Graham**

Distinguished Fellow, Council on  
Foreign Relations, United States of  
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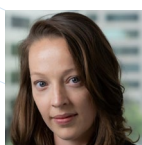
**Tehilla Shwartz Altshuler**

Senior Fellow and Head of Tech  
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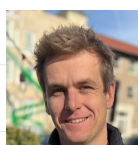
**Tony Abbott**

Former Prime Minister,  
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**Terri Chapman**

Research Fellow, George  
Washington University Institute  
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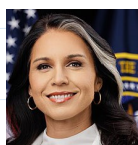
**Tristan Aureau**

Head of the Policy Planning  
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**Thanuja Jayawardhane**

Head, Women Go Beyond,  
MAS Holdings,  
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**Tulsi Gabbard**

Director, National Intelligence,  
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**Udaibir Das**

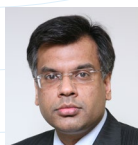
Distinguished Fellow,  
ORF America, United States of  
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**Vikram Misri**

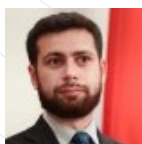
Foreign Secretary,  
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**Vivek Lall**

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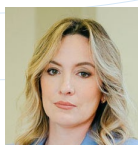
Deputy Foreign Minister, Ministry of  
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**Vanessa Ghanem**

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**Vrinda Kapoor**

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3rdiTech, India



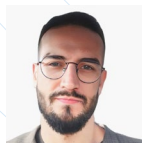
**Vyacheslav Nikonov**

Member of the State of Duma,  
Russia



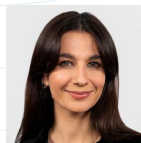
**Xie Chao**

Associate Professor,  
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Fudan University, China



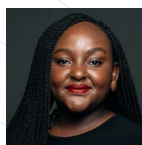
**Walter Desidera**

Researcher and Coordinator,  
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**Yalda Hakim**

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**Yamini Mishra**

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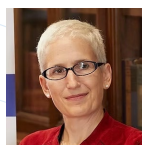
**Xavier Bettel**

Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of  
Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade;  
and Minister for Development  
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**Yasmine Moezinia**

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**Ravi Pokharna**

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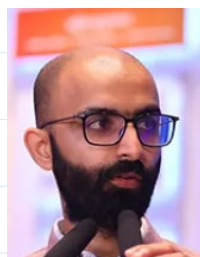
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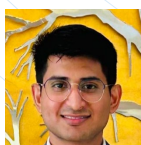
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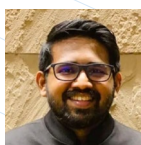
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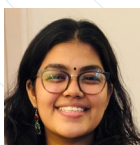
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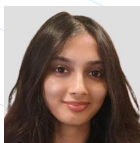
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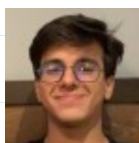
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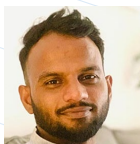
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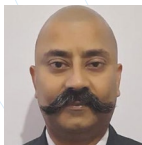

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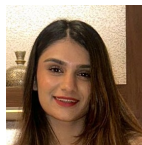

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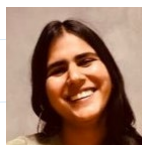
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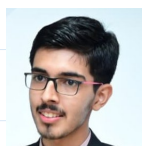
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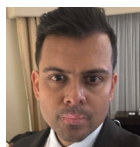
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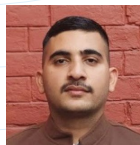
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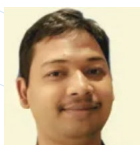
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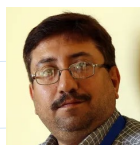
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PEOPLE PEACE PLANET

**CONFERENCE  
INFORMATION**



# CODE OF CONDUCT

## Raisina Dialogue Charter

At ORF, we place a high premium on ensuring that the organisation is an open and safe venue for every attendee, regardless of gender identity, sexual orientation, nationality, ethnicity, religion, or disability. With this goal in mind, we request that all those associated with the ORF, including researchers, participants, organisers and hotel staff, follow our Charter of Participation and understand the repercussions of any violations. We will also announce any house rules and/or updates throughout conferences as needed, which we request all to follow as well.

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

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

### **RESOURCES**

#### **Reporting Inappropriate Conduct**

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

#### **Law Enforcement**

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

#### **Doctor on Staff**

In the event you need medical attention, please contact the event organiser(s).

## EXPECTED CONDUCT

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

### Attendance and Dress Code

All rules of attendance and dress code must be followed as intimated by event organisers. Some events require valid confirmations, others are subject to seating.

### Conference Participation

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

### Drugs and Alcohol

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

### Safety

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

## ANTI-HARASSMENT POLICY

- We do not tolerate any form of harassment at ORF. Our zero tolerance policy prohibits all forms of harassment, including, but not limited to:
- Offensive or derogatory comments related to gender, sexual orientation, nationality, ethnicity, religion or disability.
- Offensive or derogatory comments towards other participants, opinions or personal expression.
- Sexual comments or unwanted physical contact.
- The display of inappropriate images or memorabilia.
- Violence, intimidation, threats or stalking.
- Inappropriate or unwanted social contact with other participants.
- Excessive or unwanted photography of conference participants.

# Media Advisory 2025

## 1. ELIGIBILITY

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

## 2. VENUE AND AGENDA

The Raisina Dialogue will be held in New Delhi, India from March 17-19 2025, at the Taj Palace Hotel, Diplomatic Enclave, New Delhi.

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

## 3. CONFERENCE ACCESS

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

## 4. INTERVIEWS

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

## 5. SOCIAL MEDIA

Listing the social media handles that will be used for the Raisina Dialogue 2025:

### ORF X

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

### ORF Instagram:

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

### ORF Facebook Pages

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

### ORF LinkedIn:

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

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

You can follow all updates from the conference by using the hashtag #Raisina2025. We encourage you to use this hashtag as it will enable us to identify your message on our social media platforms.

## 6. MEDIA CODE OF CONDUCT

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

## 7. CONTACT

For any queries or assistance, please write to Stelin Paul ([stelinpaul@orfonline.org](mailto:stelinpaul@orfonline.org)) and Fiza Jain ([fiza.jain@orfonline.org](mailto:fiza.jain@orfonline.org))

# Location

## New Delhi

### Taj Palace Hotel

#### LEGENDS

- ★ Conference Venue
  - ★ Other Hotels
  - Park/Forest
- Map not to scale



Venue  
Conference Map  
Locate your sessions/facilities





# kālachakra

PEOPLE PEACE PLANET

**PARTNERS**

# RAISINA 2025 PARTNERS

PARTNERS



THE ASIA GROUP



Gates Foundation



Sustainable Mobility Partner











**Ministry of External Affairs**  
Government of India



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