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# RAISINA

DIALOGUE 2021

## CONFERENCE REPORT

**DAY 1**

# **The Health Central: India, SDGs, Vaccines & Global Expectations**

**Oommen C Kurian**

## Panellists

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

**K. VijayRaghavan**, Principal Scientific Advisor, India

In Conversation with - **Mark Suzman**, Chief Executive Officer, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, United States

Covid-19 pandemic has affected lives and livelihoods in a fundamental way, and has perhaps changed for good, how diplomacy is conducted. “Never before has global health taken a central role in global affairs”, said Mark Suzman, Chief Executive Officer, of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. Fighting Covid-19 pandemic has seen an unprecedented global collaboration between researchers, healthcare workers, business leaders and grassroots organisations; and India has been at the forefront of this effort.

“Vasudhaiva Kudumbakom” has been the guiding philosophy for India’s participation in the global pandemic response, as with its earlier interventions. Even before delivering vaccines during the pandemic India has been actively offering humanitarian assistance across the globe, “whether it was an earthquake in Nepal, or a civil war in Yemen, or a cyclone in Mozambique, or a typhoon in Fiji or a mudslide in Sri Lanka”, according to S. Jaishankar, Minister for External Affairs, India.

India finds itself increasingly at the center of the post-pandemic global debate on health, development and technology solutions. There are three critical components to its emerging engagement. First, India’s partnership in vaccinating the world against Covid-19, which is now temporarily disrupted by a destructive second wave. Second, India’s new role in proactively responding to health and development imperatives beyond its own people. Third, India’s role as an emerging solutions provider as technology and its application takes centre-stage in resolving development’s age old challenges.

India’s international cooperation is not a one way street: the country is also immensely gaining from it. Scientific collaborations with the rest of the world have helped India turn itself into a vaccine giant, for example. Notably, India is facing the pandemic not just as a contract manufacturer of vaccines to the world, but one of the few vaccine developing countries. Covaxin, developed under a public private partnership between Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) and Bharat Biotech International Ltd. (BBIL), is now approved for [emergency use](#) in 12 countries. Many other vaccines are in the pipeline.

Equitable access of vaccines is key, since no one will be safe till everyone is safe. Equity and fairness are important, and people often question the virtues of globalisation citing the fact that the process has not been beneficial within and between societies. A ‘global fairness coalition’, forged between governments and other stakeholders should make sure that the weaker, vulnerable and less privileged people do not get left behind, going beyond immediate strategic interests. The enormous global interest now in health security will be the cornerstone of many such partnerships.

“The reach of India’s interactions globally, points to a truly global view of a sense of community, and not just self interest”, said K. VijayRaghavan, Principal Scientific Advisor, India. Bridging the digital and financial divides, sometimes termed as “bridgital” is something that India has become very good at. The 400-800 million story from the pandemic is telling; 400 million people in India got money delivered into their bank accounts directly from the government, without it getting lost on the way. Similarly, 800 million people got food from the government all through 2020. India has a lot to learn from the world, and a lot to offer. India will be an enlightened power in the post-pandemic world, which will not only organise its own rise, but will also facilitate the rise of others.

**DAY 1**

# **Protecting the Rules-Based International Order: A conversation with NATO Secretary General**

**Jens Stoltenberg**

Secretary General, North Atlantic Treaty Organization

**Samir Saran**

Curator, Raisina Dialogue; President,  
Observer Research Foundation

**Sangeet Jain**

The wide-ranging conversation between Dr Samir Saran, President of Observer Research Foundation and Jens Stoltenberg, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Secretary-General, was preceded by an address delivered by the latter. The address sought to convey NATO's evolving perspective of the challenges that face the alliance today, and its desire to engage more deeply with like-minded democracies across the world. The 30-member NATO alliance represents 1 billion people i.e. half of the world's economic and military might. The Secretary-General highlighted that NATO's primary endeavour today is to adapt to an increasingly unpredictable world which is throwing up security challenges that are more global and complex in nature, including cyber warfare, disruptive technology, climate change, nuclear proliferation, disinformation, and mounting authoritarianism.

The conversation between Dr Saran and the Secretary-General began with a discussion concerning the current outlook of the alliance and its near-term ambitions. The Secretary-General applauded the clear and strong message from the Biden administration in this regard, seeking to reinvigorate the alliance. The renewed commitment by the U.S., coupled with the upcoming launch of "NATO 2030"—a project launched to build a future-proof NATO—is expected to launch a new chapter in NATO's trajectory. NATO 2030 shall seek to broaden the security agenda and cover resilience, critical infrastructure, climate change, and investment in emerging technology and modern capabilities. It shall also seek to strengthen consultation within the alliance and outreach around the globe.

Significantly, the Secretary-General alluded to China's rise as a defining global issue, with serious implications for NATO. He stressed that NATO does not regard China as an adversary and recognises that China's rise comes with great opportunities—it has lifted millions out of poverty and is a key trade and investment partner for many NATO countries. China's position as a permanent member of the UN Security Council and potential to shortly become the largest economy in the world, shall enable it to contribute to combating many issues of our time—for example, in negotiating arms control arrangements, and bringing peace and security to Afghanistan. However, NATO is also clear-headed about the challenges posed by China's rise. China has tripled its military expenditure over the past decade and has invested heavily in military modernisation, but this growing military might has been accompanied by an increasingly assertive posture on the global stage. China does not share NATO's values and is seeking to challenge the rules-based international order by coercing its neighbours in the region, openly threatening Taiwan, and hampering freedom of navigation (FON) in the South China Sea. Its investment in critical infrastructure and strategic resources across the world is aimed at creating dependencies. NATO, therefore, believes that it could be a key platform to forge convergence on responding to the security implications of China's rise.

The Secretary-General emphasised that NATO's increasingly global outlook is entirely consistent with its mandate as a regional alliance for Europe and North America. He also stressed that NATO must not be seen primarily as a military alliance, its main tools are political dialogue and capacitybuilding, and it has already fostered partnerships with Australia, New Zealand, South Korea, and Japan in the Indo-Pacific region. In growing recognition of the strategic importance of the Indo-Pacific, several NATO allies such as France, US, the Netherlands, and the UK have developed and strengthened their strategies in the Indo-Pacific and Germany also has plans to send some naval forces to the region.

The conversation concluded with a few crucial takeaways for the India-NATO relationship. Dr Saran pointed to the relationship's lack of momentum, with a Track II dialogue being proposed years ago but never acted upon. The Secretary General responded with enthusiasm about the future prospects of the relationship, and quipped that his attendance at the Raisina Dialogue for the first time is testament to NATO's growing interest in a serious engagement with India. He recognised India as being a pivotal player in the Indo-Pacific region and a vital upholder of the global rules-based order, at the forefront of many of NATO's shared security challenges such as maritime security, terrorism and Afghanistan. The conversation concluded with an expression of NATO's commitment to elevate consultation, coordination, and concerted action with India, and strengthen the engagement.

**DAY 1**

**Message from Zbigniew Rau,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Poland**

Excellencies and distinguished guests, thank you for inviting me to take part in this important panel.

Let me start with the words of Jean Monnet, one of the European Union's founders, "Europe will be forged in crises" and will be with some of the solutions adopted for those crises. The pandemic clearly shows the need for EU leadership and cooperation. A truly effective global response to Covid will be possible only through multilateral institutions. But, the EU needs partners to strengthen the international values and rules based order, and to bring new life to global economic governance. We want to unlock the potential of EU-Asia cooperation including, naturally, India as a leading player.

We want to revive the World Trade Organization as the key institution for solving economic disputes. We should restore the role of the international rules based trade system while protecting ourselves from unfair practices from some countries. Moreover, both the EU and the United States want a new transatlantic opening. Poland is an ardent supporter of this bond as the backbone of EU's strategic outreach.

Efficient regional integration compliments our efforts to make the EU stronger. We attach special importance to the Three Seas Initiative, which has facilitated cooperation in the recent years despite strong economic headwinds. Also, it remains vital for pursuing Central Europe's goals and promoting our vision of a democratic and competitive EU.

Ladies & gentlemen, the key challenge today is the fragmentation of the world order, especially for Europe who puts so much effort into building friendly relations after the fall of communism. Today, we risk a new division.

First, the actors who try to create an alternative international order, they question democratic values and international law, an important logic of confrontation. Still, we reject the idea of international relations as a zero-sum game. A pluralistic and democratic approach is our strength; for example, in our relations with China. EU members may differ when it comes to some aspects of our relations with China, but the final result is always a product of an EU wide consensus.

Reciprocity is one of the key rules in contemporary international relations. To date, China has gained a lot from the EU's attachment to the principle free trade and economic openness. There is no other way forward when pursuing a level playing field. We have one basic rule in Europe. We keep our word and we fulfill our contracts. We expect others to do the same.

Ladies & gentlemen, in times of crises the EU is in a unique position to shape the global agenda because it is statutorily empowered to promote multilateralism, human rights, and democracy. This is where our strength comes from and this is why we are obliged to act.

Thank you!

**DAY 1**

# **Reclaiming Europe: Navigating the political compass**

**Pratnashree Basu**

## **Panellists**

**Anze Logar**, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Slovenia

**Augusto Santos Silva**, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Portugal

**Bogdan Aurescu**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Romania

**Milena Lazarevic**, Programme Director and Co-founder, European Policy Centre, Serbia

Moderator – **Garima Mohan**, Fellow, Asia Program, German Marshall Fund, United States

The lessons learnt from the pandemic will contribute to shaping the future global interactions. For Europe, the most important learnings include the significance of multilateral efforts and the importance of building strategic resilience—as sovereign countries and also as units of international institutional mechanisms. The priority of the European Union in the post pandemic world order as laid out by Anže Logar, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Slovenia, is to first, focus on the vaccination process; second, to launch recovery plans which include collaboration and cooperation with other countries; and third, to respond to the disruptions caused by the pandemic in the international relations landscape to build and forge new relations. A key driver of combatting the pandemic comprises of efforts to recover from its economic impacts, underscored Augusto Santos Silva, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Portugal, he calls for concerted efforts of countries alongside the efforts undertaken at the level of individual governments. The benefits of collective action in the face of this global crisis are manifold—the COVAX program being a case in point.

It must be acknowledged that the United States of America has consistently been the EU's strongest ally and the onset of the Biden presidency signals a fresh momentum in ties between the EU and the US. Priority partnerships for the EU also include building more comprehensive ties with India as part of the push towards a greater focus on Asia and the Indo-Pacific, in addition to revitalising ties with Latin America, North Africa, Eastern Europe, alongside the preservation of ties with the EU's traditional allies like Japan, Australia, and South Korea. The principal areas of cooperation going forward will include climate change, connectivity, and the digital space. A pragmatic and a balanced approach towards China and Russia are also required considering that promoting democratic values, multilateralism, and protection of international law remain key values for the EU.

The EU's relationship with China has a long history and the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is both a manifestation of strategic as well as economic links between the two. Nevertheless, ties with China need a careful evaluation, and there is a sense that the EU needs to be more circumspect towards the non-democratic and non-European influences in the region pointed out Milena Lazarevic, Programme Director and Co-founder, European Policy Centre, Serbia. Simultaneously, as observed by Bogdan Aurescu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Romania, the imbalance in trade ties between individual member countries with China which has resulted in companies in the EU seeking other markets like the US to diversify and leverage their economic benefits. Asymmetries in ties between EU member countries and China also entail that the EU itself has a greater degree of geostrategic approach towards countries in the western Balkans which is poised as an accession region to the EU.

Moderating the session, Garima Mohan, Fellow, Asia Program, German Marshall Fund, United States, drew attention to the prospects of India's collaboration with the EU. The prevailing view in the EU, as concurred by all panellists, is that as a vibrant and young economy, India is a valuable and strategic partner to collaborate with. India and the European Union are like-minded and share common values which is an asset to the forming of relations between the two. Augmenting ties with India and the larger Indo-Pacific region also forms the foundation of the EU's objective of diversifying its partnerships and multiplying its interlocutors.

**DAY 1**

# **Africa rises: The continent means business**

**Malancha Chakrabarty**

## Panellists

**Raychelle Omamo**, Cabinet Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Kenya

**Rahul Chhabra**, Secretary (ER), Ministry of External Affairs, India

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

Moderator - **Navdeep Suri**, Distinguished Fellow and Director, CNED, Observer Research Foundation, India

The consistent high economic growth for over a decade has led to the 'Africa Rising' narrative and the continent's steady growth presents significant opportunities for the world. Most African countries have been growing at an average growth rate of about five percent per annum for over a decade. The establishment of the African Continental Free Trade Area, a landmark in Africa's development history, has created the world's largest free trade area and provides a market of about 1.2 billion persons. Moreover, Africa has the youngest population in the world and by 2050, the continent will have the world's largest labour force. This is particularly important given that most other societies are ageing fast. In addition to huge deposits of oil and minerals, the continent also has a huge agricultural potential with about 65 percent of the world's uncultivated arable land. According to Gwendoline Abunaw, Managing Director Ecobank, Cameroon, "Africa is any investor's dreamland, because the return on investment is much higher than any other more development market".

Despite its potential, there are several challenges before Africa. According to Rachelle Omamo Cabinet Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Kenya, "One of the biggest challenge for Africa is that it still remains a net exporter of raw materials". Africa also has a low share in world trade. It accounts for only about three percent of the global trade. There is an urgent need to alter Africa's position in the world economic order and improve its manufacturing potential. The level of intra-Africa trade is very low because of the absence of infrastructure. Africa needs railways, roads, water, and digital connectivity, and an improved energy infrastructure to support industrialization and intra-Africa trade. Africa is also extremely vulnerable to economic shocks because most African countries are dependent on the export of commodities. When commodity prices fluctuate, African countries are exposed to shocks. African countries are also at the receiving end of economic shocks due to climate change and a weak public health system. For Gwendoline Abunaw, mindset is one of the key impediments. The academic curriculum hasn't changed in most African countries to inspire the African youth for new jobs in the digital economy nor has it equipped them with the skills to participate in the new economy. Moreover, the African leadership should have the vision and capability to effectively manage the international support. In the absence of due diligence, African countries can be weighed down by the debt they accumulate for infrastructure development. Lastly, one of the major impediments to African women is the need to improve the integration of women in economic activities.

As one of Africa's trusted and oldest partners, India has trained generations of African officials through its Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme and has extended over 50,000 scholarships for African students. India is currently Africa's fifth largest investor and its trade with Africa is growing consistently. India has successfully implemented large projects like the Pan Africa e-Network and is currently implementing its second phase, the e-Vidyabharati and e-Aarogyabharati (e-VBAB). Through its lines of credit programme, India is helping the development of necessary infrastructure in African countries. India's development cooperation model is based on African priorities and focuses on building African capacity. However, according to Rahul Chhabra, Secretary (ER), Ministry of External Affairs, India, "the Indian private sector still hasn't fully exploited all the opportunities that Africa presents". There is a need to close the knowledge gap.

**DAY 1**

# **Pandemic poser: Health and the 4IR**

**Sunaina Kumar**

## Panellists

**Suresh Prabhu**, Prime Minister's Sherpa to the G20 and G7, India

**Azis Syamsuddin**, Vice Speaker for Politics and Security, The House of Representatives (DPR), Indonesia

**Carl Bildt**, , Former Prime Minister, Sweden

**Simon Duggan**, Deputy Secretary: Economy, Industry and G20 Sherpa, Australia

**Shamika Ravi**, Non-resident Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution, United States

Moderator – **Amandeep Gill**, Director, International Digital Health & AI Research Collaborative (I-DAIR), Geneva

The virus has changed the way we live and work, it has also changed the way we think of healthcare. Before 2020, healthcare around the world was dependent on the traditional model of care, centred on clinics and hospitals. The pandemic upended the traditional model, as digital technology became the backbone on which the pandemic is being fought, the shift to virtual care enabled the overwhelmed health systems to treat patients at home and reach remote areas, while large-scale adoption of data analytics helped in forecasting disease severity and risk.

The future of healthcare lies in emerging technologies. New health technologies will be crucial to bridge the gap in access to healthcare in developing countries with poor resources. The panel on "Pandemic poser: Health and the 4IR" focused on the lessons of 2020, which was a twin crisis of lives and livelihoods, demonstrating how health and economy are closely connected.

"We need to reinforce global health cooperation," pointed out Carl Bildt, former Prime Minister of Sweden and Special Envoy at the World Health Organisation (WHO). He asserted that global health will be the most important factor for politicians all over the world in the years to come and the need for reforms in global health bodies.

The healthcare challenges accelerated by the pandemic have emphasised the need for global cooperation and a robust international system. What will be the role of multilateral organisations and platforms in developing and promoting investments in social infrastructure needed for healthy populations?

Shamika Ravi, Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution, United States, said, "Forums such as G20, G7, Brics, cannot overlook the fact that economies have very much followed the path of the infection." The pandemic is a shared problem and the solutions will also have to be shared.

The G20 Presidency, currently held by Italy, will be assumed by Indonesia in 2022 and India in 2023. "Indonesia's priority will be fair and equitable distribution of vaccines in all countries", according to Azis Syamsuddin, Vice Speaker for Politics and Security, the House of Representatives, Indonesia. India hopes to play a central role in the G20 through a collaborative approach on issues like climate change, medical diplomacy, and technological innovation.

"One of the things the current pandemic has demonstrated is that health is a global public good," said Simon Duggan, Deputy Secretary, Economy, Industry and G20 Sherpa, Australia. "It's not enough to think how we lift our efforts domestically, we've got to think about how we lift our efforts internationally for all out citizens", he argued.

Amandeep Gill, Director, International Digital Health & Artificial Intelligence Research Collaborative posed a key question: In what ways can multilateral platforms and institutions be utilised to enhance knowledge sharing and technology partnerships to tackle future health emergencies?

One way would be for technology to be deployed to minimize potential risks. Suresh Prabhu, Prime Minister's Sherpa to the G20 and G7, India, said, "The use of technology for surveillance will be important, when an outbreak occurs in one part of the world, it should be contained and not allowed to spread."

**DAY 1**

# **‘Capital’ conviction: The road to Glasgow**

**Nandini Sarma**

## Panellists

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

**Jayant Sinha**, Member of Parliament, Chairman of the Parliamentary Standing Committee for Finance, India

Moderator - **Annapurna Mitra**, Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

The question for the coming decades on climate change would be about climate finance and the need for it to flow from Global North to Global South so that both the development and climate goals are met. Nicholas Stern outlined six dimensions which investment must drive forward in the future. These are energy transition with a doubling of electricity generation, expansion of sustainable transport, improving urban infrastructure and services, preserving and rebuilding natural assets including sustainable agriculture, accelerating industrial and technology transformations, and building resilience in all systems and society.

The goal of net zero is a requirement for India as it cannot continue on its current path if the climate goals are to be met. According to Jayant Sinha, this goal can be met only by the private sector as the government will not be able to take this up given its other development responsibilities. Thus, the private sector will play a critical role in driving this transition. This transition will also create employment opportunities as trillions of dollars of investment would be invested in the economy that would drive growth. Both panelists were of the opinion that net zero and development would go hand in hand.

One of the biggest investment opportunities is the transition to a green economy. This will rest crucially on three commitments as outlined by Jayant Sinha. First, a clear and legally binding net-zero target. Secondly, an array of financial institutions needs to be set up that are working in different sectors. Thirdly, there should be strong and adequate regulatory support. These steps are required to create a sustainable economy.

Majority of the international finance does not come to emerging markets. The main reason for this is the perception of risk. Thus, policies in various sectors such as energy, transportation must give confidence to investors for them to make long-term investment. The international finance system should support those policies and institutional structures that enable and catalyse green investment. Global accounting standards should be designed so that investments are able to calculate the risks involved in different projects.

Multilateral Development Banks have a pivotal role in mitigating early-stage risks intrinsic to green infrastructure projects. They must also help in developing those projects into long-term, investible assets that are viable for the institutional investors to park their money in. Nicholas Stern stressed on the role of public finance which will be at the heart of the green transition.

Finally, the fiscal restructuring required to move away from fossil fuels will have to be looked into in detail. This is especially so as fossil fuels form a significant portion of public finance. In India, coal generates revenues for the railway sector. The government makes revenues through taxes on fossil fuels. Thus, there are many institutions that rely on fossil fuels for revenue. Thus, it is complex issue how the fiscal roadmap would map out as we move towards a green economy.

**DAY 1**

**Inaugral Address by Prime Minister  
Narendra Modi,  
India**

Excellencies and friends, Namaskaar!

This edition of Raisina Dialogue takes a place at a watershed moment in the human history. A global pandemic has been ravaging the world for over a year. The last such global pandemic was a century ago, although humanity has faced many infectious diseases since then. The world today is underprepared to handle the Covid-19 pandemic. Our scientists, researchers and industries have answered some questions like what is the virus, how does it spread, how can we slow it down, how do we make a vaccine, how do we administer vaccine as they scale with speed. To these and many other such questions, many solutions have emerged and no doubt many more are yet to come.

But as global thinkers and leaders, we must ask ourselves some more questions. For over a year now the best minds of our societies have been engaged in battling this pandemic. All the governments of the world at all levels are trying to contain and control this pandemic. Why did it come to this? Is it perhaps because in the race of economic development the concern for welfare of humanity had been left behind? Is it perhaps because in the age of competition, the spirit of cooperation has been forgotten? The answer to such questions can be found in our recent past.

Friends, the horrors of the first and second world wars compare the emergence of a new world order. After the end of the Second World War, over the next few decades many structures and institutions were created. But, under the shadow of the two wars, they were aimed at answering only one question and that is how to prevent the Third World War. Today, I submit to you that this was the wrong question. As a result, all the steps taken were like treating a patient's symptoms without addressing the underlying causes. Or to put it differently, all the steps taken were to prevent the last war and not the next one.

In fact, while humanity has not faced the Third World War, the threat of violence has not reduced in people's lives. With a number of proxy wars and unending terror attacks, the prospect of violence is ever present. So what would have been the right questions? They could have included why do we have famines and hunger, why do we have poverty, or most fundamentally why can't we cooperate to address problems that threaten the entire humanity. I am sure that if our thinking has been along such lines, very different solutions would have emerged.

Friends, it is not too late even now. The mistakes and misdeeds of the past seven decades need not constrain our thinking for the future. The Covid-19 pandemic has presented us an opportunity to reshape the world order, to reorient our thinking. We must create systems that address the problems of today and challenges of tomorrow. We must think of the entire humanity and not merely of those who are on our side of the borders. Humanity as a whole must be at the centre of our thinking and action.

Friends, during this pandemic, in our own humble way, within our own limited resources, we in India have tried to walk the talk. We have tried to protect our own 1.3 billion citizens from the pandemic. At the same time, we have also tried to support the pandemic's response of others. In our neighborhood, we have encouraged a coordinated regional response to the crisis. Last year, we shared medicines and protective equipments with over 150 countries. We understand fully that mankind will not defeat the pandemic unless all of us everywhere regardless of the colour of our passports come out of it. That is why this year despite many constraints we have supplied vaccine to over 80 countries. We know that the supplies have been modest. We know that the demands are huge. We know that it will be a long time before the entire humanity can be vaccinated. At the same time, we also know that hope matters. It matters as much to the citizens of the richest countries as it does to the least fortunate. And so, we will continue to share our experiences, our expertise, and also our resources with the entire humanity in the fight against the pandemic.

Friends, as you gather virtually at the Raisina Dialogue this year, I call upon you to emerge as a powerful voice for a human-centric approach. As I would say it elsewhere, while we may be used to having plan A and plan B, there is no planet B and only planet earth. And so, we must remember that we hold this planet merely at trustees for our future generations.

I will leave you with that thought and wish you very productive discussions over the next few days. Before I conclude, I wish to thank all the dignitaries who are adding their voices to these deliberations. My special thanks to the Excellencies, the President of Rwanda and the Prime Minister of Denmark for their valuable presence in this session of the dialogue.

I also wish to thank my friend, the Prime Minister of Australia, and the President of European Council who will be joining the dialogue later.

Last, but not the least, my immense gratitude and heartiest congratulations to all the organizers. They have done fantastic work in putting together this year's Raisina Dialogue despite all kinds of challenges.

Thank you very much!

**DAY 1**

**Inaugral Address by President  
Paul Kagame,  
Rwanda**

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I am honored to address this year's Raisina Dialogue. I thank Prime Minister Modi, the Government of India, and the Observer Research Foundation, for the invitation.

I was very much looking for joining you physically, but the need to hold this year's event in a virtual format highlights the reality that the COVID-19 pandemic is not yet over. COVID is a public health crisis, but it is also a crisis of international cooperation. Access to vaccines is highly unequal. India, despite its own challenges, has produced most of vaccine doses that were sent to Africa, COVAX, and related programs. Without India's production capacity and spiritual solidarity, it is possible that Africa would not yet have received much vaccine at all.

This unsustainable situation demonstrates the opportunity for more ambitious private sector investments between India and Africa in pharmaceutical manufacturing amongst other areas. The relationship between India and Rwanda continues to flourish and our goal is to further deepen our ties. Rwanda and India continues to collaborate on important infrastructure and development initiatives.

The key objective is to increase the education and implement opportunities available to young people in both India and Rwanda. Knowledge, innovation, and green economy will still be the key drivers of growth after the pandemic. The Observer Research Foundation's Annual Kigali Global Dialogue is another good example. This event brings a fresh perspective to global debates on development and growth and tests to increasing multipolarity of our world.

I hope that many of you will come to Kigali for the next edition in 2022. In the meantime, I wish you fruitful deliberations at this year's Raisina Dialogue, and I thank you.

**DAY 1**

**Inaugral Address by Prime Minister  
Mette Frederiksen,  
Denmark**

Thanks to the organisers, his Excellency Prime Minister Modi, his Excellency President Kagame, his Excellency Minister of External Affairs Jaishankar, and to the Observer Research Foundation. Thank you all for hosting this very important event. I am grateful for having the opportunity to speak to you today.

"In a gentle way you can shake the way," Gandhi once said. The world has indeed been shaken in the past year, unfortunately, not very gentle. We live in the time of a global pandemic. We also live in the time of another global challenge, climate change; a crisis more far reaching than the pandemic. That is why climate related security risks are expected to be a priority if Denmark is elected for a seat in the UN Security Council in 2025.

Investing in climate action is also a necessary investment in our security and prosperity. I come from the land of Hans Christian Andersen, the land of fairy tales. In fairy tales, people have to go through difficult times in order to reach a happy ending. That is what happened to Denmark; 100 years ago a small farmland in the north of Europe is now a green superpower. Today, I welcome India and other countries joining us on this journey. We stand on the brink of a green industrial revolution with new clean energy sources and promising new technologies.

If we combine Danish skill and Indian scale with speed, scope, and political will, we can launch a new era of just green transformation. That leads me to my message for you today that the green industrial revolution is not only necessary, but also it comes with great opportunities and can put millions of people to work and it can be highly cost-effective.

Allow me to elaborate. Renewable energy creates three times more jobs than fossil fuels do, and Asia stands to secure the lion's share of those jobs. In Denmark, estimates show that installing 1 Gigawatts (GW) of offshore wind secures almost 15,000 full-time jobs. Today, solar and onshore wind are the cheapest energy sources in most countries, cheaper than coal, cheaper than gas. On a windy day, Denmark can produce more than 100 percent of our electricity needs from wind. So, renewables are also a gateway to energy security.

The green energy revolution requires investments. There is no way around that, but the return of these investments is big. In fact, the savings will amount to eight times the costs when accounting for health and environmental factors. Of course, as we say in Denmark, the greenest and cheapest energy is the energy you don't use. During the past 30 years, Denmark has managed to decouple economic growth with energy consumption. In fact, Danish GDP has increased by more than 50 percent while our energy consumption has decreased by 6 percent. It is possible to create economic growth while lowering the use of energy.

On this green journey in Denmark, we have focused on creating strong cooperation between public and private actors. Without public-private cooperation, green transition will not happen. Right now, Denmark is powering ahead with building the world's first energy island. The energy islands are huge offshore wind farms, the largest and most expensive infrastructure project ever made in Denmark. Once completed, the energy island in the North Sea alone will have a capacity of 10 GW, that's close to 10 times the capacity of the largest offshore wind farm in the world today. And, it is enough to meet the electricity demand of about 10 million European households and the potential is even greater. In time, the North Sea could become the green power plant of the entire European continent connecting a number of energy islands. All this will generate jobs, lots of jobs.

The Danish example of decades of green economic growth is not a fairy tale; it is real. This decade we are ending coal in our energy production and by 2050 we have decided to end oil and gas production in the North Sea. Other countries can do it too. To use the words of Prime Minister Modi, we must reform, transform, and perform. Governments, individuals and businesses have to come together. We must join forces across the globe.

The green strategic partnership between India and Denmark is an example of how we can achieve results by working together. It is an honor that the partnership is the first of its kind for both our countries and hopefully it will not be the last. Together, we aim to shake the world gently towards a green industrial revolution. Denmark is proud to support India's vision for a greener future. One example is the International Solar Alliance.

Climate change is global and it affects us all, but we also know that it affects some more than others. The world's poorest people and countries have contributed the least to climate change, but often they are hit the hardest. Without massive and rapid action, climate change will undermine the possibility of reaching the sustainable development goals. We, the international community, must raise our ambitions to address climate change and its negative impacts, particularly in the vulnerable countries. We must meet our climate finance obligations.

COP26 offers an opportunity to work on this. We must all do our part. Prime Minister Modi, dear friends, the past year has been challenging, but today we can join in the new era of opportunity. Together we can pave the way for a greener and more safe future for all of us by bringing skill, scale, scope, and speed into the global green transformation. And, let me end as I began with Gandhi's words, "we must become the change that we want to see."

Thank you!

**DAY 1**

**Message from Ann Linde,  
Minister for Foreign Affairs,  
Sweden**

Excellencies, this important Raisina Dialogue takes place in the times that are challenging and hopeful; challenging because of the pandemic that has put enormous pressures on our societies, our economies and on each and every one of us. Hopefully, we have an opportunity beyond this crisis to build back stronger, greener, and more inclusive societies. The pandemic has highlighted both the obstacle for international cooperation and the interdependence of our countries & societies. I would like to focus on four areas, particularly highlighted by the pandemic: Multilateralism, trade, democracy and climate change.

Firstly, the pandemic has been a reminder of the importance of working together in international solidarity to be able to tackle challenges such as the climate crisis and widening global inequalities. We must strengthen multilateralism. Strong multilateral governance and the rule-based international order with the United Nations and its core is more important endeavor and necessary to deal with those global challenges. Together and in the spirit of international cooperation, we need to make a real difference.

Sweden currently shares the OSCE, which promotes security and confidence building in our own broader region, stretching from Canada to Russia with partners in Asia and Africa. The EU gives priority to multilateralism and to respect for international law, human rights and fundamental freedoms. This is not rhetoric. It is part of our daily foreign policy, a priority which also calls on us to walk the talk on the issues at home.

Europe and India need to be active and constructive players in all the global areas including health, sustainable energy, development aid, trade & investments. We want to partner with you and together be part of the solution. We need to lead and be strategic. Sweden advocates reform of the United Nations Security Council to become more representative, accountable, effective and responsive. The council must be able to respond swiftly to the security challenges of our time. A reformed council must reflect the realities of today. Sweden supports India as a permanent member of the large Security Council.

Secondly, the pandemic has underlined the need for an open, predictable and rural based trading regime. Sweden consistently continues to highlight the importance of free movement and free trade, also in the times of crisis. Sweden supports the necessity of trade and health, currently discussing with the WTO which aims to increase transparency and restrict the use of trade barrier for medical products. It is important to increase the supply of critical goods and make it is easy for countries to fight the virus. The pandemic has also shown how social dialogue cannot only mitigate the impact of a crisis on the economy, business, and workers, but also help us to shape the solutions. The global deal offers a way forward.

Thirdly, the pandemic has underlined the importance of democracy and human rights. In a world where we are seeing dangerous slide towards determinism, we have a common responsibility to ensure democracy and respect for human rights and the rule of law as well as gender equality. Developments in Myanmar are a casing point on the need for the international community to react jointly. A free and vibrant civil society is the bedrock of a democracy. In times like these, the robustness and resilience of our societies, institutions, and international cooperation are tested.

My fourth point is that we must build back better and greener. COP26 in Glasgow in November will be crucial. Sweden and India together are leading to work in their leadership groups for the industry transition with an objective of reduction of carbon emission from heavy industry. We are very pleased to see the number of governments and companies that have chosen to join. If global cooperation is to succeed, India remains a key partner for Sweden and Europe.

Thank you!

**DAY 1**

# **Reset and restart: She leads a green world**

**Aditi Ratho**

## Panellists

**Minouche Shafik**, Director, London School of Economics and Political Science

**Geraldine Ang**, Policy Analyst, Green Investment, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

**Bhakti Sharma**, Sarpanch, Barkhedi Abdullah, India

**Amb. Delphine O**, Ambassador-at-Large and Secretary General for the Generation Equality Forum, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France

Moderator - **Kate Hampton**, CEO, Children's Investment Fund Foundation

Environment damage and women's unpaid labour are both often seen as economic externalities. Gender inequality is a story of foregoing women's wellbeing and prosperity by not making concerted efforts to improve their economic agency, health, education, and various other parameters. There is an urgent need to stop having conversations on green recovery and inclusive recovery in silos. As described by Kate Hampton, while inclusive recovery that embeds women in its blueprint causes the multiplier effect of families being better nourished and educated, investment in green recovery has multiplier effects of better health and conservation of natural resources. Labour intensive recovery, where the resilience of communities is connected to offering opportunities in the green recovery space, is crucial.

According to Geraldine Ang, women are at the forefront of green and sustainable finance. There has been a huge momentum in keeping environmental social and corporate governance (ESG), factors in mind while measuring the sustainability and societal impact of an investment in a company or business. ESG investing has been US \$17 trillion as of 2020, and women are twice as likely to prioritise ESG impact in their investment decisions. However, as the appetite for such investments increase, so do issues of greenwashing, gender washing, credibility, and market integrity. It is not enough to just put a woman on the board or provide some climate discourse—ESG good practices must be improved at the grassroots level. As Bhakti Sharma elaborated, participative democracy and involving women in decision-making from the grassroots level to the top, together with establishing trust between authorities and constituents, is essential for voices to be heard as well as transformative change to be made.

For achieving gender equality, a large part of why our current social contract is failing our current social circumstances, as described by Minouche Shafik, is that women are still expected to look after children and old people for free. Though more women go to university than men, issues like wage gaps in formal employment exist because of regressive maternal leave policies, as opposed to inclusive parental leave policies, and a lack of state-led financing of childcare. For the environment, our current social contract does not take into account future generations, leading to intergenerational poverty in natural capital. We leave behind future generations a large stock of education and infrastructure without an environmentally sound legacy.

Therefore, a new social contract needs to take into account environmental and inclusivity concerns. A way in which this can be done is building the female workforce in the area of green recovery. According to Delphine O, while women are often seen as victims of climate change to the unequal impact of it, women should be made the drivers of green growth and recovery plans. The current percentage of women working in green industries is small and overlooked—reorienting skilling programmes to account for this gap would go a long way in building women's economic agency within a sustainable and green framework.

DAY 1

## **In Conversation**

**Brad Smith**

President, Microsoft, United States

**Dhruva Jaishankar**

Executive Director, ORF America, United States

**Arjun Jayakumar**

This conversation between Dhruva Jaishankar (Executive Director, ORF America) and Brad Smith (President, Microsoft) began with a discussion of the book “Tools and Weapons: The Promise and the Peril of the Digital Age” written by Brad Smith and Carol Ann Browne, which tries to make the issues raised by technology more accessible to people. The view that tech is a weapon and not just a tool emerged only recently, through events that became tipping points. There was a tipping point for privacy with the Facebook/Cambridge Analytica scandal, and with the Snowden disclosures 5 years ago. The book looks back at the past decade, talks about each of these inflections, and puts them in a broader historical context.

The conversation moved to the deteriorating US-China relationship, which according to Mr. Smith, is one of the most significant geopolitical developments of the decade that has impacted the tech sector. There has been an impact on hardware supply chains with many companies moving part or all of their hardware manufacturing out of China. This is something that from a long-term perspective creates new opportunities for India as well as others to make themselves more of a location for hardware manufacturing. The software side has also seen an impact, but things are more complicated here. Code is often written in different countries and then joined together. Countries are asking more national security questions about code, but we should focus on ensuring that basic research can continue on a global basis.

Cybersecurity is another important issue, as underlined by the spate of recent cyber-attacks. One of the big conclusions here is that the world is more secure when it runs in the cloud than when it runs through on-premise servers. When it runs in the cloud, we can see data and attacks, we can constantly upgrade software and hardware, and we have thousands of cybersecurity professionals dedicated to making systems more secure. For most enterprises, it is not conceivable or sensible to invest at that scale. Another lesson from the attacks is that there are certain cybersecurity best practices that are still not being applied as broadly as they should be. In order to change this, we need not only simpler protocols and greater awareness, but also a global initiative to put more cybersecurity professionals in place. This will be important for governments around the world to pursue.

Technology companies need to step up and adopt a higher level of self-responsibility, but governments need to move faster too. Looking at the history of technology over time, it is surprising that it has gone so long without regulation. Misinformation and disinformation is one key area of regulation, and we are seeing more national deliberations around the obligations on social media platforms to remove unlawful content, and on balancing free speech when removing lawful but objectionable content. All this highlights the need for strong norms governing the cyberspace, as called for by the Paris Call for Trust and Security in Cyberspace. We are at a moment where the world's democracies have a great opportunity to pull together and stand for the kinds of norms that will protect freedom of expression and democracy, and address some of the cybersecurity attacks being waged on democracy itself.

**DAY 1**

**Raisina @ DC**

# **From Y2K to Quad: Coding the Next Leap Forward**

**Trisha Ray**

## Panellists

**Rajeev Chandrasekar**, Member of Parliament, India

**Meenakshi Lekhi**, Member of Parliament, India and Chairperson, Standing Committee on Public Sector Enterprise

**Ajit Pai**, Chairman (former), Federal Communications Commission, US

**Jane Holl Lute**, President and CEO, SICPA, US

**Ajit Mohan**, Vice President and Managing Director, Facebook India

Moderator: **Richard Verma**, Executive Vice President, Global Public Policy and Regulatory Affairs, Mastercard, US

The strategic partnership between the United States and India, as well as their role in emerging multilateral dialogues in the Indo-Pacific, will be pivotal to global digital futures. “Democracies like the US and India”, as Ajit Mohan stated in his opening remarks, “will have to decide the future of the internet”. This conversation in the Raisina@DC series sought to answer the following questions: What constitutes like-mindedness between the two countries? How should the US and India “[safeguard the integrity of information and identities](#)” in an open internet? And what is the role of the government? What steps can they take to champion the cause of a connected population, with equitable access to integral digital services?

Jane Holl Lute opened the discussion highlighting shared challenges that demand bilateral, minilateral, and multilateral solutions, many of which were noted in the March 2021 [Quad Leaders' Joint Statement](#): The ongoing pandemic, climate change, critical technologies, and quality infrastructure. While there is a definite focus on China, the Quad's ambit now stretches into the broader need for a global approach to technology. Like-mindedness in this case is defined in terms of shared goals in building open, fair, and equitable digital ecosystems and technology regimes. Ajit Pai's opening intervention continued this theme, delving down to the sub-national level: Both India and the US share a desire to build inclusive digital infrastructure and bridge the digital divide. Finally, Ajit Mohan added that cross-pollination of ideas, enabled by a free and open internet, are critical to the process of robust solutions to shared challenges.

Another common challenge in the India-US tech relationship, which is both a pain point as well as an area ripe for the creation of shared standards and principles, is the dominance of American technology giants. Both MPs from India highlighted the outsized influence of tech giants such as Facebook, Apple, and Google, as well as data, content and privacy practices of these giants that put them at odds with sovereign nations. There is little daylight on this issue between India and the US: Tech giants have been subject to growing scrutiny and have lost favour in the US as well, making them—as Ms Lute noted “a business community without a political party”. These companies, she further declared, must “...take as much responsibility as the power they wield suggests they have”.

What then are some concrete steps the two countries can take in pursuance of all of these shared interests? Pai recommended differentiating between problems that are better regulated post hoc—for targeted interventions—and those that must be tackled preemptively, as in the case of the US's ban on Huawei and ZTE 5G equipment. In the latter example, India and the US, with their capabilities in software development, can also lead the way in network innovations like [virtual Radio Access Network \(RAN\)](#). Rajeev Chandrasekar emphasised the need for “clear, precise rules on obligations of intermediaries”, and frameworks that “shepherd us into the future”. Jane Holl Lute urged moving away from national security's strategic, centralised, top-down approach to a transactional, decentralised one. Finally, Ajit Mohan echoed the need for clear rules of the road for technology companies, but cautioned that uniform standards may not be the best approach, supporting interoperable standards instead.

No two democracies are alike, and India and the US are case in point. Yet, shared goals and values, now feeding into concrete areas for collaboration—a sampling of which was highlighted in the course of this panel—have brought the two countries closer together than ever before and will continue to drive the relationship forward in the decade to come.

**DAY 2**

**Raisina @ Canberra**  
**In Conversation**

**Vivian Balakrishnan**  
Minister for Foreign Affairs, Singapore

**Rory Medcalf**  
Professor and Head of the National Security College,  
Australian National University, Australia

**Premesha Saha**



Australian  
National  
University

NATIONAL SECURITY  
COLLEGE

The pandemic has severely dented Singapore's economic prospects since the first case of COVID-19 surfaced on the island in January 2020. Singapore's GDP did not grow in the first quarter of *annus horribilis*, which was followed by contractions in the next three quarters. With Singapore's volume of trade being thrice its GDP, curbs imposed during the pandemic hit supply chains casting a shadow on the island.

This year, Singapore's economy showed green-shoots of a recovery between January and March. Elaborating on the immediate economic implications to the region, Vivian Balakrishnan observed that the outbreak had accelerated pre-existing trends like protectionism and nationalism across the globe, warning that the intermittent curbs had pushed policy-makers everywhere to looking for solutions inwards.

The pandemic introduced a new phrase in the political lexicon—'vaccine nationalism' with many nations inking deals with pharma giants to provide their own populations with the antidote ahead of it becoming available to the other countries. These unilateral agreements were red-flagged by the World Health Organization as they make the vaccines inaccessible to the residents in some of the poorest parts of the world. The minister said that Singapore Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong had first mooted the term 'vaccine multilateralism'. To drive home the point that equitable access of vaccines was essential, Balakrishnan revealed that as a proponent of multilateralism Singapore had contributed to the COVID-19 Vaccine Global Access (COVAX) Advance Market Commitment (AMC) mechanism to help low-income countries in securing access to vaccines. He also highlighted the role of India in stepping up to the challenge of ramping up production of medicines, and underscoring its role in supplying 64.5 million doses to more than 80 countries.

While the current health crisis has brought out the importance of multilateralism, there are expectations that groupings like ASEAN will take the lead, especially on trade and security issues in the region. With respect to the coup by the armed forces in Myanmar, the minister rejected calls for sanctions and "megaphone diplomacy", citing that they would actually hurt its citizens. Explaining ASEAN's stand on the strife-torn nation, Balakrishnan said that they want the violence to cease before the military leadership and democratic forces commence negotiations.

Balakrishnan said that the Sino-US relationship held key to regional stability and global peace, it was imperative for ASEAN members to increase cooperation and build unity in the midst of the geopolitical competition between the two powers. Elaborating on ASEAN's programme this year, the Minister said that Singapore would soon take over as the coordinator of 'ASEAN-India Dialogue Relations', and would work towards deepening the ASEAN-India partnership to push back against protectionism, economic disruption, and major power competition.

The Minister also made a plea to policymakers for a rethink on India's diffidence towards regional trade pacts like the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), and the Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP). Balakrishnan said that trade agreements gave Indian corporates, which had already made their mark globally, a chance to access larger markets and showcase their strengths.

**DAY 2**

## **In Conversation**

**Augusto Santos Silva**

Minister for Foreign Affairs, Portugal

**Harsh Pant**

Director, Studies and Head of the Strategic Studies  
Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India

**Aarshi Tirkey**

With Portugal as the chair of the EU Council presidency in the first half of 2021, H.E. Mr Augusto Santos Silva spoke on the importance of EU–India relations, in the context of the post COVID-19 global order. Given the complexities of today, he emphasised that we need globalisation and collective efforts in some areas, while less globalisation in others. Epidemics, pandemics, terrorism, and climate action require collective action through multilateral platforms to strengthen our capacity to respond to common challenges. The pandemic, however, highlighted that less globalisation is required in other areas, namely in supply chain management and distribution of public goods. Likewise, the EU is now working towards ‘re-industrialisation’ to better control the value chains of basic goods.

In the context of EU–India partnership, Minister Silva underscored the need to deal with common threats and challenges together. With geopolitics in a state of flux, old partnerships—such as the transatlantic relationship—need to be revived, while new ones need to be nurtured and strengthened. Traditionally, when the EU looked at Asia, it engaged with Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, and China, and less with India and other Asian countries. However, Minister Silva emphasised that there is a need to rebalance this approach. The two biggest democracies in the world: India with 1.3 billion people and the EU with 450 million people, need to have a regular political dialogue.

With the need to diversify partnerships, the Indo-Pacific region has emerged as a region where the EU can be an important geopolitical actor. However, Minister Silva acknowledged that the EU itself is diverse and that this diversity is present in national policies concerning the Indo-Pacific. Even between EU member states, diversity exists in how each country engages with Asia—while some may focus on trade and investment, others may prioritise political relations and cultural ties. As such, with different approaches, there is a need to build a common approach towards the Indo-Pacific, taking into account the main role India has to play in the region.

When talking about the Indo-Pacific, the implications of the rise of China in the neighbourhood loom large. The best strategy for the EU, in Minister Silva’s opinion, would be to multiply partnerships in the region—keeping in mind the need to preserve EU’s core values and principles. China is an important trade and investment partner for the EU, but the EU differs in its approach towards human rights, political institutions, political liberties, and technology norms. It is in the interests of Europe that maritime security, freedom of navigation, and openness of sea lines of communications be preserved in the Indo-Pacific.

In this context, Minister Silva hopes that the May 2021 EU–India Virtual Leaders’ Summit, will help improve the political dialogue between India and the EU, and provide guidelines for future cooperation in the areas of connectivity, technology, climate action, trade, and investment. This summit will be a starting point for further activities of diplomatic and political cooperation, and for improvement of economic ties between India and the EU.

**DAY 2**

# **In Conversation: New Domains, Future Wars**

**Linden P Blue**

Chief Executive Officer, General Atomics Aeronautical  
Systems, United States

**Rajeswari Pillai Rajagopalan**

Director, CSST, Observer Research Foundation, India

**Angad Singh**

Space will be the most consequential military domain of the next decade, enabling a host of capabilities from connectivity to situational awareness. This, coupled with the massive strides being made in the detail and fidelity of military sensors and in the fields of system-level and platform-level autonomy, will redefine military operations in the near future. Linden P Blue, CEO of GA-ASI, highlighted the “exploding” potential of satellite communications, noting that a major expansion of connectivity options and bandwidth is in the offing. Meanwhile, adoption of remotely-crewed platforms across the world continues to accelerate, as does sensor performance across spectrums. The trade-off now, according to Blue, is in being able to process sensor data onboard platforms, or to transmit raw data for offboard processing. Regardless of the chosen approach, however, satellite connectivity and bandwidth are key to make the most of the current and projected remotely-crewed capabilities. In fact, even as increasing autonomy for the various processes in this chain is adopted, space-based infrastructure continues to be central to its exploitation.

On the opportunities for India-USA collaboration in some or all of these emerging areas, Blue was more circumspect. He acknowledged the possibility of cooperation with India and Indian companies for processing and analysis of surveillance data, noting that this is “an indigenous skill that India would want to grow” given how difficult such capacities are to simply transfer across borders. Dr Rajeswari Pillai Rajagopalan, Director of ORF’s Centre for Security, Strategy & Technology, underscored the opportunity for cooperation beyond just India, flagging emerging remotely-crewed technology as possible opportunity for “Quad or Quad-plus countries” to work together. Referring to a term coined by Thomas Mahnken, Blue agreed that “deterrence by detection” is a viable method to counter a range of adversary actions or provocations. Although intelligence and information sharing protocols are in place among members of the Quad and across the Indo-Pacific, there is no meaningfully common approach toward the exploitation of surveillance data in the region. Despite the benefits to such an approach, the sharing of data and information would require some sort of common communications or datalink capability, to create a resilient framework for information flow and keep individual countries from ending up isolated in “stove-piped networks.”

Beyond the logistical and technological issues holding back international cooperation initiatives and widespread adoption of remotely-piloted surveillance platforms, is the issue of entrenched legacy mindsets. Blue flagged this as “a big barrier to the most effective utilisation of these kinds of systems.” The mindset problem goes past the preference given to manned platforms in most militaries, and imposes constraints even in something as basic as airspace regulations and evolving standards to include remotely-crewed systems. Another area of concern going forward, particularly as more information is generated and transmitted by these sophisticated platforms, is the security of the data itself. Efficient, highly secure encryption, therefore, becomes increasingly central to ensuring that the range, endurance, and sensor performance of contemporary and future unmanned systems.

**DAY 2**

**Keynote Address  
Charles Michel, President,  
European Council**

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for your invitation. I appreciate this opportunity to share my thoughts on where we are today and the relationship between India and the European Union (EU). The timing is perfect. An important EU-India summit will take place in just three weeks in Portugal. We will meet Prime Minister Modi and both sides are intensely preparing this meeting.

India often comes up in the debates of the European Council, even when it's not on the agenda. Why is that? It is because in a world that is more interconnected, more competitive, and less stable, like-minded countries tend to look out for each other and joint forces. We see more clearly than ever the need for global cooperation and for a rules-based international order. Unfortunately, not everyone is choosing this path. In many ways, the path of the future world order will be set in the Indo-Pacific region. This region has become a global economic and political centre of gravity and the EU is closely linked to it through trade, investment, and mobility. We have a large stake in its freedom, openness and stability. The EU is about to set out for the first time a comprehensive and strategic approach to your region. As the two largest democracies in this challenging landscape, India and the European Union are key partners. We can and we should do much more together.

First is to make the world a better and safer place. We value human rights, equal opportunities, gender equality, and the rule of law. We share the same multilateralist DNA. The EU is the result of a patient association of sovereign countries. We are united by our will to join forces and cooperate based on commonly agreed rules. It is in our mutual interest to maximize the potential of trade and investment between our two major economies. Concretely, we propose to focus on four strengths of cooperation; COVID-19, fighting climate change, boosting our economic cooperation, and security and peace.

As we speak, the most present challenge is COVID-19 and the production of vaccines and their delivery to all regions and countries of the world. Both, India and Europe, are major producers of vaccines. Together, we also support low and middle income countries in their vaccination efforts. Thanks to our joint efforts, COVAX has delivered more 38 million doses to 100 countries across the globe. We all know that ramping up the production of vaccine is an enormous challenge and we all need each other for components, equipment, and fill and finish of vials, for instance. This is why we must make sure that our supply chains remain open and resilient. This includes expanding global manufacturing capacity in the pharmaceutical sector also in the developing countries. In the longer run, we must be better prepared. This is why I have launched the idea of an international treaty on pandemics, which would be entered in the World Health Organization. With Dr. Tedros Ghebreyesus, we have already gathered the support of 26 leaders from five continents.

Ladies and gentlemen, the EU was the first to commit to climate neutrality by 2050. This is a pledge to our people but also to the rest of the world. Our European Green Deal is at the heart of our economic recovery strategy. Yet fighting climate change and stopping the loss of biodiversity, we strive for leadership of all the major economies. This is why, we are striving for a joint EU-India commitment to green growth, stable economy, and clean energy. This will be needed all over the world and will create jobs and economic opportunities.

We want also to be a leader in the digital evolution, in industrial data, and artificial intelligence. But in this evolution, we must avoid the mistakes of past transitions, namely abusing our digital resources like we abuse our natural resources. In this field like in others, the EU has developed a global standard-setting capacity, the so-called Brussels Effect. I propose that we work together with like-minded partners on this democratic digital standard, and I see India as a key partner in this endeavor. The EU is India's first trading partner and investor, and we are ready to develop a huge potential for more trade, more jobs and more growth, which will make our economies more resilient.

The EU is not just an economic partner. We are also determined to play our role in the security of the Indo-Pacific region. We are engaged in securing peace in Afghanistan. We call for restoring the democratic process in Myanmar. On Iran, the EU played a key role and we remain a defender of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA).

Nuclear proliferation is still a major concern including the nuclear activities of North Korea. Some 40 percent of our trade passes through the Indian Ocean, so we have a strong interest in maritime security in the region.

Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends, our friendship and partnership with India is a cornerstone of our geopolitical strategy. We are determined to further develop the ties between our people. It is in our common interest to show that the democratic and open model is the most powerful one to address the challenges of the world.

Thank you for your attention and I wish you fruitful debates.

**DAY 2**

# **Crimson Tide, Blue Geometries: New Partnerships for the Indo-Pacific**

**Harsh Pant**

## Panellists

**Jean-Yves Le Drian**, Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs

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

**Marise Payne**, Minister of Foreign Affairs

Moderator – **Samir Saran**, Curator, Raisina Dialogue; President, Observer Research Foundation, India

Is the emerging France–India–Australia minilateral designed primarily to counter China's belligerent foreign policy? This suggestion was dismissed by the Foreign Ministers of the three countries at the Raisina Dialogue 2021 in New Delhi in April. The fact remains that the three armed forces, combined—regardless of national interests and priorities—fall short of matching China's military capabilities; at the same time, these countries continue to be economically integrated with China. At the Raisina Dialogue, the Foreign Ministers even sought to reassure that the trilateral singles out no state and intends only to enhance current cooperation. The areas of such cooperation are expected to deal with non-traditional security threats and people-to-people contact. The issues include climate change, blue economy, sustainable energy, maritime security, humanitarian responses, sustainability, terrorism, vaccines, and sports and education.

Much of this seems pragmatic, assessing the trio's established agreements and relationships. Their existing cooperation can easily facilitate data sharing on maritime crises and illegal fishing. The established institutions such as the Indian Ocean Commission, the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), and India's logistical agreement with France, and another with Australia, would be efficient to deal with maritime emergencies, disasters and crimes, as well as information-sharing. Further facilitation on similar grounds can also be possible with the Indian Ocean Region-Information Fusion Centre (IFC-IOR) and its linkages to other maritime security agencies.

Yet, despite these pragmatic concerns, the China factor and the self-interests of these states cannot be discounted as drivers of the minilateral. After all, the minilateral is a corollary of the Indo-Pacific concept, which emerged from the belief that the West and the like-minded countries are duty-bound to defend the international order in the region, which is being challenged by China's rise.

This means that the trio will have to deal with China and its assertiveness, if not today, then in the future. For this, economic and material growth is particularly important. The Indian Ocean is expected to contribute 20 percent of global GDP by 2025; consequently, the health and the resources of the Indo-Pacific will be a vital asset to enhance their economic growth and reinforce their material capabilities. It is in the mutual interests of these states to focus on non-traditional issues such as the blue economy, maritime security, connectivity, climate change, environmental degradation, and sustainable development.

The three countries can also engage in soft diplomacy such as in the area of COVID-19 vaccine supply, and enhance their middle-power capabilities as they carve a space for themselves in the emerging multipolar world. This becomes especially important amidst the US's waning capabilities, and the challenges of a cold-war type military alliance system.

The France-India-Australia trilateral can yet prove to be a prime example of how minilateralism will help shape the future of the Indo-Pacific region. The trio have focused on non-traditional security for pragmatic reasons, and also for substantial material and geopolitical benefits that could assist them to counter China, when necessary. As the balance of power in the Indo-Pacific undergoes a dramatic transformation, this trilateral brings together three key nodal powers in shaping the emerging regional strategic architecture.

**DAY 2**

# **Plurilateralism Inc: The future of global governance?**

**Jhanvi Tripathi**

## Panellists

**Carl Bildt**, Former Prime Minister, Sweden

**Harsh Vardhan Shringla**, Foreign Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, India

**Nicolas Pinaud**, G20 and G7 Sherpa, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

Moderator- **Akshay Mathur**, Head of Geoeconomics Studies Programme and Director, ORF Mumbai, India

The reformation of the multilateral world order, its slow demise, and the role that the plurilateral systems will play to fill the decision-making vacuum are issues that have been much debated in recent years. This renewed interest is led by the weakening and current paralysis of the World Trade Organisation's dispute settlement mechanism, the ever-contentious UN Security Council (UNSC) permanent membership, and most recently, the World Health Organisation (WHO) floundering as it dealt with the COVID-19 pandemic.

Carl Bildt, former Prime Minister of Sweden, asserts that the desirability of reform and hope for a new age in multilateralism has been felt for some time as issues like COVID-19, climate change, *et al.* require global action. "Organisations like the UNSC and WTO", he continues, "have been unable to enact serious reform even as there has been a resurgence in the need for multilateralism."

The immediate response to the dysfunction in the multilateral order has been to push minilateral and plurilateral alliances to take on issue-specific partnerships. The G7 and G20 have had to find ways to work together to ensure that the global institutions stay committed to promoting the liberal order as they collaborate on an expansive spectrum of issues from economy to technology, and climate change.

Plurilateralism, while not a new arrangement, has emerged as the preferred method for transnational governance. However, as Akshay Mathur, Head of Geoeconomics Studies Programme and Director, ORF observes, "While it allows for efficient decision-making, plurilateralism remains less representative than the multilateral methods. The question arises whether it will lead to fragmentation or solidification of global governance. There is an inherent democratic deficit in plurilateral systems, unlike multilateral groupings which are ostensibly more inclusive. What then drives countries to choose one form of arrangement over another?"

Amb. Harsh Vardhan Shringla, Foreign Secretary of India argues that the choice of whether countries engage with their partners at a bilateral, minilateral, or multilateral level depends on which method is deemed most effective and for which issue. Taking the example of cooperation to tackle the COVID-19 pandemic, we see that there has been both a global and regional response as there has been a clear distinction in the severity with which the pandemic is impacting countries.

An interesting argument to consider is by Nicolas Pinaud, G20 and G7 Sherpa, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. He says, "It is counterproductive to be dogmatic about supporting only multi or plurilateral systems. They compensate for each other's weaknesses." In the final analysis, we are to understand that multilateralism should be treated as a tool for cooperation, not an ideological imperative. "While plurilateral and minilateral groupings like the G20 may not be able to make far-reaching decisions, they have an important role in aiding political consensus building". This conception is useful if we understand it simply as a formalisation of the so-called 'green room negotiations' that take place at the WTO, except that they occur formally and outside the multilateral institutional set-up.

New understandings are required for new realities, to wit, multilateral institutions need to be responsive to modern realities and be tolerant of agreements reached in smaller groupings. Mr Pinoud goes on to say that "the polycentricism seen today lends itself to the idea that flexible forms of multilateralism with open architectures are the future of international cooperation." What is needed then is concerted efforts towards effectively reforming the multilateral system while acknowledging the importance of plurilateral and minilateral arrangements. The 'future of global governance' then is not just to be multipolar in terms of power centres, but also in terms of decision-making, creating a positive potential for greater democratisation and efficiency in the international system.

**DAY 2**

# **Samudhra Manthan: The Indo-Pacific in churn**

**Kartik Bommakanti**

## Panellists

**Admiral Karambir Singh**, Chief of Naval Staff, India

**Admiral Phil Davidson**, Commander of the Indo-Pacific Command, United States

Moderator – **Rajeswari Rajagopalan**, Director, CSST, Observer Research Foundation, India

The Indo-Pacific is witnessing dramatic changes and developments in the form of China's growing assertiveness and the emergence the Quadrilateral grouping consisting of the United States of America (USA), India, Japan, and Australia. Admiral Karambir Singh, Chief of Naval Staff (CNS), Indian Navy (IN), emphasized in his remarks the importance and need for a rules-based order in the Indo-Pacific and greater interoperability between navies across the region. Noting that trust is a crucial element and an indispensable necessity for cooperation amongst states in the Indo-Pacific, India cannot pursue a solitary course given the challenges New Delhi faces. India will need to work collectively with other states through dialogue. Threats in the Indo-Pacific, he noted, can be divided into traditional and non-traditional threats. Traditional threats, interstate tension, and conflicts should be resolved through dialogue, however, there are parts of the Indo-Pacific that are under stress and tension due to cyber attacks, grey-zone, and asymmetric warfare. States are pursuing the competition-continuum strategy that keeps the threshold of conflict below a full-scale war to achieve their goals. Consequently, there is a higher incidence of tension and flashpoints, which could potentially escalate to a full-scale war. Non-traditional threats are also a challenge, such as piracy, terrorism, and drug trafficking and tackling them requires interstate cooperation in the maritime domain. Other than China, there is no difference in the perception of the threats facing the states in the Indo-Pacific. The Chinese will try to replicate the US Navy (USN) carrier battle groups. The Quad group is evolving rapidly and there is no dearth of areas where they can cooperate. A high degree of interoperability has already been achieved between the states that constitute the Quad. The Quad members, Admiral Singh observed, can come together seamlessly through a "plug and play" mechanism when the need arises to face down threats.

Admiral Phil Davidson, Head of the Indo-Pacific Command of the US Navy, was emphatic in his remarks that the People's Republic of China (PRC) is the greatest threat to the rules-based order in the Indo-Pacific. The PRC wants an order in the Indo-Pacific based on Chinese characteristics. The PRC on the whole has a different approach, in that the Chinese national law will supplant international law. However, competition in the region does not mean conflict. A strong India-US relationship and the Quad grouping, which are based on common values is absolutely necessary for peace, prosperity, and stability in the Indo-Pacific. A resilient network of like-minded states and growing military interoperability between them can deter aggression. There needs to be a strategy, the Admiral noted, in areas such as robotics, biotechnology, quantum computing, Artificial Intelligence (AI), cyber, and space. He stressed on the imperative of a greater interagency cooperation between likeminded states in the Indo-Pacific. The PRC is pressing its maritime and territorial aims as the rest of the Indo-Pacific region is preoccupied with the COVID threat. This is most visible in the South China Sea (SCS). All countries in the Indo-Pacific, with the exception of China, have a shared vision of a rules-based order. Chinese naval forces will undergo change, observed Admiral Davidson. The Peoples Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) carriers will move towards a construct similar to the US Navy's carrier battle groups. The US wants stability and peace in and around the Taiwan Straits. Both Admirals agreed that all states in the Indo-Pacific need to act with unity.

**DAY 2**

# **On the trail of the bear: Russia in a multipolar world**

**Nivedita Kapoor**

## Panellists

**Seyed Kazem Sajjadpour**, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Iran

**Shashi Tharoor**, Member of Parliament and Chairman of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Information Technology, India

**Andrey Bystritskiy**, Chairman of the Board, Foundation for Development and Support of the Valdai Discussion Club, Russia

**Anastasia Likhacheva**, Director, CCEIS, Higher School of Economics, Russia

**Veerle Nouwens**, Senior Research Fellow, Royal United Services Institute, United Kingdom

Moderator – **Anupam Ray**, Joint Secretary, Policy Planning and Research, Ministry of External Affairs, India

The role of Russia in the evolving geopolitical and geoeconomic scenario was the focus of the discussion 'On the Trail of the Bear: Russia in a Multipolar World.' As the international system remains in flux and the shape of the world order is yet to reveal itself, any stability in the balance of power will also be elusive in the near future. Andrei Bystritsky, Chairman of the Board, Foundation for Development and Support of the Valdai Discussion Club, said this will result in the formation of ad-hoc alliances. In this context, Russia seeks to play an important role both at the regional and global level in its efforts to organize the world. In the current evolution of the world order, Russia has sought to position itself in the emerging system as a major power.

This has also manifested in Russia's desire to pursue its own agenda, and according to Anastasia Likhacheva, Director, CCEIS, Higher School of Economics, while it enjoys the privilege of not having to join others' agenda; it remains open to finding partners to discuss issues of global concern. In this respect, multilateral dialogues have gained renewed importance, while simultaneously preserving the sovereignty of nation-states. Russia has strengthened its position as a central player with significant ability to project power, possessing military and strategic capacity to translate into geopolitical presence.

While the intensity and role of Russia's policies has evolved over the years, Veerle Nouwens, Senior Research Fellow, Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) argued that its re-emergence in the Indo-Pacific has increasingly garnered interest due to the strategic interests it possesses in the two oceans. In this regard, Russia's partnership with China has gained salience, given the latter's rise has led to a far-reaching impact on the evolution of the regional order. Amid the ongoing churn in the international system, Russia-China relations have grown closer, with the dependence of Russia on China in the Indo-Pacific, being a particular area of concern for countries like India.

There is mounting concern about the rising power, especially due to a perception that a China-Russia-Pakistan trilateral could put India in an adverse position. Thus, according to Shashi Tharoor, Member of Parliament, even though the India-Russia relationship has grown in this changing world, the China factor poses a challenge to the long-standing partnership. As New Delhi's concerns regarding Beijing have increased, it has grown closer to Washington. But at the same time, it has also wanted to reaffirm traditional ties with Moscow, and remains ideologically committed to the idea of strategic autonomy. This state of flux means that the relationship will have to be delicately managed by both sides.

However, there is no doubt that Russia is a fundamental player in Eurasia, alongside countries like China, India, and Iran, as noted by Seyed Kazem Sajjadpour, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Iran. All of them strive to be recognized as shapers of a multi-centric global order. But this multipolar world is still in the making, and there are differing versions of the eventual shape of this order. In addition, there are some efforts to restore the old structure characterized by hierarchical and unipolar nature in the post-Cold War period. There are also divergent opinions regarding the principles, values, and standards that will guide the creation of a new world order.

As the multipolar world takes shape, it will be necessary to build new types of relations among countries to deal with the challenges of the evolving system. This will necessitate overcoming challenges of communication among countries so that mutual understanding and trust can be established amongst the key stakeholders, including Russia.

**DAY 2**

**Raisina @ Berlin**

# **A decade of emergence: Europe in the Indo-Pacific**

**Kalpita A Mankikar**



## Panellists

**Gen Claudia Graziano**, Chairman, European Union Military Committee

**David McAllister**, Member, European Parliament

**Jens Frølich Holte**, State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway

Moderator - **Amrita Narlikar**, President, German Institute for Global and Area Studies, Germany

The release of the European Union's (EU) Indo-Pacific strategy in April 2021 put the focus on the region. The strategic policy indicates the EU's intent to play a role in the security sphere. The Indo-Pacific region is an important manufacturing hub central to global value chains, and is home to nearly 60 percent of the world's population and responsible for more than 65 percent of global economic growth. In this context, the panel deliberated on issues like China and the Indo-Pacific region, multilateralism, and expanding Indo-EU cooperation.

Elaborating on the EU's strategy, Gen Claudia Graziano said, the EU has decided to engage more with Japan, India, Vietnam, South Korea, and the ASEAN, adding that while China remained a strategic partner on climate protection, it is a rival on the issue of governance.

China is seen to be sidestepping international norms and rules, which has become a major security concern in the Indo-Pacific region. David McAllister highlighted China's mistreatment of the Uighur minorities in Xinjiang, and that its stance towards Hong Kong and Taiwan is in opposition to the values that the EU espouses. He listed three approaches towards the People's Republic: "Cooperate where possible", "compete when needed", and "confront when necessary". Taking the discussion ahead, Jens Holte opined that multilateralism provided a framework in dealing with ambitious and rising powers like China. He posited that the foreign policy focus of Norway (which is part of the European Economic Area, not the EU) is shifting to the Indo-Pacific region, and that together with smaller nations multilateral bodies like the UN should be strengthened to initiate dialogue and resolve disputes.

With India, which is a major player in the region, expectations are running high in the run up to the India-EU summit scheduled in May 2021. Closing the debate, Amrita Narlikar said that India, the EU, and Norway were all committed to democracy and multilateral values, and that concerted efforts were needed to take the relationship between India, the EU and other European nations to realise their full potential in areas such as trade and commerce. Agreeing with her sentiment, McAllister added that both were committed to consolidating their strategic partnership established in 2004 with the aim of enhancing economic and political cooperation. He predicted close cooperation between the EU and India regarding climate change, security cooperation, and promotion of human rights. European nations are also individually warming up to India. Prime Minister of Norway, Erna Solberg, had announced her India strategy at the Raisina Dialogue two years ago. Holte said that under the strategy both nations were broadening cooperation in the fields of green energy, recycling, and port development, and that they would later expand to political cooperation. Military cooperation between the EU and India, especially in the maritime domain has picked up pace in the last few years. Elaborating on the EU's initiatives like its anti-piracy operations and maritime security and safety in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR), Gen Graziano said that such exercises had led to strong partnerships with India and other Southeast Asian nations and that they could help in deterring other actors who do not share the values of the liberal world from operating in the region.

**DAY 2**

# **Left, Right and Woke: Rethinking Democracy and Technology**

**Mihir Sharma**

## Panellists

**Baijayant Panda**, National Vice President, Bharatiya Janata Party, India

**Celine Calvez**, President, France-India Parliamentary Friendship Group, France

**Neal Mohan**, Chief Product Officer, YouTube and SVP, Google

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

Moderator - **Kanchan Gupta**, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

Is the public sphere, especially in democracies, under threat from digital spaces that are subject to the spread of misinformation and subversion by hostile actors? The increasing power of big technological companies, particularly those with large social media platforms in democracies has led to vigorous debate about how democracy can be protected from subversion, and whether or not the relationship between those companies, their users, and the state needs to be re-examined. As Neal Mohan points out, there is a clear and inescapable link between the openness of platforms and the deepening of democratic participation, and that deserves to be preserved.

It is necessary, also, to distinguish between illegal intrusions into the democratic process at the behest of malicious actors and the simple act of using social media to propagate politics, as James Carafano points out. The actual empirical evidence for effective vote-shifting by foreign or malicious actors through social media intervention is hard to find.

Questions begin to arise, however, when it comes to what and how the companies can address problematic speech on their platforms. Companies are expected to make a “good faith” effort to implement their standards, but what constitutes “good faith”? And who sets the standards? Baijayant Panda argues that we face a “gatekeeper issue”, in which the large tech giants sit in judgement on what can and cannot be transmitted to the electorate. In the past, companies that served a vital public purpose began to be regulated as utilities, and there are arguments for thinking the same of Big Tech today.

Given the importance of the digital public sphere to democratic deliberation today, can the decision to deplatform be made by unaccountable corporate executives? Or should it be with legislators or judges? Marietje Schaake argues that many decisions that commercial companies have to make are actually public policy decisions, about preserving the rule of law or delineating the limits of the freedom of expression, and that this is increasingly uncomfortable for the companies themselves. Nor is it easy to identify, as Celine Calvez argues, what is “fake” and what is not. Political leaders need to figure out if the spaces are being manipulated or controlled, but they can only do so in collaboration with the companies—and, in fact, with citizens themselves. Indeed, perhaps a broader education about how to deal with misinformation is the missing piece of the puzzle.

Governments work best, Carafano argues, when they are not concerned about what speech is deserving but instead what speech is criminal for reasons of national security or spreading hate. Deplatforming is a difficult and influential decision, particularly at a time when “woke” concerns have gained greater traction, including within the corporations themselves. But Calvez draws a clear distinction between “cancel culture”, a call to erase something, and “woke culture”, which is more about adding to the conversation and contextualising it than erasing it.

In the end, the question is whether the business models of big tech need greater transparency, and whether any form of oversight can be devised that would not harm the democratic process itself. Both Indian and French lawmakers underline the importance of social media to their own political movements, which emerged onto the national scene through effective, disintermediated online outreach. Social media serves the democratic process, as long as it is not hijacked to disrupt democratic values themselves.

**DAY 2**

## **In Conversation**

**Admiral Phil Davidson**

Commander of the Indo-Pacific Command,  
United States

**Samir Saran**

Curator, Raisina Dialogue; President,  
Observer Research Foundation

**Abhijit Singh**

At the Raisina Dialogue 2021, Admiral Philip Davidson, Commander of the United States Indo-Pacific Command (USINDOPACOM), was in conversation with Samir Saran, President of the Observer Research Foundation. The discussion focused on USINDOPACOM's response to the pandemic, the US' approach to the Quad and ASEAN, and the US Navy's interpretation of freedom of navigation operations.

Admiral Davidson began by outlining the three priorities of the USINDOPACOM during the pandemic: First, to ensure the health of its personnel—soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, coast guards; second, to ensure readiness of forces with an eye towards both short-term and long-term needs; and third, to prepare the force to support the US government's effort in the entire Indo-Pacific region. In all three respects, he observed, a significant degree of success has been achieved, particularly in manner in which USINDOPACOM forces adhered to the pandemic control guidelines, optimized resources and deployments, and extended expertise and support to US allies and partners. Despite challenges in tailoring exercises and regional engagements to operate in a pandemic environment, USINDOPACOM has steadfastly helped partners tide over challenges.

Asked to comment on the Quadrilateral initiative, Admiral Davidson said he saw the 'Quad' as an exceptional opportunity, for not just the four constituent countries, but also other nations in the Indo Pacific region. More than just enabling hard security responses, the 'diamond of democracies', he averred, is a way to protect shared values and mutual interests; it is to enforce the rules based order and to build security and economic capabilities. Unfortunately, an impression has been created that the Quad is an 'Asian NATO'. That is a fallacy, because whereas the NATO has always been a long-standing alliance aimed at a strategic threat in Eastern Europe, the Quad seeks to maximize opportunities for democracies in the global commons in areas such as Artificial Intelligence (AI) and 5G; to augment efforts to promote a framework of values; and boost regional growth and productivity.

From an Indo-Pacific vantage point, the overwhelming trigger for US deterrence efforts continues to be China's aggressive posturing in East Asia, the Himalayas, and the South China Sea. As part of a Pacific deterrence initiative, a fund has been instituted to address the threat posed by China. A joint strategy is being worked upon by USINDOPACOM to counter Chinese aggression in East Asia and Oceania, with a major focus on engagement with ASEAN that remains central to the US' vision of a free and open Indo Pacific. The 'China' challenge, he averred, ought to be taken seriously as it threatened to fully manifest in the present decade.

In response to a question about the recent freedom of navigation operation (FONOP) by the US navy in the waters off Lakshadweep, Adm Davidson said that the US navy conducts such operations all around the world and in accordance with the 1982 Law of the Sea Convention. The US approach fundamentally is not about individual countries but securing access to the maritime commons. Yet, he averred, it was normal for "friends who were like family" to occasionally disagree. What matters is the desire to work together for the common good of the region.

**DAY 2**

**Raisina @ DC**

**Looking back and looking  
ahead in India-US relations**

**Kashish Parpiani**

## Panellists

**Kenneth Juster**, former Ambassador of the United States to India, United States

**Richard Verma**, Executive Vice President, Global Public Policy and Regulatory Affairs, Mastercard, United States

**Lisa Curtis**, Senior Fellow and Director, Indo-Pacific Security Program, Center for a New American Security (CNAS), United States

Moderator - **Nikhila Natarajan**, Senior Program Manager, Media and Digital Content, ORF America, United States

Over the past three decades, the India-US bilateral relationship has incrementally graduated to its present avatar of a 'Comprehensive Global Strategic Partnership', which boasts of over 50 bilateral inter-governmental dialogues on various issues and an appetite for lateral expansion with plurilateral engagements like the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue. Moreover, without a formal trading agreement, US-India bilateral trade has increased from US \$16 billion in 1999 to US \$42 billion in 2018. Similarly, without a treaty alliance underpinning India-US defence ties, the US is now India's second-largest arms provider and Indian armed forces conduct more exercises with their US counterparts than with any other partner-nation military.

In this context, at the Raisina Dialogue, the 'Looking Back and Looking Ahead in India-US Relations' panel sought to underscore the motivations that propel the India-US bilateral relationship.

Citing her recent stint as National Security Council (NSC) Senior Director for South and Central Asia (2017-2021), Lisa Curtis attributed the Donald Trump administration's high-prioritisation of US ties with India to its focus on the US' 'great power competition' with China. In actualising the ambitions set by the predecessor Barack Obama administration on India-US strategic cooperation, the Trump administration extended critical support to India during its recent stand-off with China, by exporting winter gear for Indian troops in the Himalayas and expediting the lease of MQ-9 Predator drones for India's reconnaissance efforts.

On successive US administrations practising such continuity on India-US ties, Kenneth Juster (US Ambassador to India, 2017-21) underscored either sides' continued focus on institutionalising the India-US partnership, as reflected in the successful finalisation of interoperability agreements — one each under George W. Bush and Obama, and two under Trump.

In underscoring the foundations of this modern-day India-US strategic partnership, Richard Verma (US Ambassador to India, 2014-17) noted Bill Clinton's decisions to end long-standing bilateral estrangement over India's nuclear programme and de-hyphenate India and Pakistan in the US' policy towards South Asia. Recounting his time as a staffer in the US Senate during the Clinton years, Amb. Verma deemed those decisions to have consolidated a consensus on improving US ties with India, on account of a shift in attitudes of US legislators and an influential Indian diaspora.

In concurring with Amb. Verma on the critical role played by people-to-people linkages, Amb. Juster also noted the relevance of cultivated relationships across levels of inter-governmental engagement. While recognising the importance of a bipartisan fervour at the head of state-level, Amb. Juster recounted his serendipitous experience of negotiating the Bush administration's India-US Next Steps in Strategic Partnership (NSSP) with then Jt. Secretary S. Jaishankar—who then went on to become India's Ambassador to US, and subsequently India's Foreign Secretary and India's Minister of External Affairs during Amb. Juster's time as US envoy in New Delhi.

Hence, drawing on such insights from three US national security and foreign service professionals—who have worked on the India-US partnership in various capacities during the presidencies of Clinton, Bush, Obama and Trump—the India-US bilateral relationship may be driven by convergent interests but it remains rooted in strong interpersonal relationships.

**DAY 3**

**Raisina @ Canberra**

**The Heart of growth:  
Technology partnerships  
in Indo-Pacific**

**Vikas Kathuria**



Australian  
National  
University

NATIONAL SECURITY  
COLLEGE

## Panellists

**Zunaid Ahmed Palak**, Minister of State for Information and Communication Technology, Bangladesh  
**Tobias Feakin**, Ambassador for Cyber Affairs & Critical Technology, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Australia

**T.V. Mohandas Pai**, Chairman, Manipal Global Education, India

**Paul Kapur**, Former Member, Policy Planning Staff - State Department; Professor, Department of National Security Affairs, U.S. Naval Postgraduate School, United States

**Erin Watson-Lynn**, International Relations Consultant & Special Advisor to G20 Women Summit Australia

Moderator – **Maha Siddiqui**, Editor, Foreign Affairs & Anchor, CNN News 18, India

The panel discussed several themes related to the governance of new technology, ensuring the security of the digital space and forging partnerships to address similar challenges in the Indo-Pacific.

### Theme 1: Regulation of Tech

A prominent theme of discussion was how to steer the digital environment in the right direction and what should be the role of government to this end. Commenting on the current state of art, Tobias observed that “[t]here is no doubt that as societies we are playing catch up to an internet which was designed a long time ago.” Pai lent his support by observing that our laws are behind the pace of technology.

On the nature of the right kind of regulation, participants agreed on the regulation that could take account of geopolitical realities, ensuring democratic values, and also facilitating a smooth business environment. Zunaid observed that governments should be facilitators. He underscored the need of enacting rules on data protection, data localization and privacy. Further, the government must also ensure the digital sovereignty of its people.

Pai was more concerned about the growing power of tech firms and called for the adoption of a universal declaration of digital rights that could ensure fairness and data sovereignty. He pointed to the huge dependence that users have on a handful of firms. Consequently, he too called for regulating tech monopolies.

Regarding the intervention of governments in the digital space, Tobias gave the example of the Australian Media Code that ensured that small publishers get equitable and fair payment from social media giants such as Facebook and Google. This was highlighted as one successful instance of governments entering the tech space to ensure justice.

### Theme 2: Tech Security

Another theme is the post-Covid realization that supply chains are strongly interconnected. To this end, Pai observed that 62 % of India's digital territory was occupied by Chinese tech firms. Moreover, the world depends on China for rare earth and silicon chips.

Paul acknowledged the technology race between China and the US. Against this backdrop, he highlighted the importance of technology security. In particular, he raised concerns regarding the adoption of the 5G infrastructure and cautioned against the use of the Chinese infrastructure. This he said would benefit not just the US but others as well.

Zunaid emphasized that in order to ensure tech security, the government, start-ups, and industry must partner with each other. He also advised guarding against overreliance on single suppliers in these times in the interest of cybersecurity.

Erin pointed to another interesting concern. She observed that many people are yet not thinking about technology security. This leads to a disconnect between businesses and the government. Businesses almost always go by profitability or cost concern rather than taking account of technology security upfront. Mohandas Pai too concurred with Erin that businesses have always been driven by profitability. But this time around businesses are also aware of the risks in the digital revolution.

### **Theme 3: Partnerships**

Another recurring issue that was shared by some participants, such as Zunaid and Tobias, was the need to forge international partnerships to boost secure digital space. Tobias also underscored the need for new, emerging and alternative partnerships. Paul remarked that QUAD is just one of the institutions which the US channels to secure technology networks. He emphasized that diversification of supply chains is the key to ensure tech security in these times.

**DAY 3**

## **In Conversation**

**Arancha González Laya**

Minister for Foreign Affairs, European Union  
and Cooperation, Spain

**Mihir Sharma**

Director, Centre for Economy and Growth,  
Observer Research Foundation, India

**Nandini Sharma**

There is an increase in tensions globally on matter of the economy, democracy, and security aspects. This calls for more multilateral actions and decision-making. Spain believes the world should deal with these challenges together. This is the reason multilateralism and international cooperation are at the heart of Spain's foreign policy. Unilateralism by countries is not sufficient while dealing with challenges of security, shared prosperity, and protection.

The past few years have seen a major emergence of Europe in Indo-Pacific with several prominent EU countries having produced specific Indo-Pacific strategies. Spain needs to look much closer at the Indo-Pacific region. Other than economic interests, Spain would also like to be more present to solve the geopolitical tensions in the region. Spain's foreign policies works to promote Spain's interest around the world but it is based on shared values of democracy, human rights, individual freedom as well as equal rights for women.

Conference of Parties (COP) meeting later this year may focus on climate finance. Spain has promised to scale up international development assistance. The key would be to focus on private finance and use multilateralism to get private finance in infrastructure and climate sectors. India, Spain, and Europe's interests intersect strongly in this regard. They can work together to instil ambition to decarbonise the energy systems. EU-India summit taking place soon will lay emphasis on it. Governments signals through policies, legislations to the private sector. This needs to come together with good public-private partnership that will translate these policies and political aims to action on the ground. Spain supports more decisive actions by multilateral development banks in green finance. Spain, which is currently working on new reforms, plans to introduce better terms and conditions for green finance.

The pandemic has put the focus on re-examining existing trade arrangements. India and Europe have an opportunity to reform the multilateral trading system and to help ensure that trade works for sustainable development and job creation. The trading system has changed with digitalisation and services has become a dominant part of the economies. Sustainability as well as labour conditions and rights have become an important part of societies today.

The pandemic has also seen curbs or bans on exports of vaccines, placed by countries in the developed world, thus hampering availability in other countries. This has questioned the faith in trade ties even between long-term allies. The end of the pandemic can be achieved only if vaccine reaches every citizen. Thus, international cooperation is paramount. There is an urgent need to ramp up production and this would require government to work with each other as well as the private sector to identify bottlenecks. This would also be a right time to look at rules that govern intellectual property rights and use the flexibilities that the rules allow and exploit them to their fullest extent. This would also help the world to prepare better for future pandemics.

**DAY 3**

# **South rising: The decade for new America**

**Ria Kasliwal**

## Panellists

**Andrés Allamand Zavala**, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Chile

**Raul Cano-Ricciardi**, Vice Minister for Economic Relations and Integration, Paraguay

**Julián Ventura**, Former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mexico

**Riva Ganguly Das**, Secretary (East), Ministry of External Affairs, India

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

The 33 countries of Latin America, of which three are members of the G-20, have the combined GDP of India and the ASEAN, warranting a need to renew collective attention to the South. However, prior to the pandemic, these countries were going through a difficult period, with the pandemic further threatening to wipe out years of human and economic development progress. Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman, ORF, and Moderator for this panel, highlighted that since inequality and lack of cohesion were triggers for social and economic protest all over the world, the question that emerged was—post pandemic, how do we build an inclusive society and capitalise on the economic importance the South holds, given the deep social fractures it has exposed within all our societies.

Speaking about Latin America's struggle, Chile's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Andres Allamand Zavala, revealed that projections for the new decade, for Latin America, even prior to the pandemic were not promising with Latin America and Caribbean having grown only at 1.6 percent per annum in the past decade—a growth rate way behind the developing nations of the world, including areas of Sub-Saharan Africa. Recognising the need for a targeted effort, thus, he informed that Chile suggests four focus areas for global action in the aftermath of the pandemic—open trade and cooperation between countries, a commitment towards democracy, emphasis on digital solutions and trade, and a green economic recovery.

Steering the conversation towards the geopolitical relevance of Latin America, given its economic and geographical size and heterogeneity, the former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico, Julian Ventura, emphasised that while a 'one-size-fits-all' solution would not work, there are many similar challenges the region faces, which can be worked together. He underlined the two main challenges all countries need to tackle to progress towards a sustainable economic global recovery, being inequality and lack of inclusion. He suggested that structural decisions that individual governments take internally, regarding public delivery of services, education, poverty, innovation, amongst others will determine the future of world action and multilateralism.

Raul Cano-Ricciardi, Paraguay's Vice Minister for Economic Relations and Integration, stressed the significance of free and open trade for multilateralism and integration of Latin America in the global economy. Highlighting the importance of trade for development, he gave Paraguay's example of building regional value chains, taking advantage of being surrounded by big markets and, thereby, using their competitive advantage for stepping up global trade for economic progress.

Riva Ganguly Das, the Secretary (east) of India's Ministry of External Affairs, accentuated the strong relevance Latin America holds for India. As one of the most dynamic regions of the world, the relationship between the two regions over the years has seen constant upgradation and great potential. She informed that India engaged with countries of Latin America in a political, social, diplomatic, and economic manner—with a five-fold increase in business between the two regions.

The session concluded with the panellists emphasising the importance of South-South Cooperation as the need of the hour is to fight economic and social challenges emerging out of the pandemic and Mr. Joshi summed it up by saying - 'The way out of this viral world is with the Americas'.

**DAY 3**

# **Beyond Mobility: Jobs and Infrastructure in the Green Transitions**

**Sayli Udas-mankikar**

## In Conversation

**H.E. Nitin Gadkari**, Minister for Road Transport and Highways, micro, small and medium enterprises

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

At the Raisina Dialogue 2021, Mr. Nitin Gadkari, Minister for Road Transport, was in conversation with Ms. Shereen Bhan. He began by allaying concerns that the expenditure on combating Covid-19 would take a toll on India's ambitious infrastructure development initiatives. The minister said that to realise Prime Minister Narendra Modi's dream of creating a \$5 trillion economy, infrastructure projects of nearly Rs 111 lakh crore are in the works, adding that construction of new motorways linking metropolises like Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai with other cities and adjoining regions was going on at a record-breaking pace.

On the government's push for e-mobility in the wake of the pandemic, Mr. Gadkari predicted that within the next few years there would be a cost-parity between e-vehicles and prototypes running on fossil fuel, which would incentivise eco-friendly modes of transport. The minister was confident that India would completely indigenise production of key components needed for the clean energy vehicles like lithium-iron batteries. On the ground level, he added that dedicated corridors for e-vehicles and charging points in office complexes, parking lots, fuel stations, and motorways were in the pipeline. The minister said that all central departments, state governments and public sector undertaking would be directed to accord priority for buying e-vehicles.

Elaborating on the government's vision for the new-age vehicle industry, Mr. Gadkari asserted that efforts were on to build capacity of the private sector through joint ventures with foreign companies. He said currently around 30% of the components were imported, and that efforts were on to ensure complete indigenisation so that India could be positioned as a e-automobile manufacturing hub.

The minister also highlighted the government's campaign to reduce India's reliance on fossil fuels imported from abroad. In the field of solar power, Mr. Gadkari said that electricity generation has increased and the cost of producing it has reduced. He also drew attention to some out-of-the-box ideas like 'green hydrogen'. "The Indian Institute of Technology Madras has successfully experimented in extracting hydrogen from sea water. Hydrogen is a mission for us, and we are starting buses powered by hydrogen fuel," Gadkari announced.

The minister, who have always been a passionate advocate of biofuel, said that efforts were on to boost the "ethanol economy".

In conclusion, he said that the cost of running a public transport fleet on biofuel was reducing over the years, and would drop even further, which would in turn translate into cheaper fares for commuters and better facilities like air-conditioned buses.

**DAY 3**

**Keynote Address  
Prime Minister Scott Morrison,  
Australia**

Namaste! Greetings from here in Australia in Perth, in Western Australia, a great minerals and resources state. I am very pleased today to be joining you to open this third dialogue of the Raisina Dialogue. I am delighted to be part of this event joining other Australian speakers including my Foreign Minister, Marise Payne; the Chief of Australian Defence Forces, Gen. Angus Campbell; and Former Prime Minister, Anthony Abbott, a great friend of India. I congratulate my good friend, Prime Minister Modi, and Minister for External Affairs, Dr. Jaishankar, for initiating this dialogue. Thank you for your leadership at this critical time. In the midst of the most difficult year in 21<sup>st</sup> century, we know how important this dialogue is. I am very pleased to participate. I only wish I could have been there with you in person.

We are free people, liberal democracies with respect and responsibility, aspiration, with dignity of our people, at the heart of who we are as democratic nations. We have been friends a long time, Australia and India. We have so much in common; our values, our passions, especially for our democratic freedoms, our commitment to the rule of law, a free and open Indo-Pacific. Over the last two decades, we've realized more and more of the enormous potential of our friendship. We have shown what can be achieved when two diverse, pluralistic and multi-cultural democracies join in a spirit of trust and understanding. Our economic defense and people-to-people ties have grown strongly.

India and Australia share a deep friendship, the ability of men and women to work side-by-side trusting each other. That trust, that shared sense of mission and purpose, is what we will need so much in the years ahead. I want to talk today about what it is, about our region, about the Indo-Pacific, where we live, and the challenges that we face together; how the Covid-19 pandemic has created a momentum for addressing these challenges amongst like-minded nations.

Ladies & gentlemen, the Indo-Pacific is the region that will shape our prosperity, our security, and our destiny individually and collectively. That is our shared future. It is a dynamic and diverse region, full of promises, but we are also not blind to the geopolitical realities. The Indo-Pacific is the epicenter of strategic competition. Tensions over territorial claims are growing. Military modernization is happening at an unprecedented rate. Democratic sovereign nations are being threatened by foreign interference. Cyber attacks are becoming more sophisticated including from state-sponsored actors and frequent. The economic coercion is being employed as a tool of statecraft. Liberal rules and norms are under assault, and there is a great polarization that our world is at risk of moving towards. A polarization between authoritarian regimes and autocracies and the liberal democracies that we love, a liberal democracy and a liberal set of values that underpin the global world order.

The pandemic has accelerated and accentuated many of the strategic trends that have created this very real strain. However, the pandemic has also given us a fresh perspective and created new opportunities to build a durable strategic balance in the Indo-Pacific, a strategic balance that favors freedom, one where like-minded nations act more consistently, more cohesively, more often in our shared interests, on economic security and importantly global environmental issues, and guarded by rules and by solutions that ensure peace, stability and prosperity for all nations. It is an inclusive notion to achieve our common goals.

The pandemic prompted new groupings of like-minded countries to work together like never before. Australia is leading in this area, as is India. We are plying our path together. Australia has always been directed by our aspirations. It is our nature. We know who we are and we know what we are about. We've been clear about our vision of a free, open and prosperous Indo-Pacific underpinned by rules of law and respect for sovereignty, and we have acted to the thin and shape. Last year, we launched our defense strategic update, a major strengthening of our force posture to focus on our immediate region. Australia has committed some AUD 270 billion on our defense capability over the next decade. For us, that's 2% of our GDP. That's our flow and not our ceiling. Other nations know they can rely on Australia. This is important as we look ahead towards challenges that no country can take on alone.

That is what I told the Quad leaders meeting last month when I joined with Prime Minister Modi and President Biden. I particularly commented my fellow leaders for their involvement and leadership in bringing this forum together at that level, and I particularly say thank you to the President Biden for bringing that meeting together and chairing it on that occasion. That meeting was historic and a mark of the momentum that continues to be built amongst the link-minded countries in our region. Four leaders

of great liberal democracies in the Indo-Pacific including of course my friend, Prime Minister Modi, all leveraging our agency, working on a positive and an inclusive agenda for the Indo-Pacific to deliver peace and stability and prosperity for the shared benefit of all in our region, their sovereignty and their independence. We passionately believe in for all nations within the Indo-Pacific.

We pledge to strengthen our cooperation on the defining challenges of our time. Realizing a shared vision is expressed through ASEAN for an open and inclusive and resilient regime, and a combat Covid-19 combining significant medical, scientific, financing, and manufacturing capabilities for vaccine distribution. We are building new habits and modes of cooperation that is important and Australia has continued to invest in the relationships in the Indo-Pacific.

Our partnership with our great friend and ally, the United States, continues to strengthen as we mark 70 years of our alliances this year. We have announced a principled agreement with Japan on a Reciprocal Access Agreement, a landmark treaty will see even closer to defense and security ties. I thank my dear friend, Prime Minister Suga, for the great relationship between us we have been able to establish so quickly. He is a man committed to peace and prosperity in our region.

We have been working more closely than ever with ASEAN as it is our oldest dialogue partner and also enhanced our relationships with Indonesia, Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand; all key partners. We continue to strengthen ties with our Pacific family through our step-up program with additional support during the pandemic, particularly at the moment for Papua New Guinea and Timor-Leste, and there is a relationship with India.

Australia sees India as a natural partner in shaping the future of our region. It is quite more than geography. It is history. It is values. It is our economic security and people-to-people ties. It is a strong sense of mutual obligation and responsibility. In India now we have a friend who will help build our region where all nations can prosper. We have looked on with admiration as in recent times India has taken an increasingly active role in the Indian Ocean and the wider Indo-Pacific region. In particular, most recently, we have seen their leadership with the manufacturing and distribution of critical vaccines helping developing countries in our region. They are building their economic capability. They are promoting maritime security and they are advocating regional cooperation.

We welcome your leadership partners, Mr. Modi, and we welcome India's leadership and engagement, whether it's only outstanding vaccines that are necessary and the Maitry campaign that you've engaged in, which has seen over 64 million Indian made vaccine shipped to more than 80 countries as already seen.

Last June, Prime Minister Modi and I took our relationship to a new level; a comprehensive strategic partnership. This is a declaration of our shared values and interests, our capabilities and the deep trust we have for each other. It will see us cooperate in new ways, commerce, critical minerals, science & research, technology as well as defense maritime, cyber and critical technology issues, and we are already seeing this.

In November, Australia participated in exercise Malabar. It's our navies along with Japan and the United States work together in highly sophisticated training exercises. From air defense and anti-submarine exercises to sea replenishment between ship is still a broader story for Australia and India, a story of deep trust and shared ambition and a united commitment to keeping our region safe and secure.

Australia is looking forward to working closely with India on emerging issues such as harnessing opportunities through our cyber and critical technology partnership, and we continue exploring ways to further deepen our economic relationship. Our region confronts some formidable challenges in the pandemic and it has paved a renewed appreciation amongst like-minded nations for each other and what we both can contribute, all of us can contribute to our partnerships in the region, for the values and goals we share and for what we can achieve by working together. Together we carry the aspirations for the future, a stable region and prosperous region, with healthy people and a clean environment. We will continue to work together to achieve those goals and we will gather again soon.

I want to thank you for your kind invitation to be part of this important dialogue. Thank you for the great relationship we have and as we work together to secure the peace and prosperity of our nations, a free and open Indo-Pacific, a strategic balance. Thank you!

**DAY 3**

# **Future of Conflict: How will democracies respond?**

**Kriti M. Shah**

## **Panellists**

**Gen. Angus Campbell**, Chief of the Defence Force, Australia

**Gen. Koji Yamazaki**, Chief of Staff, Joint Staff of the Japan Self-Defense Forces, Japan

**Gen. Bipin Rawat**, Chief of Defence Staff, India

**Tim Cahill**, Senior Vice President, Lockheed Martin, United States

Moderator – **Yalda Hakim**, Journalist, BBC World News, United Kingdom

With the rapid advancement in technology and increase in global economic linkages between states, the nature of conflict between nations have undergone massive changes. The advent of new disruptive technologies and dwindling respect, that certain states have for the rules-based international order has meant that some states take advantage of the system and try to misuse the grey space that exists between norms and rules.

For democracies, conflict is always the last resort. By following the rules-based international order, democracies work to solve problems, disagreements, and ideological differences through diplomacy. However, as General Angus Campbell notes, given the nature of security threats that often democracies states face, they are forced to complement their diplomatic effort with military weight.

Authoritarian states, such as China, strive to assert themselves, political, economically and most of all militarily, driven by their 'nation first' approach. General Bipin Rawat highlighted that by threatening other nations that do not possess the same level of technology as them, such authoritarian states take advantage of their strategic environment, to further their own interests and at a cost to others. Be it in on land, such as Taiwan and India, or in the South China Sea and larger Indo-Pacific region, Beijing continues to rapidly expand its military activity, not only disrupting the peace and stability of the region but threatening the international rules to which other, peaceful and democratic states adhere. Its uncivilized actions, to unilaterally change the status quo, threatens states that are then forced into conflict with them.

However, conflict between states today, looks much different than it did 50 years ago. With the increasing use of disruptive technologies, such as cyber and space warfare, nations are forced to rethink their conflict doctrines and techniques to fight war with one another. Often conventional weapons, or rather legacy weapons, such as tanks, fighter aircraft, and 'boots on the ground', are used in supplement to other conflict tools of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. By building a strong network of states that rely both on traditional and modern weaponry, along with real time data, democracies are banding together creating resilient conflict-response systems.

It is important that democracies, in order to overcome the threat that authoritarian states such as China bring, remain prepared and united. Just as land, air, and sea warfare involve a degree of flexibility and adaptability, future warfare, be it in space or over the internet has a great potential to disrupt global political and economic supply chains that democracies have worked hard to protect. It is crucial that democracies learnt to, therefore, pursue their own individual and legitimate interests, while not breaching the barrier to open conflict. By protecting their own democratic institutions and fundamental elements of their sovereignty, democracies of the world must work together with those that share their interests and are eager and willing to pursue a course of action that benefits all, equally.

**DAY 3**

**Message from Moteji Toshimitsu,  
Minister for Foreign Affairs,  
Japan**

Minister for External Affairs of India, Dr. Jaishankar; Minister for Foreign Affairs of Australia, Senator Payne; ladies & gentlemen, the international community is now confronting three major transformations and challenges.

The first is how to overcome the Covid-19 pandemic. The second is a challenge against a universal values and international order posed by protectionism and unilateral attempt to change the status quo. The third is emerging challenges include globalization, digitalization, climate change, and economic security. Against such a backdrop, it must be stressed that a free and open-order based on the rule of law will bring peace and prosperity to the world.

The vision of a "Free and Open Indo-Pacific" or "FOIP" quite perfectly embodies this idea. Today, FOIP is gaining traction and widespread support from across the world including the US, Australia, India, ASEAN, as well as Europe. At the Japan-India-Australia-US Quad Summit meeting last month, the four leaders committed to deepening Quad cooperation in such areas as maritime security, quality infrastructure development, cyber-security, and climate change. The Quad leaders also launched a partnership for production, procurement and delivery of Covid-19 vaccines. As an unmatched vaccine producer, India has a valuable part to play here.

Joining hands with other like-minded partners, we are determined to address global challenges. Japan will uphold its respect for multilateralism and take on a greater leadership role in establishing a free and fair order and rule in both security and economic front looking ahead a post Covid-19 world.

Thank you!

**DAY 3**

**The architecture of the  
future: Building a new  
Indo-Pacific**

**Akshay Mathur**

## Panellists

**Anthony Abbott**, Former Prime Minister, Australia

**Tadashi Maeda**, Governor, Japan Bank for International Cooperation, Japan

**Kyungjin Song**, Director, FN Global Issues Center and Indo-Pacific Fellow, Perth USAsia Centre

**Kaush Arha**, Fellow, Atlantic Council, Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security, United States

**Mansukh Mandaviya**, Minister of State for Ports, Shipping & Waterways (I/C) & Chemicals & Fertilizers, India

Moderator – **Mitali Mukherjee**, Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

The strategic importance of the Indo-Pacific as a geopolitical entity for increased multi-sectoral cooperation has only been emboldened in recent years. The need for collective action, especially in light of the COVID-19 pandemic has meant that the Indo-Pacific—a geopolitical construct spanning Africa and America with India at its centre, will be a key player in responding to the challenges posed by the pandemic. The Raisina Dialogue 2021 acknowledged the growing primacy of the Indo Pacific as a theatre for trade, defence, and healthcare cooperation along with its role in shaping the future rules-based order. To explore the ways in which ideals of multisectoral cooperation embodied by the Indo-Pacific may be actualised and the obstacles in the way of this goal, a panel discussion titled “The Architecture of the Future: Building a New Indo-Pacific” was organised. Chaired by Mitali Mukherjee, Senior Fellow (ORF), the stellar panel included Anthony Abbott-- Former Prime Minister, Australia ; Tadashi Maeda, Governor, Japan Bank for International Cooperation; Kyungjin Song, Director, FN Global Issues Center; Kaush Arha, Fellow, Atlantic Council; and Mansukh Mandaviya, Minister of State for Ports, Shipping & Waterways (I/C).

A key theme explored by this panel pertained to if India has demonstrated intent towards leveraging the potential of the Indo-Pacific. In response to this, Mr Mansukh Mandaviya pointed out that India’s neighbourhood first policy has been a key pillar of the nation’s approach to foreign policy, ensuring India takes an active role in forging progress for the entire region. Initiative like the BIMSTEC, Project Mausam , and Project Sagar are shining examples that embody India’s intent to cooperate and lead the way.

Along with examining India’s role, the panel was also keen to discuss the threats posed by an increasingly confrontational China and how the Indo-Pacific may be a key counteracting force to balance China’s rise. In this regard, Anthony Abott expressed concern at the erosion of liberal democracy around the world and the status of “cold peace” between China and the rest of the world. He believed that cooperation between countries in the Indo-Pacific to eliminate China from supply chains for critical infrastructure would be imperative in reducing dependence on China and increasing the region's strategic autonomy.

A key element of the Indo-Pacific’s potential to be a force of good also relates to prospects for financial cooperation. In this domain, the panel emphasised the need for pooling financial resources to ramp up the global vaccination effort, with an emphasis on aiding underdeveloped economies. Moreover, the importance of the Quad summit as an avenue for responding to COVID-19 was reiterated, however, the panel also stressed upon the need for the Quad to be more inclusive.

The United States who is both a member of the Quad and a key participant in the Indo-Pacific affairs were deemed crucial in aiding the financial recovery of the region. According to Kyungjin Song, US fiscal packages of US \$1.9 trillion will greatly benefit the Indo-Pacific region by boosting domestic demand in the US which in turn will increase the need for US imports which will prove to be most beneficial for the countries in the Indo-Pacific.

A final theme of this panel pertained to the obstacles that may impede effective cooperation between the Quad and the Indo-Pacific writ large. Issues of a diminished scope, ambition, and effective branding of initiatives were considered to be key challenges. The difficulties of an ideological battle with Chinese socialism, learning from the mistakes of the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) and efforts to replace state capitalism with free-market capitalism shall be key challenges for the future which if left unaddressed, may adversely impact the architecture of the future world order. In conclusion, the panel unanimously agreed that COVID response should be the primary focus of Indo-Pacific countries with the immediate need for denouncing vaccine nationalism being especially urgent as these trends go against the very ideals on which the Indo-Pacific was conceptualized. The Indo-Pacific will be the geopolitical centre of global cooperation of the future but its biggest challenge this devastating pandemic—will test its potential and reveal the scope of its effectiveness in the years to come.

**DAY 3**

## **In Conversation**

**John Kerry**

United States Special Presidential Envoy for Climate,  
United States

**Samir Saran**

Curator, Raisina Dialogue; President,  
Observer Research Foundation, India

**Tanushree Chandra**

The United States and India contribute to almost 20 percent of global greenhouse gases (GHG) emissions. While the two countries have different development trajectories, resource endowments, institutions and capabilities—there is immense potential for them to come together and harness their partnership for making a dent in the climate conundrum. Undoubtedly, US–India bilateral relationship on climate change will play a pivotal role on getting the world to net zero. Against this background, Samir Saran, President of Observer Research Foundation, engaged in a conversation with John Kerry, Special Presidential Envoy for Climate, US at the Raisina Dialogue 2021.

Under President Biden's leadership, the US is set to play a more prominent role in mobilising a stronger and bolder commitment to climate action. At the same time, the Indian government has already shown its commitment to climate goals and appetite for cutting-edge, technology-based solutions for mitigating climate risks. Given the two countries' ambitious goals and vast climate potential, a partnership between them would be critical for bending the curve on global emissions.

The conversation highlighted that the coming decade would be crucial for getting the world to net zero by 2050. With nations having directed bulk of their resources towards addressing the post-pandemic economic crisis, experts fear that the response to pandemic is likely to take away the political attention and economic commitment required towards the global response to climate change. COVID has emphasised the need to radically re-imagine the post-COVID world as one that is more resilient and climate friendly. International platforms such as CoP26 must be leveraged to champion the climate agenda and raise global ambition. How the US and India navigate their agenda at CoP26 will play an important role in shaping a low-carbon, sustainable, and resilient global future.

The conversation also emphasised that technology and finance are the key pillars that will enable and catalyse the transition to a low-carbon future. It was highlighted that 50 percent of the emission reduction that we are aspiring to achieve in the coming decade is from technologies that have not even entered the market. In a similar vein, finance is at the heart of meaningful climate action. The developing world continues to face persistent challenges such as limited access to private and public capital to fund green technology solutions, dependence on fossil fuels such as coal to meet energy demand and mobility needs, insufficient focus on climate resilience and mitigation strategies, as well as still-nascent investments in sustainable manufacturing. The US and India must tap into their strategic partnership to unlock green financial flows and devise market mechanisms to address investment gaps and misaligned incentives.

In the post-COVID geoeconomic and climate scenario, India and the United States must take concrete actions to develop solutions that can boost economic growth and mitigate climate change. The two countries must endeavour to explore potential synergies and address joint challenges, cooperate in key areas that produce relevant knowledge, allow innovation exchange, strengthen technical assistance bilaterally and for others, and catalyse capital investments for energy access, energy efficiency, and renewable technologies.

**DAY 3**

**iBreathe: The battle  
for clean air**

**Stelin Paul**

## Panellists

**Nicholas Stern**, IG Patel Chair of Economics and Government, The London School of Economics and Political Science, United Kingdom

**Priyanka Chaturvedi**, Member of Parliament, India

**Vaishali Nigam Sinha**, Chair, ReNew Foundation, India

Moderator – **Mitali Mukherjee**, Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

“Loss of lives due to air pollution across the world is 10 million per year, that is five times more than the total lives lost due to COVID” said Nicholas Stern as he underscored the magnitude of air pollution—a bedeviling problem of our past that continues to cloud our future. Even though COVID has conquered most of the policy discussions, the very fact that this panel “iBreathe: The Battle for Clean Air” is convened is a testament that despite everything, air pollution continues to take precedence. With COP26 scheduled to happen in November 2021, Stern reinforced the simple logic of “stabilizing the concentration of emissions to stabilize the temperature” behind achieving the net zero emission target that has been outlined. Even if the measures taken are not under the banner to advance climate ambition, he said, building greener cities with better quality air, introducing productive yet non-destructive agricultural practices, reinforcing afforestation as natural capital infrastructure, and ensuring better income distribution for better standard of living are all positives that any country would want to embrace. So much-required focus needs to be directed here and yet as rightly pointed out by Mitali Mukherjee, many feel disgruntled, as high expectations are set from countries who do not have the capacity to respond. From his perspective, a small part of the green infrastructure in India is already present, what remains is exploring new avenues of investment and ingenuity.

To this, Vaishali Nigam Singha avers that green growth is attainable and thus, be it on the finance or policy front, what we require is high-level collaborations between multiple stakeholders. She reiterates that policies need to be drafted but more importantly funds need to be directed towards expanding the private sector and academia collaboration, not only in spheres of innovation and R&D but also implementation as the lack of state accountability tends to cripple the policies. This collaboration concept can be applied on a global scale as cooperation between international agencies and states could open new doors. In a more local context, Priyanka Chaturvedi establishes the necessity of collaboration not only amongst different actors, but also within the political arena, cutting across different states and political parties. This should stem from the realization that this issue remains to be politically agnostic, and hence requires high-level cooperation from all sides. Despite the Budget 2021 diverting 300 crore for environmental needs, it is evident that India would require the developed countries to provide assistance to achieve these net zero expectations, as the intent to achieve a better post-COVID world remains steadfast.

Stern adds that the developed countries could extend help in terms of technology and funding. In the investment context, he posits that future collaborations between international financial institutions and Indian development institutions will prove beneficial, where not only will the weight of the funds be shouldered by both but also the risks will get divided. With time, such collaborations could carve out a space for the private industry to play a role, as more climate entrepreneurs would attempt to venture in.

There is scope to achieve these goals as long as we don't share the “the last century perspective”, as put forth by Stern, where we understand that a net zero is beneficial for all, even for countries who do not face an immediate climate crisis to aim for these targets and work together. In a post-COVID world, as there is shift towards green recovery, hopes are underpinned on commitments made and initiatives undertaken. We have already pondered upon policies for far too long, now it is the decade of action, if we proceed with alacrity we could undo the ecological scars of the past.

**DAY 3**

# **Shifting sands: Discussing the new Middle East**

**Kriti M. Shah**

## Panellists

**Anwar Gargash**, Diplomatic Advisor to the UAE President, UAE

**Yousef Bataineh**, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Expatriates, Jordan

**Sanjay Bhattacharyya**, Secretary (CPV & OIA), Ministry of External Affairs, India

Moderator – **Marya Shakil**, Journalist, Political Editor, CNN-News18, India

The Abraham Accords signed in 2020 were a breakthrough in the quest for peace and stability in the Middle East. The United Arab Emirates and Bahrain were the third and fourth countries, respectively, to establish diplomatic relations with Israel, indicative of the slow yet steady political changes that are taking place in the subcontinent. Nonetheless, a number of countries in the Middle East, or rather West Asia, still remain at odds with Israel over the issue of Palestine. While the Abraham Accords are a strategic breakthrough, they do not in anyway, solve the Palestinian issue as Anwar Garghash, highlighted. The intention behind the Accords, is that, it contributes to the building of bridges between states that have political and ideological differences and that it helps in the reimagining the region.

The only way that the West Asian region can move forward and states can secure several benefits for themselves is by focusing on cooperation rather than confrontation. The economic and investment potential that such peace agreements bring, contribute towards interdependency and, therefore, long term stability. Keeping that in mind, the Abraham Accords are an important step in sending the right message, that the diversity and mosaic of cultures that the region represents, is crucial and must be respected.

For India, West Asia and the Gulf countries have historically been a part of its extended neighborhood. Although, New Delhi's relationship with the region has been seen through the prism of energy security and the large Indian diaspora, there is now a qualitative transformation taking place as Sanjay Bhattacharyya points out. India now looks towards the potential that collaboration in high technology could bring. The sharing of space-based data, for areas such as communication, spatial urban planning, agricultural mapping as well as healthcare systems and technology developed around artificial intelligence and blockchain, is sure to add greater value to the West Asia-India relationship. The COVID-19 pandemic has also put into perspective the importance of developing health and food security and cooperating with like-minded nations on building tools in health technology. Future innovation will, therefore, be driven by states' objectives, adjusting traditional areas of collaboration to include greater cooperation based on data and knowledge.

It is important to understand that the political rapprochement between Arab states and Israel, is a result of future focused, economic-oriented planning. The Abraham Accords, in this regard are not a consequence of war or fear, but rather because of an optimistic outlook on what the future could hold. A comprehensive peace in the region can only exist once all countries contribute locally, bilaterally, multilaterally, regionally, and internationally to every opportunity that works towards stability.

**DAY 3**

**Message from Luigi Di Maio,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs and  
International Cooperation,  
Italy**

I am very glad to join the 2021 Raisina Dialogue and I thank the organizers for the invitation.

When asked to talk about the future of Italy and European Union in the Indo-Pacific, I like to be putting forward my case in favor of the liberal rules based multilateral order. I believe this is still an international arrangement by serving the interests of both, Europe and Asia. In the last 30 years, Asia and the Indo-Pacific have grown in terms of geopolitical and geo-economic importance, more than anywhere on the planet.

Many factors account this shift of global economic build, although demography still matters. As most of the world's population lives in Asia, economic performance is the main driver. More than half of global GDP is in Asia. Ranked by purchasing powers, three out of five of the largest economies are Asian countries. Asian economies are growing faster and so the intraregional trade does. The region has become more interconnected and connectivity is one more reason for success. Thanks to an expanding network of cross-border infrastructures; cables, pipelines and roads.

A vast share of global trade now passes through its waters. Asian societies are getting increasingly innovative and highly educated. Therefore, technology is a key factor too. However, there are some boring developments in the region. Asian countries differ a lot among themselves. We have economies at various development stages, while distribution is uneven. A lot of the approaches to human rights are a matter of concern. Tensions on trade and supply chains are increasing. Rapid growth in economic and political power caused more clashes of interests and competition including on security and further control of sea routes and resources. Misperceptions have become frequent. Almost limitless processes of urbanization and industrialization brought about environmental degradation, contributing to climate change and endangered by diversity. Pollution, poor hygiene conditions, and high human density might also raise the risk of zoonosis.

Against this background, the EU and its member states as a group of global and regional powers, look at the Indo-Pacific with increasing attention and still offer good and fair competition. Therefore, there are several reasons why I am so convinced that liberal rules based multilateral orders are important for both, Europe and Asia.

First, if combination of booming demography, export-led development, growing connectivity and investment in technology has worked so well for Asia is because of opportunities from globalization. Now, it is time to correct some of its imbalances and focus more on how to better protect people. However, globalization as it was or should be, will not exist without the current multilateral order.

Second, its relevant political and economic institutions already proved capable to adjust to new challenges. If we have a chance to counter the climate change or to ensure universal access to Covid-19 vaccines, is because we do have these institutions.

Third, moreover, they have fostered interdependence, safeguarded universal human rights, provided global commons and incentivized its cooperation across the international community. The alternative will be a dangerous competition of all against all.

Let me now focus on the tool box we can use to continue benefiting from international cooperation:

First, regional and subregional integration: It enhances stability, transparency and mutual confidence. It creates and checks imbalances among countries. It provides us a framework to defuse tensions and wars, peaceful settlement of disputes. We are glad to see more integration in Asia and the Indo-Pacific.

Second, cooperation among integration processes from different regions. This is fundamental to overcome global challenges such as achieving the SDGs. Italy as G20 presidency and co-presidency of COP26 will push for that. Let us consider, for instance, the role of regional organizations having fostering global connectivity, thus increasing goods and investments.

In light of this, Italy already extended its outreach toward the main Asian regional forum. We are direct partner of the Pacific Islands Forum and the Indian Ocean Rim Association. We recently became development partner of the ASEAN, a key counterpart in the Indo-Pacific. Italy is also member of the sectoral organizations such as the Coalition for Disaster Resilient Infrastructure and International Solar

Alliance. Investing in outreach and dialogue with these fora has a multiplying effect making our presence in the region strong than some of our bilateral relations.

The third tool is the new common strategic approach of the EU towards the Indo-Pacific. We are working on a pragmatic and flexible strategy based on values and interests to engage our regional partners on policy areas of common ground. Moreover, Italy and EU continue investing in bilateral partnerships with countries such as India. Few months ago, a virtual summit between Italy and India led to the adoption of a plan of action for bilateral cooperation. I trust this implementation will help reinforce friendship between Rome and New Delhi, and please allow me in this respect to thank my colleague from India, Minister Jaishankar.

I would also like to call the upcoming EU-India Summit in Porto. Last year, we adopted a roadmap and now we can step up a concrete EU-India partnership in fighting against Covid-19, containing climate change and extending connectivity. International stability depends on stability in Asia and the Indo-Pacific. Global goals such those of a sustainable recovery after the pandemic cannot be reached without the engagement of countries from the region. We all share an interest in cooperating towards these goals and priorities as well as preserving the multilateral order that makes this cooperation fair and mutually beneficial.

Thank you very much!

**DAY 3**

**Raisina @ Berlin**

# **An ocean too far: The future of the transatlantic relationship**

**Kashish Parpiani**



## Panellists

**A. Wess Mitchell**, Co-Founder and Principal, The Marathon Initiative and Former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, United States

**Gen. David H. Petraeus**, Partner, KKR and Chairman, KKR Global Institute, United States

**Jürgen Hardt**, Member of the Bundestag, Germany

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

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

In March 2021, the European Union (EU) imposed sanctions on a few Chinese officials for their role in Beijing's widespread human rights abuses against Uyghur Muslims in Xinjiang. Although this was met with retaliatory sanctions from China, this development was significant in context of the EU's long-standing reluctance to confront Beijing over its civil liberties record. The sanctions followed the EU's 2019 characterisation of China as a "systemic rival" and constituted the first such punitive action since Brussels' 1989 arms embargo against China for its crackdown of the Tiananmen Square protests. This raised the prospect of a renewed transatlantic cooperation, amidst calls for revisiting the *raison d'être* of the vital partnership between Europe and the United States, which dates back to the end of the Second World War. Moreover, following the unilateralist presidency of Donald Trump, European sanctions against China followed US President Joe Biden's stated commitment to reinvigorate US alliances and confront China with the cumulative strength of multilateralism.

In this context, at The Raisina Dialogue 2021, the panel 'An Ocean Too Far: The Future of the Transatlantic Relationship' sought to probe the prospects for a renewed transatlantic partnership.

Former US Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, A. Wess Mitchell underscored his optimism over Washington and Brussels coalescing around a common agenda over China, on account of Beijing's continued "aggressive behaviour" i.e. predatory economic practises, strident behaviour with international diplomats, and rising military assertiveness. On the impediment posed by the recently finalised EU-China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI), Jürgen Hardt (Member of the Bundestag) highlighted the unlikelihood of CAI's ratification due to rising anti-China sentiment in the European Parliament following the aforementioned Chinese retaliatory sanctions also targeting families of some members of the European Parliament.

With Hardt underscoring the need for a common European policy on China, Stefano Sannino, Secretary-General, European External Action Service, concurred by recognising China as a "complex partner" and highlighted the need for a concurrent EU strategy in the Indo-Pacific—which would cater to various realms such as security, connectivity, research, and climate change.

Finally, on the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)—which serves as the primary security framework of the transatlantic relationship, Gen. David H. Petraeus, Chairman, KKR Global Institute, noted continued US, EU, and NATO interests in the Middle East—particularly over ensuring the continued flow of energy. Not to mention, the continued threats posed by radical Islamist terror networks and increased Iranian hegemony along the Shia crescent further impeding transatlantic partners' shift in focus to the Indo-Pacific. In concurring with Mitchell on the need to have the US shift its resources and emphasis towards the resurgent great power rivalry (chiefly, with China), Petraeus stressed on the need for increased burden-sharing by the US' European partners.

Thus, even as Washington and Brussels increasingly converge over their shared apprehensions on China's economic practises and its record on human rights, a transatlantic security framework focused on the Indo-Pacific rests on Europe's ability to assume greater ownership of its own security.

**DAY 3**

# **Recoding our Future: Looking Beyond the Digital Wars**

**Arjun Jayakumar**

## Panellists

**Margrethe Vestager**, Executive Vice President, European Commission for a Europe Fit for the Digital Age, European Union

**Nandan Nilekani**, Co-Founder, Infosys Technologies Limited, India  
**Marietje Schaake**, International Policy Director, Cyber Policy Center, Stanford University, United States

Moderator – **Samir Saran**, Curator, Raisina Dialogue; President, Observer Research Foundation, India

Digital technologies will drive growth in the coming decade. However, Big Tech is presently defined mostly by cowboy regulations, and it is reluctant to accept government norms. The absence of global tech governance has created anxieties, security concerns and hostilities, while the 5G debate has shown that global norms for digital technologies can no longer wait. This panel chaired by Samir Saran (President, ORF) began with a discussion around the key concerns around technology governance, regulation and innovation.

According to Margrethe Vestager (Executive Vice President, European Commission for a Europe Fit for the Digital Age), some fundamental concerns include ensuring a level playing field in the digital marketplace, tackling the online equivalents of well-established offline illegalities, and safeguarding the integrity and dignity of the individual as a democratic participant. Exacerbated inequalities and new security risks resulting from the growing dependence on technology and on private companies, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic, were highlighted by Marietje Schaake (International Policy Director, Cyber Policy Center, Stanford University). Nandan Nilekani (Co-founder, Infosys Technologies) pointed out the lack of diversity in the technology sector, which continues to be male-dominated with relatively limited female presence, and stressed the need to keep critical elements of national digital infrastructures open.

While the EU may have struggled relatively in the startup and innovation space because of fragmented national markets and financing structures, the new wave of digitization could be a chance for Europe to catch up where it missed out before. There are a number of areas where Europe could take inspiration from Indian solutions in their quality and scale. Mr. Nilekani felt cybersecurity is a legitimate concern in this context, especially considering the systematic outward cyber aggression that has been seen from a few places over the last decade. We also have a sub-optimal governance situation, where companies are informing states about cyber incidents and states are often blindsided. Ms. Schaake proposed horizontal regulatory provisions for access to information from companies, which will unlock solutions in multiple sectors and help tackle specific risks. Ms. Vestager added that there is a responsibility on the big companies to assess how their services will affect societies and how risks will be mitigated. In light of recent cybersecurity incidents, there is a growing awareness in almost every jurisdiction that digitization is not neutral and should be regulated as much as other sectors. We have a much better chance today than 5 years ago to have initiatives in all jurisdictions take one direction, to talk a common language.

Mr. Nilekani agreed that companies will have to be accountable to their consumers, but added that they cannot be expected to do it themselves. While companies can be proactive and lead on such things, accountability will ultimately have to be introduced through rule of law. Rule of law is integral to protecting rights and fairness more broadly, including for companies themselves. The discussion concluded on an optimistic note, with panelists expressing excitement that the digital future is all about humans. Society has never before had the kind of technology tools at its disposal as it does now, and these tools can be used to solve big problems like climate change.

**DAY 3**

**Keynote by Brad Smith, President,  
Microsoft, United States**

I am Brad Smith, the President of Microsoft, and thank you for giving me an opportunity to be a part of such an important conversation. We come together virtually at a time of enormous importance for technology for the world and for the issues around cyber security. The year began with a new set of attacks that have really, I think quite rightly, grabbed the world's attention. We first saw an attack unfold late in 2020, an attack that people have traced to Russia and then we have seen it with another attack over the last month, an attack that people have traced to China. This highlights a number of important trends.

First, we are seeing increasing nation state investments in offensive cyber activity. In some cases, this is taking advantage of vulnerabilities for the purposes of espionage, but it always holds a greater risk as we've seen in Ukraine in recent years and elsewhere attacks that are not only used to gather information but in fact to damage people's access to data.

We are also living in a world where there is greater organized cyber criminal activity and we are seeing often times a connection between the nation state attacks that may identify and develop a new attack vector and then we see that pursued by cyber criminals often for ransomware that is putting at risk institutions on which we all rely for our daily lives.

We are also seeing an increasing risk of cyber proliferation. What we are seeing is in effect the privatization of cyber weaponry as we are witnessing a new generation, almost a generation of 21<sup>st</sup> century digital arms merchants, companies that will work on a contractual basis for governments to create the code that governments want to put to work. Of course, in a world where it is far easier to buy something than to build it when it comes to the world of complex technology, this too is adding to the risk situation that we need to address. We need to put these pieces together. We need to recognize that we are seeing more serious nation state attacks, more cyber criminal operations and now this risk of proliferation through private sector action, and we need to do more to protect the world; to protect India, to protect every country around the world.

So, I think the fundamental question is what do we do. There are three areas that I would like to touch upon. First, I think quite rightly, these kinds of issues call on Microsoft and they call on the tech sector to play our role as the builders of this technology and often times the first responders to the incidents that arise. Certainly, we at Microsoft have stepped back and we are looking broadly at the recent attacks and we are asking ourselves what are the lessons that we need to learn. We are in some cases changing some of our software development practices, in some cases we are adding to our cyber-security teams, in many cases we are intensifying even further the work that we are doing around threat intelligence and analysis and incident response capability. We are working to make it easier for people to apply patches or servers on premise. We are going to do more to simplify the messaging and to share even more with people around the world to try to make it easier for people to adopt best practices. This has been an ongoing trend and it will intensify even further.

The second thing we need to do in every country is ask how we upgrade our information technology and how we apply more broadly cyber-security best practices. One of the things that was really striking to us when we took a count of the recent attacks was first that they all started on premise, meaning they did not start in the cloud. They started with an attack, if you will, on a server in a server room more, elsewhere in an organization itself. The other thing that we found was that even after the attack had happened, the impact of it would have been very substantially reduced if the organizations that were victimized had applied cyber security best practices. There is not a long list and they are well established, but they are still not being followed readily around the world; things like ongoing patching or things like the use of antimalware software or multifactor authentication or things like best practices for network administrators or the storage of their credentials, is a shortlist that would make the world more secure.

I think for all of us who are responsible for the infrastructure that really drives our societies and our organizations, we need to ask ourselves how do we upgrade our security practices. For us, there are few things that are apparent.

First, the faster we can help people move to the cloud, the more secure countries in the world will be. This is because when we see people move to the cloud then we at Microsoft and other technology

companies become responsible for the constant upgrading of the servers for the constant application of all of these best practices and we don't need to rely on, in many instances, smaller organizations to do so.

Second, we need to invest in our cyber-security workforce. One of the real issues that we found is that in so many instances there is just a shortage of cyber-security professionals. At Microsoft when we look back, we found that we published 32 blogs in the wake of the attack that started with solar winds and yet we found that in many instances there just were not enough people to read all of the technical material that we were providing. That will remain the case until we grow the cyber-security workforce. You'll see us, at Microsoft, take new steps to help advances, but I really think it is an issue for national policies as well.

There is another critical area on which we all need to focus and that's really the multilateral diplomacy that will be essential to create a world with greater cyber stability. One of the clear trends we've seen over the last year is new types of attacks, in some cases new forms of attacks, like the one that took place and started with the SolarWinds Orion product. What the attackers did was plant malware into an update so that when the update went to customers around the world, the malware would go with it. What this obviously did is put at risk the software supply chain of the world. That should be a concern for all of us. It should be a concern because the world relies on the updating of software and so if we lose confidence in that, it is a bit like losing confidence in the supply chain for say blood and it just undermines people's ability to go do what they need to do to upgrade and update software. I think it is a particular issue of concern for a country like India because so much of the world's software is created in part or in whole in India as well as in the United States and other places.

But, there are other types of changes we've seen in the last year. We've seen more and more attacks focusing on hospitals and healthcare providers. We've seen more attacks focused on electoral processes around the world, around the fundamental infrastructure of democracy and the campaigns of political candidates in the work of think-tanks. One of the things that we see is that we need to stand up for the norms that exist in cyber space already as well as strengthen them further. We need to make it clear that these kinds of broad and indiscriminate and disproportionate disruptions of the supply-chain are off limits, and we need to make sure that all of the countries of the world understand that the rules of the road do not permit them. We need to make equally clear that the governments in the world will not stand for these kinds of attacks on hospitals and healthcare providers. They are not permitted under the rules of conventional war, say under the Fourth Geneva Convention, and if they are not permitted in the time of war, they certainly should not be tolerated in a time of peace. The same is true for these disruptions in the infrastructure of democracy. In each of these areas, we believe we can do more and we need to do more together.

In many ways, I think there is cause for optimism when we look at recent trends and developments. For example, in Paris in 2018, so many came together to adopt the Paris call. The Paris call for trust and security in cyber space, a call that reinforces existing norms and also highlights attention on something like the protection of democracy. That has now been signed by more than a thousand signatories as well as more than 75 governments around the world.

Even this past year and in recent months, we've seen more progress at the United Nations through the OEWG, the Open-Ended Working Group, as it concluded with a report that similarly endorsed the norms that we have today call for the strengthening, and in particular, called on governments to build on these norms by taking steps themselves.

So what are the next steps? Well, I think in so many ways we have opportunities at the national and the international levels. At the national level, there is an opportunity for governments including the Indian government to continue to strengthen the cyber-security protection first of the services for the government itself and more broadly for the nation as a whole. Internationally, we can take new multilateral steps, especially by the world's democracies to add to the support for the Paris call, something that the Indian and US governments have not yet signed. We can build on the recent support coming out of the United Nations. We can hold other governments accountable through

multilateral attributions. We need to show the world that when governments cross these lines there will be real accountability that results.

If we think about the magnitude of the challenge, it can seem daunting, but the truth of the matter is I think every year we are putting in place the kinds of technology advances and diplomatic safeguards that provide the building blocks for the future. Increasingly as we can see these building blocks take shape, we need to strengthen them one by one in every country around the world, but more than that we need to build a stronger foundation putting these blocks together, working together, with the private and public sectors and partnership and with governments around the world acting together. That's what I hope we can all pursue. It is something I believe we can pursue together and make the balance of this year, 2021, a year that started with cyber attacks, a year that concludes with stronger cyber defences.

Thank you!

**DAY 3**

**Beyond COVID: Global  
public health after  
the pandemic**

**Kriti Kapur**

## Panellists

**Abdulla Shahid**, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Maldives

**Namal Rajapaksa**, Minister of Sports and Youth Affairs, Sri Lanka

**Shahriar Alam**, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Bangladesh

**Shoba Suri**, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

Moderator - **Ashok Malik**, Policy Advisor, Ministry of External Affairs, India

The long-term consequences of the disruption caused by COVID-19 on global health are difficult to predict as we enter the second year of the pandemic. There are some lessons to draw from last year, we know health systems in almost all countries are vulnerable and inadequate, and access to quality healthcare is denied to most people. We also know that global health is intrinsically linked to the global economy.

As health services struggle to tackle the ongoing crisis, the pandemic could set back the gains made in health over the past two decades, in fighting infectious diseases, and improving maternal and child health, the World Health Organization has warned.

The panel 'Beyond COVID: Global Public Health after the Pandemic' debated issues such as the spiralling requirements of public health that have further burdened emerging economies and the dangers that lie in the two-speed global recovery caused by the vaccine gap. The WHO has said that the gap in vaccination between rich and poor countries is growing every single day, and becoming more grotesque each day.

Abdulla Shahid, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Maldives, pointed out that global problems require shared solutions that transcend borders. "However we've seen countries retreat into nationalism," he said. Maldives has received vaccine donations from India, China, and the WHO's COVAX scheme.

Are there ways in which global institutions and responsible nation-states can ensure that the most vulnerable states and communities are not left further behind? This is a question raised by Namal Rajapaksa, Minister of Sports and Youth Affairs, Sri Lanka. "Big nations have to come together and have a human-centric approach, where we distribute vaccines to countries that need them the most," he said. Sri Lanka began its vaccination drive with vaccines that were gifted by India in early February, and has since been administering Chinese-made Sinopharm and Russian-made Sputnik V.

The pandemic has brought out the need for nations to become more self-reliant. Countries that have been reliant on exports have realised the need to tap into their own resources or finding new ways to generate employment. Shahriar Alam, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Bangladesh, said that Bangladesh's garment industry was trying to survive by discovering new markets like South Korea and Singapore that were less affected by the pandemic.

As Ashok Malik, Policy Advisor, Ministry of External Affairs, India, raised the question on the need to diversify supply chains, Alam suggested that Bangladesh could step in to help produce vaccines, but only if intellectual properties were shared. "Where is the world leadership when it's needed the most? Why are we not sharing intellectual properties? The UN and WHO must play stronger roles than what they have," he said.

The crisis has underlined the importance of investing in health and also illustrated that international cooperation is crucial for global health. Shoba Suri, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India, said, "There is a need to strengthen the health workforce. The pandemic has given us the opportunity to reimagine and transform global health so that future pandemics can be avoided, or devastating consequences can be lessened."

**DAY 3**

**Raisina @ DC**  
**Regulating Technology**  
**Companies**

**Trisha Ray**

## Panellists

**Marina Kaljurand**, Member, European Parliament, Estonia

**Robert D. Atkinson**, President, Information Technology and Innovation Foundation, US

Moderator: **Bruce McConnell**, President and CEO, East-West Institute, US

Technology companies permeate the very fabric of societies, governments, and economies, and their inordinate influence—erstwhile unchecked—is under mounting scrutiny by governments worldwide.

One set of actions in this space relates to creating fairer marketplaces. For instance, Australia's [News Media and Digital Platforms Mandatory Bargaining Code Bill 2020](#) requires platforms like Google and Facebook to compensate media companies for using their content, a tool meant to protect local media companies. India's Competition Commission (CCI) launched an [antitrust probe](#) against Amazon for favouring affiliated retailers (i.e those it has equity stakes in), at the disadvantage of smaller sellers. Another set relates to social media platforms, encompassing privacy, content moderation, and deplatforming decisions. Should private companies be allowed to make decisions that can impact governments, leaders, and democracy as a whole?

The European Union has in many ways spearheaded the charge on both these fronts. Google has been [fined](#) a [cumulative](#) USD 9.5 billion, and in 2016, Apple was ordered to pay Ireland USD 14.5 billion for evading taxes. The EU will enact the [Digital Services Act](#) and [Digital Markets Act](#) which would regulate online content and digital markets respectively. The EU seeks a digital future defined by European values, one in which it is not a ["backyard of the United States"](#), which frequently puts it at odds with its partner across the Atlantic.

Raisina 2021 played host to a conversation that sought to answer two questions: Is there a fundamental tension between the global reach of the digital goliaths and the fact that they are primarily subjected to the laws, political processes, and ethics of the country that they are headquartered in? Will "Transatlantic discord" give way to a shared understanding of how to regulate technology companies?

Before engaging in this debate, it is important to set a baseline for what constitutes the object and objective of the regulation. Robert Atkinson presented two clarifications in this vein: First, that the regulation of technology companies encompasses more than just platform regulation, and second, that the regulatory tool should match the objective. "Your privacy", said Atkinson, "is not an antitrust issue!" Marina Kaljurand added that regulation and innovation are not a binary, and that the EU's approach to regulation aims to create a level marketplace.

The panellists differed on the question of how much government is too much government. Dr. Atkinson agreed with the need for consistent guidelines, but contended that direct government involvement is hardly the answer. "Right now [technology giants] are doing the best they can and they are gonna make somebody mad, no matter who it is." Ms. Kaljurand countered that the EU has defined guidelines—for instance on content that is illegal versus content that is harmful but legal—, but those guidelines alone are not sufficient:

"For me, the key question is trust. Very often we do not trust governments, but we trust our data [in the hands of] companies. As long as there is trust, governments can introduce services, and people use them."

Building effective regulation is, however, a mammoth task. In the EU alone, as Kaljurand pointed out, "We still do not have a regular single market, let alone digital, because we have 27 jurisdictions and 27 bureaucracies." Atkinson also noted a capacity problem: Not all countries can afford to impose costs on businesses and consumers; many do not have the institutions nor the economic and political leeway to curtail multinational tech giants. For this endeavour to be successful internationally, both agreed that the EU, the US, and others who have a stake in how the future of big tech plays out, have to work in tandem.

**DAY 4**

## **In Conversation**

**Margrethe Vestager**

Executive Vice President, European Commission for a Europe  
Fit for the Digital Age, European Union

**Sunjoy Joshi**

Chairman, Observer Research Foundation, India

**Vikas Kathuria**

In this candid conversation with Sunjoy Joshi, Margrethe Vestager answered several questions on the need, design and geo-political ramifications of tech regulations that have primarily been debated and implemented in the EU.

**Joshi:** EU is becoming the rule-maker of the world for the digital space. The General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), Data Governance Act, Digital Services Act (DSA) and Digital Markets Act (DMA) are some examples of digital market regulation in the EU. What are the ideas behind this?

Vestager emphasized that the rule-making for the tech space is a 'global matter'. This is not the first time that we are envisaging regulation. We have lived with the regulation in the past such as power grids and telecommunications. She, however, acknowledged that "[w]hen it comes to digital technologies, we have been somewhat timid as democracies, as societies....as well as any other technology [digital markets] should serve humans." Thus, the idea was clear that placing users interest at the core of digital markets was the endeavour behind the EU's technology regulation. Vestager highlighted the following as the core principles of regulation.

1. Trust: Users should be able to trust the services that are delivered to them. Trust in digital markets is the core of connectivity. User privacy is a part of the trust.
2. Contestability: The marketplace should stay open and contestable. Contestability provides the drive for innovation.
3. Absence of manipulation: There should be no manipulation of users as this is detrimental for democracy.

She observed that it was time for democracies to catch-up with the world of technology.

**Joshi:** Joshi pointed out the possibility of uncertainty in the legal framework originating in different jurisdictions which could be bad for business.

Vestager underscored that democracies fundamentally think alike by placing individual dignity and integrity at the core. While jurisdiction-specific legal traditions are to be respected, we may eventually approach the same end through different means. These solutions need not exactly be the same. She advised that it is important to engage in dialogue and learn from each other.

**Joshi:** Is tech regulation likely to become the next rift between the EU and the US?

Vestager saw digital markets regulation as a reason that would rather make the EU and the US to come together.

**Joshi:** Standard-setting is not always neutral and thus it risks becoming geo-political. How would one account for that possibility?

Vestager highlighted the need for transparency and accountability in the standard-setting process for the institutions to be seen as impartial. Moreover, shared values among democracies will define rulemaking.

**DAY 4**

## **In Conversation**

**Mohammed bin Abdulrahman**

Al-Thani, Deputy Prime Minister and  
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Qatar

**Samir Saran**

Curator, Raisina Dialogue; President,  
Observer Research Foundation

**Stelin Paul**

Believing that the worst is behind us, slowly but steadily, governments are shifting their approach from response to recovery. In this spirit, the Foreign Affairs Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister of Qatar, Mohammed bin Abdul Rahman Al Thani remarked that “Qatar is well prepared to demonstrate to the world that we can host big events during such times” in his conversation with Dr Samir Saran, President of the Observer Research Foundation, during the Raisina Dialogue 2021. This response itself is indicative of Qatar’s efforts to get back on track as it reels from the impact of COVID-19. When asked about how Qatar dealt with COVID-19 and how the FIFA World Cup will unfurl under such circumstances, he responded by saying that the entire world was stricken with COVID and Qatar was no exception. However, in Qatar’s case, the exception lay in the fact that despite having the world’s highest per capita infection rate, it was also one of the few countries that recorded the lowest fatality rate. Without resorting to an extreme measure of lockdown, Qatar was able to ensure that the outbreak and its effects remained limited by enforcing stringent laws, ensuring that the healthcare system was not overwhelmed, and adopting sound economic support measures. Admittedly, a global centre like Qatar was economically hit by the pandemic which is why the future task of organizing the FIFA World Cup 2022 became an even more arduous one. Nonetheless, he emphasised that the State was leaving no stone unturned in its aim to hold a COVID-free FIFA World Cup 2022 as multiple negotiations are underway to ensure that all the attendees are vaccinated.

Adding an ethical dimension to the pandemic, the Foreign Minister focused on Qatar’s efforts to shoulder global responsibility as it provided much required assistance in the wake of the new virus, through its active participation in GAVI, provision of medical equipment and assistance in repatriation efforts. Acknowledging that this responsibility goes beyond the pandemic and must translate into crafting a greener post-COVID world, he provided proof to Qatar’s commitment to the cause by listing out several of its green initiatives. Despite conflicting priorities, Qatar has made considerable headway in climate action to reduce its carbon footprint. Several green investments all across the world like India, Africa, and Latin America have been made to set up infrastructure for renewable energy. A recent case in point was the investment made in the Indian conglomerate, the Adani Group, vowing to make it a coal-free company by 2030. Qatar has also not shied away from assisting small island countries which face the brunt of climate-related catastrophes through funds and impact investments.

When a question was directed by Dr Saran pertaining Afghanistan’s future, His Excellency, Mohammed bin Abdul Rahman Al Thani was quick to point out that Qatar had merely adopted a mediator role between the parties involved and wanted to ensure that the transition remains a peaceful affair. Despite the undeniable hiccups along the road, Qatar hopes to push along the process with the help of other actors such as Turkey and reestablish peace in this region.

Another region that Qatar in heavily invested is the Arabian Sea region, where it invites India to play a more active. As this expectation complements India’s ‘Act West’ policy and opens up new doors for partnership, he hopes that this will pave way to a stronger and a more resilient India-Qatar partnership. On that account, his final remarks were limited to identifying the potential domains that will govern the India-Qatar ties for the next decade. Aside from ratcheting up on the present modest efforts in the energy and impact investment front, the future policies could involve education, as both countries have a robust education system that they can avail. Recognising the realities of geopolitics, the other potential areas underscored by the Foreign Minister were political consultations and trilateral cooperation. For Qatar and India, the future holds a mutually beneficial partnership as the complementarities between the two countries, especially combining Qatar’s capital and expertise in international development with India’s rich human resources and skills, will prove to be an effective combination.

**DAY 4**

**Raisina @ Berlin**  
**In Conversation**

**Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer**  
Minister of Defence, Germany

**Amrita Narlikar**  
President, German Institute for Global and  
Area Studies, Germany

**Pulkit Mohan**



Amidst the changing balance of power dynamics, demands and expectations are high on Germany to take on more international responsibilities. In this context, Germany's involvement in the Indo-Pacific has increased in recent years. This has been due to the importance of the region itself, the economic interest within the region and the important role it has played in trade.

Within the context of the Indo-Pacific, China has increasingly presented itself as a systemic challenge with its attempts to increase its power and presence in the region. Like-minded nations European nations like Germany are, therefore, expected to play an active role in the region.

Within the EU, France has primarily focused on security issues whereas Germany has focused more on political issues in the Indo-Pacific. A collective European strategy for the region will require member nations to combine their respective approaches and formulate a joint strategy. Europe needs to create a network of like-minded partners with similar ideas and values in order to pursue common interests and set up institutions of multilateralism in the region.

For example, in terms of security issues, Germany's decision to send a frigate to the Indo-Pacific was based on the region's policy guidelines which underscore the importance of securing free trade routes and emphasise the freedom of navigation. Further, Germany intends to use its military dispatches to the Indo-Pacific in order to participate in the monitoring of the international embargo against North Korea and call upon like-minded countries to engage in joint military exercises in order to strengthen partnerships.

Although there are challenges to maintaining and strengthening peace, security and stability in the region, Germany's commitment in and for the Indo-Pacific is not directed against a certain country. China is an important trade partner and it is not possible to solve problems like Climate Change without Beijing's participation. Therefore, the challenge posed by China in the Indo-Pacific requires a broad political approach to ensure Beijing's cooperation while also maintaining stable linkages with Germany's partners in the Indo-Pacific region.

As Germany faces the challenges posed by regional players in the Indo-Pacific, it is also confronted by a new quality of hybrid threats — such as disinformation campaigns and cyberattacks as well as new weapons systems. As a result, an important part of Germany's Indo-Pacific guidelines is to enhance and increase security cooperation with partners in the region, specifically the ASEAN and QUAD member-states.

Strengthening cohesion in the context of NATO has been challenge in recent years. In times of the COVID-19 pandemic, China has engaged in mask and vaccine diplomacy with certain European nations. It has been observed that there has been an attempt to prevent a united approach in the context of the EU as well as NATO. Germany has tried to make its own contribution to strengthening both EU and NATO. In terms of the future of NATO and going beyond its core task of transatlantic security, it is important to note that NATO is not just a military partnership. It has always defined itself on common and shared values and interests, which means that the network of NATO with extra-regional like-minded countries will continue to deepen.

Germany's presence in the Indo-Pacific holds the potential to harness deeper cooperation between Berlin and New Delhi. India is an important player in the Indo-Pacific and this presents an opportunity for Germany to improve its cooperation with India.

**DAY 4**

# **Junction Kabul: The road to peace**

**Sushant Sareen**

## Panellists

**Mohammad Javad Zarif**, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Iran

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

**Hamdullah Mohib**, National Security Advisor, Afghanistan

Moderator - **Palki Sharma Upadhyay**, Executive Editor, WION News, India

While the road to peace in Afghanistan is going to pass through uncharted territory after the announcement of complete withdrawal of all forces by the Biden administration, there was a meeting of minds between Afghanistan, India, and Iran on the guiding principles that must be followed as the country navigates towards a peaceful and inclusive future for all Afghans.

The main takeaways from the session were: 1) The confidence of Afghanistan's National Security Advisor Hamdullah Mohib that the roof will not fall after the US withdraws combat troops. In fact, he was emphatic that more than the US troops, what Afghanistan needed was continued economic and military assistance. What is more, he felt that the withdrawal will actually expose the Taliban if they continue the violence as the excuse for their violence no longer obtains. 2) the Iranian Foreign Minister, Javed Zarif, dispelled all doubts about Iran's stand on Taliban. He rooted for a "broad-based inclusive peace" of which the Taliban are a part but which they do not control. Mr Zarif said "an Emirate is not something Afghanistan can be rebuilt upon" and backed a solution based on democratic principles under the constitutional arrangement that exists in Afghanistan which offered protection to religious and ethnic minorities and gave everyone a stake in the system. 3) Indian External Affairs Minister Dr Jaishankar reiterated India's long standing position of an "Afghan-owned, Afghan-led and Afghan-controlled" peace process and added that only the Afghans should decide what is good for them.

Something that Dr Jaishankar said seemed to give a hint of possible re-alignments in case things go south. According to Dr Jaishankar, India "will do whatever is in our power, in our influence, in relationship with other neighbours to ensure that the best interests of the Afghan people are ensured". Given that Iran isn't exactly enamoured of the Taliban concept of an 'Emirate', a potential axis between India, Iran, and the Afghan government could become a reality if the Taliban continue imposing war on Afghans and Afghanistan. The possibility of other regional actors—for instance, Russia—also cooperating cannot entirely be ruled out. The US withdrawal will remove not just the excuse the Taliban have made to continue with their actions, but will also remove the strategic threats perceived by countries like Iran and Russia because of US presence in their backyard.

While none of the speakers were under any illusion about what the Taliban are and what they represent, there was a readiness, at least on part of Mr Mohib and Mr Zarif, to recognise that Taliban were a reality and had to be engaged with. But the chances of this happening in a productive manner are quite negligible. Although Mr Mohib believes that the Taliban would be committing a blunder and losing an opportunity if they refuse to negotiate—he said Taliban will lose their nationalist credentials and religious legitimacy if they don't stop the violence—the fact is that the Taliban really don't care. They feel they have the momentum and don't seem to be in a mood to give up on the negotiating table when they think they will win on the battlefield. This means that the prospects for a peaceful political settlement are quite slim going forward. But how much more violence and war can Afghanistan suffer?

**DAY 4**

# **Financing the Sun: Solar Energy Accessible to All**

**Annapurna Mitra**

Maldives is aiming to reduce the dependence on fossil fuels for energy generation and has decided to lead by example given that it is one of the most vulnerable countries to climate change. Maldives aims to achieve net zero emissions by 2030. Maldives is continuously looking at ways to transition to lower emissions and cleaner methods of energy generation. Abdulla Shahid pointed out that recovery plans formulated in the aftermath of covid-19 pandemic adopts energy policy that emphasises solar power for energy generation. However, he also believes that the Nationally Determined Contributions (NDC) are ambitious and cannot be achieved without the support of the international community. The finance gap that has emerged in mobilising resources in the aftermath of the pandemic is a global trend and needs to be addressed with cooperation from private and public sectors. Covid must be taken as an opportunity to build back a better and greener world. Abdulla Shahid stressed that it is time for G-7 and G-20 countries to come together and give the Small Island Developing Countries(SIDs) a time frame for relief packages that will help SIDs to plan exit strategies in the wake of the pandemic.

Ajay Mathur emphasised that financing at scale and accessible financing is at the heart of enabling the transition to a solar economy. While climate change can be a strong driving force for energy transitions, energy transitions don't occur just because of climate change. Across the globe, but particularly, in the developing world, there is a lack of capacity - in terms of banking, regulations, financing, policy making - which is required to bring solar into the mainstream of energy generation. Climate-financing which enables transactional finance to occur is the need of the hour. Thus, connectivity between financing, risk mitigation and capacity building is important to transition to solar energy.

This is the decade of delivery, not just to half global emissions but also to achieve the SDGs. It is important to put developmental and environmental priorities together. Kate Hampton described the climate change issue as a multi-faceted transition with multi-faceted drivers, where there is a need for multi-faceted delivery of objectives. We are in a world where countries' fiscal baskets are being exhausted. So, while rich countries have been able to pledge nearly 30 percent of their GDP to recovery the same figure for low income countries is about 2 percent. Thus, the only way to get countries to participate in a green resilient sustainable economy is that liquidity is available and there is easy access to capital markets. There is a need to ensure that every transaction puts the world on the path to transition and does not reinvest in the status quo. The recovery resourcing being unleashed in the world needs to be distributed equitably and purposefully to ensure we are creating transition opportunities. The role of philanthropy would be to act as facilitator and supporter in the transition to clean energy, to bridge the gaps between various stakeholders, sharing best practises and ensuring accessibility in the ground roots.

**DAY 4**

**Message from  
Omar Sultan Al Olama, Minister  
of State for Artificial Intelligence,  
Digital Economy and Remote  
Work Applications, UAE**

Your Excellencies, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to start off by thanking my good friend, Samir Saran, for his kind invitation, to address you in the Raisina Dialogue. I also hope and wish that each and every single one of you is safe and secure during these difficult times. And for those who have lost their loved ones, I would like to offer my sincerest condolences.

COVID-19 has been the greatest divider that humanity has known in recent history. It has created detrimental impact that has far succeeded any of the World Wars that we have seen. Collectively, we are fighting an enemy that none of us can see. What COVID-19 has proven is that no one is safe until everyone is safe. There are certain trends that were already being pushed through in the past or being accelerated by this pandemic. Finally, we will have to ensure that the future we move forward to and in post COVID-19 is a future that everyone, everywhere embraces and that it is a positive way forward.

Over the past years, we have seen that certain countries and certain sectors were able to thrive. What COVID-19 did was it created an equal playing field for some sectors and devastated the others, and also pulled many countries back many decades from progress. So, we need to try to ensure that all lessons learnt across the planet are lessons that are good for everyone and everywhere and that we can embrace this change in a positive manner.

Even though COVID-19 created a negative impact, there are certain trends that can be seen as positive. Some of them include the ability to work remotely anywhere on earth, so countries will have a lot more flexibility in attracting the best talent, and talent will have the right incentives to move across the planet and migrate to wherever they will have the best quality of life or wherever they can thrive and to wherever they see themselves operating from.

This combined with certain other factors like education being able to be delivered remotely and healthcare as well being able to be delivered from a smartphone is going to create a huge opportunity for certain countries and companies to attract the best of the best as well as a huge burden on some countries and companies to retain the best of the best.

This challenge brings us to a focal point, which is that it is no longer going to be a competition of big versus small or reputable versus new and nascent. It is going to be a competition on how can you drive people's passion, how can you ensure that the individuals that live or work on your land are individuals who feel like they are changing the world; and finally, how can we ensure that we are serving a greater purpose than just monetary gains.

We have seen through COVID-19 that economic inequality has been exacerbated. We have also seen that there has been a huge social disparity between the richest and the poorest of people. Moving forward, we need to ensure that for this to be sustainable, we can bridge the gap, and for this to be sustainable governments can try to create some sort of unique and a baseline scenario where people can have some source of income that ensures that they have a normal life compared to the situation that they were in before.

I wish that this convening is a part towards the solution and I hope to see you in person hopefully after this pandemic is over.

Finally, I hope that the world is able to overcome this pandemic soon and we'll be able to return to normal life in the near future. Thank you very much, and I wish you the best of luck.

**DAY 4**

# **Insecure Jobs : Towards social safety for all**

**Sangeet Jain**

## Panellists

**Smriti Irani**, Minister of Women and Child Development and Minister of Textiles, India

**N.K. Singh**, Chairman, Fifteenth Finance Commission, India Amitabh Kant, CEO, NITI Aayog, India

**Shrayana Bhattacharya**, Senior Economist, Social Protection and Jobs, World Bank

Moderator - **Junaid Ahmad**, Country Director, India, World Bank

The panel titled “Insecure Jobs : Towards Social Safety for all” focused on the urgent need to augment state capacity in India, and create a ‘21st century social security framework’ for the country. In a world characterised by uncertainty epitomised by the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, a comprehensive, portable social safety ecosystem driven by a coordinated federal framework is essential. The panellists highlighted and applauded the scale of the response mounted by the Indian government to protect livelihoods from the massive economic blow inflicted by the pandemic, but also sought to underline the faultlines and deficiencies in the current system that were revealed in this process.

The Indian state’s response to the pandemic largely depended on a number of key instruments : The deployment of direct benefit transfers through the JAM (Jan Dhan-Aadhar-Mobile trinity), the Garib Kalyan Yojana (PMGKY), the employment guarantee scheme MGNREGA, State Disaster Response Funds (SDRF) and the Public Distribution System. A CMIE-World Bank survey demonstrated the success of this strategy— - nearly 90 percent of all households in India reportedly received at least one benefit from the PMGKY package. Social safety nets are especially important to protect vulnerable, marginalised groups from the impact of systemic shocks such as the pandemic. The Minister of Women and Child Development, Minister Smriti Irani stressed that the government’s policies and institutional initiatives have been designed to be inclusive. For instance, even when not explicitly addressing women, policies aim to be gender-sensitive. The Jan Dhan Yojana is an example— - it has enabled more than 220 million women to have access to savings accounts amid the pandemic. The government’s efforts towards combating non-communicable diseases through schemes such as the Ayushman Bharat Yojana, have enabled over 24 million women to screen for breast cancer, and 16 million to screen for cervical cancer.

While recognising these achievements, the panellists also delved into a number of structural issues that hamstrung the effectiveness of this response. Firstly, the PMGKY and the broader social security architecture is largely rural-focused, leaving millions of urban workers in the lurch. This includes a growing gig workforce of nearly 24 million workers, who are at risk of falling out of the labour force if they do not receive adequate social security coverage. Additionally, the programmes that do exist in urban areas are poorly designed, failing to account for inflation and higher urban living costs. Secondly, the current application cycles for social protection schemes are static and cannot account for the inclusion of people during a crisis. India could learn from Brazil and Mexico who have invested in technology to create dynamic social registries for this purpose. Thirdly, there are about 390 disparate DBT schemes with unique application cycles, which have led to duplication, fragmentation, and increased transaction costs for the public. Among these 390 schemes, about 6-7 large schemes account for 62 percent of total financing and 65 percent of beneficiaries. The consolidation and streamlining of these schemes, and the creation of a nodal ministry for better coordination across schemes and accountability, is a necessary prerogative. There has also been an over-proliferation of subsidy schemes, which require integration. Lastly, a paucity of credible data on migration and definition ambiguities surrounding migrants has hindered comprehensive coverage of migrant workers.

The panellists also put forth some recommendations to strengthen India's current social security framework. Mr Amitabh Kant, CEO of National Institution for Transforming India, suggested that public-private collaboration needs to be encouraged to create technology platforms and tools for effective delivery of benefits. The Unnati Platform conceived by the Niti Aayog was offered as an example. Mr N.K Singh, Chairman of 15th Finance Commission, proposed that a "One Nation, One Social Security Card" be developed, in order to streamline benefits. He also proposed the creation of a national commission on migration, for both domestic and international migrant concerns. The panel concluded with an acknowledgment that the COVID-19 crisis may well be a watershed moment for the Indian social security ecosystem, if the lessons derived from this crisis are remembered and acted upon.

**DAY 4**

# **Chained Globalisation: Unshacking Lifelines, Unclogging Supply Chains**

**Ria Kasliwal**

## Panellists

**Manish Tewari**, Member of Parliament, India

**Søren Gade**, Member of European Parliament, Denmark

**Cho Choongjae**, Deputy President, Center for Area Studies, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, South Korea

**Melissa Conley Tyler**, Research Fellow, Asia Institute, The University of Melbourne, Australia

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

Moderator - **Naghma Sahar**, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India

The pandemic has had a detrimental effect on social, economic, and political levers of the world. It has put unprecedented burden on global economy, healthcare, and globalization, disrupting travel, trade, and supply chains, which have acted as some of the main guiding principles of globalization for about two decades.

The Session moderated by Naghma Sahar, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation began with the recognition that the pandemic has forced states and corporations to acknowledge that global value chains and economic co-dependence has both social and political consequences.

Melissa Conley Tyler, Research Fellow, Asia Institute, The University of Melbourne, highlighted that while the pandemic undermined the established convictions, certainties and certitudes of globalization and compelled countries to turn insular and become self-reliant, it has also instilled a sense of resilience. Citing Australia as an example, she opined that careful analysis of the countries vulnerabilities and risks can help them build resilience and address their risks efficiently.

With countries turning insular, Cho Choongjae, Deputy President, Center for Area Studies, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, laid emphasis on the need to strike a balance between economic efficiency and resilience, as overestimation of supply chain disruption and resilience can trigger loss of economic welfare at both domestic and International level, causing contractions in trade volume and production scare. He also emphasized on the need to build trust among the producers to strengthen the global supply chain.

Further, Søren Gade, Member of European Parliament, shared his observations on the endless possibilities and opportunities that globalization has to offer that entails sustainable development, development and welfare of people, environment and hence it is imperative to look beyond protectionism, analyze the vulnerabilities amplified in the last few months by the pandemic and work together to address the future challenges.

Highlighting concerns arising as a result of the disruption in globalization, Manish Tewari, Member of Parliament, India, pointed out that the pandemic has now raised questions on China's integrity as a reliable global actor and supplier, a result of recent happenings. Its political act of establishing administrative districts in South China Sea to leveraging medical supplies for political gain, wanes our trust in the current global supply chain system. As a solution, he reiterated the importance of diversification of the supply chain that requires a concerted effort from all countries.

In lieu of China's behavior, Lai I-Chung, President, Prospect Foundation, expressed the need to address the issue of China's weaponisation of the over reliance on the production chain via exploring new technological advancement like 3D printing. He opined that instead of letting the market decide globalization's future trajectory, the government must step in to ensure establishment of a more just and sustainable global supply system.

On the tackling end of challenges created by the chained globalization the panel established the need for governments to actively work towards regulating, redistributing, ensuring quality, preventing abuse, and safe-guard interest of future generation. Furthermore, the inequities created by globalization, the panel suggested, can be corrected through implementing customized national policies and regulations. The session was concluded on the note that the pandemic has clearly highlighted the downside of over dependence on the global supply chain and hence requires directing focus on unclogging diversification and channeling cooperation to build resilience.

**DAY 4**

# **Waters of growth: Towards an Arabian Sea community**

**Soumya Bhowmick**

## Panellists

**Aakanksha Tangri**, Founder and Editor-in-Chief, Re:Set, UAE

**Aaditya Thackeray**, Cabinet Minister of Tourism and Environment, Government of Maharashtra, India

**Majed Al-Ansari**, President of Qatar International Academy for Security Studies, Qatar

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

Moderator – **Harsh V. Pant**, Director, Studies and Head of the Strategic Studies Programme, Observer Research Foundation, India

The much sought-after economic revival from the pandemic has opened up several opportunities for the Arabian Sea community, including fostering new strategic relationships, building new arrangements between the East and the West, and the possible dialogues that can give impetus to shared security, shared prosperity, and shared development in the Arabian Sea community. The moderator of the session, Professor Harsh V Pant, Director, Studies and Head of the Strategic Studies Programme, ORF, emphasized the relevance of the new role of Arabian Sea as a critical anchor for the Indo-Pacific, as evident by this taking a centre stage in the global discourse.

With respect to great power politics observed in the West, Majed Al Ansari, President of Qatar International Academy for Security Studies, deliberated that United States' transition from multi-polarity in the past couple of years has led to a certain change in the order of tackling global, regional, and local disputes, with the global superpower now retracting from major conflict regions. Even though it was imperative for the countries to refrain from looking towards great powers to act as policemen, the prevailing diversity of the West, in terms of geopolitics, country size, economy, and existing regional disputes, thwarts any possible common ground that would allow the other countries to act as equals. He, thereby, opined that the countries must look beyond the history that they share and successfully forge linkages relevant in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. With Arabian Sea community's heavy reliance on maritime trade, there is a need to focus on pragmatic security against piracy, regional disputes, terrorism, and protection of lives and livelihoods of people.

Kwame Owino, Chief Executive Officer, Institute of Economic Affairs, Kenya, centred his discussion on the salient role played by African countries as a part of the Arabian seaboard. With Eastern Africa's development paradigm constructed around export that warrants significance in the global value chain, there is a great need to strengthen institutional mechanism and coordination among the Arab seaboard countries. The dependence of the eastern African countries on the Arab countries for energy resources is an added reason to secure trade line, thereby, securing global trade.

Aakanksha Tangri, Founder and Editor of Re:set, UAE, highlighted the role youth diaspora plays in building stronger communities with shared interests. She focused primarily on soft power that revolves around investing more in youth, creating opportunities, and encouraging creativity through collaborations with schools, universities, and public-private partnerships which eventually gives way to trade and partnership on the economic front.

Aaditya Thackeray, Minister of Tourism and Environment, Government of Maharashtra, shared his observations on the possibility of having Mumbai become the gateway to the Arabian Sea community. His observation was backed by the successful establishment of infrastructures like the Delhi–Mumbai corridor, Mumbai–Bangalore corridor and the Golden Quadrangle which emboldened Mumbai's trade front. He stressed on the need to look beyond infrastructure, trade and commerce, and choose 'standard of life' which encompasses energy security, food security, as a common thread binding the Arabian Sea community.

Professor Pant concluded the session on the note that greater institutionalization and more global dialogues, despite several divergences, would offer a pool of opportunities to the Arabian seaboard, while successfully tackling the challenges the region faces.

**DAY 4**

**Message from Teodoro L. Locsin Jr.,  
Secretary of Foreign Affairs,  
Philippines**

Good morning, Excellencies and distinguished guests. Thank you for the honor of addressing the 6<sup>th</sup> Raisina Dialogue. In the Novel 2034, A Novel of the Next World War by Elliot Ackerman and Admiral James Stavridis, armed conflict breaks out between the United States and China in the South China Sea near the Philippines, aptly named Mischief Reef. The conflict eventually, I may say inevitably, pulls in Russia, Iran and India.

The novel is a fictional vision of the future, but its premise is truth. The future will be determined by the dynamics of the Indo-Pacific. As External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar wisely says, the Indo-Pacific is unquestionably the arena for the contemporary version of the great game where multiple players with diverse ambitions display their strategic skills. In that arena, multilateralism is imperative. For the Philippines, the association of south-east Asian nations and ASEAN centrality are the core of that multilateral order. We seek to reduce even more its former marginality while staying skeptical of great power schemes that seek to drag in ASEAN piecemeal into larger quarrels, more dangerous rivalries and far bigger ambitions that we as a region of peace do not share.

ASEAN is currently facing the challenge of moral irrelevance if it fails to resolve the crisis and carnage in Burma where silence gives consent and engagement amounts to complicity. We do not want ASEAN centrality to return to marginality as a symbol of what a multinational organization should not be. The ASEAN outlook on the Indo-Pacific advances ASEAN-led mechanisms such as the East Asia Summit as platforms for dialogue and implementation. But it is also open to developing cooperation with other regional and subregional mechanisms in the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean regions as may be needed.

We, therefore, welcome India's Indo-Pacific Ocean's initiative and the ASEAN outlook with emphasizing the need for a safe and rules-based maritime domain. We also recognize the value of other multilateral initiatives or what some have referred to as mini-lateral arrangements involving as they do only three or four like-minded countries. Notable among this is the quadrilateral security dialogue, which is moving towards a more institutionalized arrangement and has expanded areas of cooperation.

What is critical for us is the Quad's reaffirmation of their support for ASEAN centrality and the clear understanding that these are ASEAN as a whole, not any ASEAN member state maybe deemed included in Quad initiatives unless they have participated as a whole or individually and concurred in its decisions or it is expanded by Pentagon or a Hexagon, until it is shy of completing the circle of international felicity, but then there is already the United Nations, if only they were so. The dynamics and geographic reach of the Indo-Pacific require multilateral groupings that are flexible and adaptable, both in membership and strategic aims. The Philippines will continue to emphasize the principles of inclusiveness, openness, cooperation and consensus building, and respect for international law in our approach to regional cooperation and to external relations through the ASEAN outlook of the Indo-Pacific.

In closing, allow me to go back to the Novel 2034. India with its pragmatism and long view of history saves the world from plunging deeper into a nuclear war, with Admiral Patel admonishing the main character that the world is large enough for co-existence of global powers, with enlightened multilateralism and recognition of a commonality of interests, and with a long view in mind. The Philippines is hopeful that the future of 2034 stays fiction. Though multilateralism is eventually dependent on the extent of consensus among major powers, it cannot flourish without the contributions of all powers, big and small.

Thank you!

**DAY 4**

# **The Ease of Going Digital: Norms and Regulations for 21st Century Business**

**Shashidhar K.j.**

A mainstay in technology policy discussions has been on how governments can enable ease of going digital. Most of these discussions call for removal of frictions for faster digital adoption. To this end companies often employ “light-touch regulation” as a euphemism to uphold the status quo of a deregulated technology space. These ideas are now falling out of favour following the various global upheavals and technology companies’ role behind them. Governments have started to regulate these companies in response but even the best designed rules have unintended consequences. The challenge is to strike a balance between erecting digital guard rails to protect citizens’ rights and creating digital railroads to enable co-operation and innovation.

The session moderated by Mahima Kaul, an independent tech policy advisor, dwelt heavily on fintech themes - a perfect microcosm to highlight the tensions of current day technology rulemaking.

Abhijit Bose, head of WhatsApp in India, praised the Unified Payments Interface (UPI) as a government driven technology for enabling payments without cost. “When you start removing frictional cost, it allows you to scale,” he said. He added that now the company aims to be a platform which will allow for innovation and help sell other financial services like mutual funds and micro insurance. However, these “frictionless” payments are possible due to the intervention of the government mandated that the UPI will not charge interchange fees.

This has led to the growth of digital payments in India, but Indian banks are struggling with more transactions and leading to frequent system outages. The interchange fees is a compensatory mechanism for banks, and while large banks can absorb these costs, the same cannot be said for smaller ones. Without incentive to maintain infrastructure, the UPI is experiencing several outages - an unintended consequence of removing friction. Carl Bildt, former prime minister of Sweden, explained another unintended consequence of the General Data Protection Rules (GDPR) aimed at protecting citizen’s privacy. He said that companies like Facebook can throw resources to ensure compliance of the rules, smaller companies cannot bear additional costs of compliance.

Bricklin Dwyer, chief economist at MasterCard, highlighted the importance of building trust which helps in scaling up technologies. E-commerce companies, for example, had to keep building trust for 20 years. These efforts paid off with the COVID-19 pandemic as more people were forced to spend more online. He asked policy makers to create platforms that enable people and products to participate in a universal landscape to create interoperability and transparency that allows for the growth of trust in technology.

With technology getting more democratised making way for new market players who service jurisdictions globally, the complexity of regulations that these companies have to follow increases, Carl Bildt said. This creates new tensions in the financial system like what China faced with the extreme expansion of fintech. With the onset of digital currencies there will be more space for innovation but places more demands on central banks, thus it is important to think of future needs and not just regulate existing companies, Bildt said. For younger fintechs, Dwyer said that there is a need to earn trust and regulators must find a balance between earned trust in smaller institutions and allow for innovation.

Ultimately, there is a need to break out silos in different departments of government. There is a need to employ new tools for the digital space. Perhaps, regulatory scalpels which cut deep into the matter and fix underlying causes are needed instead of the regulatory hammer where compliance is beaten into companies.

**DAY 4**

**Lighthouse in the  
monsoon: New development  
partnerships for 2030**

**Aditi Ratho**

## Panellists

**Tandi Dorji**, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Bhutan

**Raychelle Omamo**, Cabinet Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Kenya

**Rachel Glennerster**, Chief Economist, Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office (FCDO), United Kingdom

**Mohan Kumar**, Chairman, Research and Information System for Developing Countries, India

**Anne Marie Yastishock**, Chief Advisor to the Acting Administrator, USAID

Moderator – **Maitreyi Bordia Das**, Manager, World Bank, United States

SDG 17, which calls to “strengthen the means of implementation and revitalise the global partnership for sustainable development” has been tested, has evolved, and has built new foundations during the COVID-19 pandemic. It has moved from the traditional political partnerships, and north-south donor-recipient relationships, to one where several stakeholders from citizen groups, civic society players, and the private sector can be leveraged to form new south-south partnerships and knowledge sharing. “The pandemic has exposed exclusions and inequalities which must be corrected by shifting the centre of gravity of traditional donor relationships, and form new multinational and multi-stakeholder partnerships”, said Maitreyi Bordia Das.

In Bhutan, the successful India-Bhutan partnership was amplified during the pandemic. Through its Vaccine Maitri programme, India could ensure that Bhutan was able to vaccinate 90 percent of its adult population in 10 days, reported Tandi Dorji. Therefore, emerging economies becoming stronger is a benefit for the world—as the burden of over-reliance on specific donors will reduce. A strong India has reverberations across the SAARC and BIMSTEC regions. The crisis isn't just limited to health concerns, but also the repatriation of millions who have been left unemployed, hungry, and uneducated.

In Africa, a regional response to the pandemic has been successful. The spirit of “pan-Africanism” was crucial—an Africa-wide “Africa COVID-19 strategy”, virtual medical supplies platform, and a regional team of experts that were chosen to negotiate a region-wide debt relief and vaccine procurement programme was initiated which paid rich dividends, according to Raychelle Omamo. Working collectively could enable better developed countries to support less developed ones in the region as well as the Caribbean. Partnerships in the form of Cuba providing skilled healthcare workers to Kenya, and Kenya, in turn, providing nurses to smaller countries, was a chain reaction born out of a strong partnership strategy to tackle the pandemic.

For development policies to work best, the most vulnerable and marginalised people must be part of the decision-making process—a belief that Anne Marie Yastishock highlighted. Unequal impacts of all global events, from pandemics to climate change, must first be analysed with local contexts taken into account to form an aid strategy. Mohan Kumar compounded this point by stating that the fate of the SDG 2030 lies in the African and South Asian region, ensuring their large and vulnerable populations are able to meet their targets. The pandemic itself will result in 125 million “new poor”, according to Das, which will make these targets tougher to achieve.

Data gathering and evidence sharing is the most important path for collaborative development and assistance. Knowledge sharing about infection rates and the development of vaccines has been a vital commodity that has helped millions during the pandemic—the UK's investment and research for the Oxford-AstraZeneca vaccine along with its partnership with India's Serum Institute for large scale vaccination is a remarkable example of a fruitful partnership, according to Rachel Glennerster. In the future, in order to accommodate statistics like a 15 percent loss in productivity due to school closures, similar knowledge sharing and evidence gathering partnerships must be created. Learning from different countries, and drawing on evidence that has worked is key to rebuilding globally.

**DAY 4**

# **In Conversation: Future of Globalisation: Lessons, Challenges and Opportunities**

**Børge Brende**

President, World Economic Forum, Switzerland

**Samir Saran, Curator**

Raisina Dialogue; President, Observer Research  
Foundation, India

**Sitara Srinivas**

The globalisation process has seen many challenges in its years of existence. Yet, the last few years have shown more challenges than those anticipated. Several events have questioned the future of the globalisation project—be it the rise of nationalist politics, the move towards domestic production, and most recently, the pandemic.

Looking at the project's prospects at the penultimate panel of the Raisina Dialogue were Dr Samir Saran of ORF and Mr Børge Brende of the World Economic Forum. They engaged with the globalisation question through three main themes. These were - first, the lessons from the pandemic, second, why globalisation still matters, and third, what needs to be done over the coming years.

For Mr Brende, the COVID-19 pandemic highlighted the lack of preparedness in engaging with a pandemic but at the same time showcased the importance of cooperation, synchronisation, and collaboration. He argued that while multilateral institutions should have been given a stronger mandate from the beginning, the pandemic showcased the global community's power in working in sync to solve things and that the "best way to deal with the pandemic is to collaborate. COVID anywhere is COVID everywhere".

"How does one sell globalisation to a generation that has seen war, recession, and the pandemic? How do you tell them that globalisation is something that is worth adopting, embracing, and taking forward?" asked Dr Saran. Mr Brende, in response, called globalisation "something very very special" as the "engine" behind the extreme growth previously unseen in history, citing that in the past 30 years, the global GDP has doubled, global trade has quadrupled, and the amount of people living in global poverty has reduced from 40 percent to 10 percent in a period where the world's population has increased from 5 billion to 7.8 billion.

The final theme of the conversation looked at the future, with Dr Saran questioning Mr Brende on what needs to be done. He argued that commercial interests should continue to be the focus of supply chains, with a few precautionary principles linked adjustments in nearshoring of essential supplies and diversification. For him, moving away from the free market and competitive advantages would lead to a higher economic price of lesser growth.

For Mr Brende, green and digital transitions are growth opportunities. Decoupling growth in energy and growth in CO2 whilst shifting towards renewable energy sources would help resolve energy poverty and climate change while creating more jobs. On digital transformation, he claimed that implementing artificial intelligence in sectors like banking, insurance, and law could help increase global growth by an "incredible 15 million US dollars—10 percent of the global GDP". Excited about the potential of 5G, he stated that it could help create at least 20 million new jobs in the coming years, increasing global GDP by potential 13 million US dollars by 2035. He closed on a note of caution, stating that the digital divide needed to be bridged for productive workforces and greater GDP impetus in all countries.

In many ways, this conversation summarises the first digital Raisina Dialogue, which discussed the #ViralWorld. The future of globalisation takes account of this world and uses the lessons it offers in strengthening itself. Globalisation and the pandemic are intricately interlinked, with globalisation's future premised on how it navigates the pandemic.

**DAY 4**

## **Closing Remarks**

**Harsh Vardhan Shringla, Foreign  
Secretary, Ministry of External  
Affairs, India**

Distinguished participants and guests, Excellencies, Dr Samir Saran, Dr Sunjoy Joshi of the Observer Research Foundation, we have come to the close of the sixth edition of the Raisina Dialogue.

I would like to begin by thanking the participants in the dialogue. There have been four days of discussions with 50 sessions, 150 speakers from 50 nations and multinational organizations participated and contributed to these discussions in multiple formats.

The speakers included heads of state and government, ministers, senior civilians, and military officials from numerous nations, and very eminent experts and thought leaders from all countries.

In terms of participation, this has set the bar for future editions of the Raisina Dialogue. This is also the first virtual edition of the dialogue. It is my understanding that viewers from over, from almost 100 countries logged to one or more its sessions. The dialogue was followed and viewed widely through various social media handles. I believe that the number of viewers through such channels is unprecedented. I would like to thank all of these virtual spectators and observers for their interest in the proceedings.

This dialogue took place in very challenging circumstances. We convened in the shadow of a great disruption, which has forever changed the way we live. This is the time of the uncertain, the unexpected, and the unknown. I am glad to note that the dialogue has focused its attention on themes and ideas that will help navigate and decipher the difficult time. It is apparent that we must all work together to solve the problems that we are confronted with.

Globalisation, our Prime Minister stated in his opening remarks, must benefit all and must be relevant to the problems of our time. The External Affairs Minister defined true commitment to globalisation as actions that are equitable, actions that leave no one behind, and actions that are imbued with good.

We note with appreciation in this context the remarks of his Excellency, President Paul Kagame, about India's vaccine production capacity and sense of solidarity.

Her Excellency, the Prime Minister of Denmark, highlighted that we are on the brink of a Green Industrial Revolution. A green transformation underpinned by initiatives such as the India-Denmark Green Strategic Partnership is very much in realm of the possible.

The potential of emerging technologies in tackling climate change and its causes and consequences was also highlighted.

Experts spoke of the need for policies and actions that drive energy transitions and increased electricity generation, sustainable transport, and sustainable urbanization that preserve and rebuild national assets, accelerate industrial and tech transformations, and build resilience.

The broader theme of connect-technology and geotechnology ranks the dialogue. How technology can be harnessed to help and not hurt is one of the great questions of the day. Algorithms must help and not harm, transparency is required, forward looking and positive rules that are congruent with good public policy with protecting legitimate free speech and with promoting accountability and transparency are required.

The shortcomings of the current multilateral system laid by the pandemic, evoked discussion. There is no retreat from multilateralism or globalisation. Multilateralism needs to be strengthened where required plurilateralism will play a complimentary and supplementary role. New governance structures that address contemporary threats and non-traditional challenges will need to be created.

His Excellency, the Prime Minister of Australia, flagged interest in the geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific.

His Excellency, the European Council President, spoke of the need for an open and stable Indo-Pacific. Several dimensions of the geopolitical question were discussed at depth.

It has been, ladies and gentlemen, an enlightening four days of virtual debate and discussion. I am sure that all of you will agree with me that this was time well spent. It is now time to close this edition of the dialogue. Before I do so, I would like to place on record the deep appreciation of the Ministry of External Affairs to our partners, the Observer Research Foundation.

Special thanks are due to Dr Samir Saran and his team. They were more than equal to the complex logistical challenges posed by the current circumstances and reacted with agility and speed to develop this. They framed the discussions and conducted the proceedings with skill and knowledge. I am sure that you'd all agree with what I earlier said in my remarks; this edition of the Raisina Dialogue sets a new and high bar for future editions.

I would miss if I did not thank the External Affairs Minister for his constant and steady guidance and for his unwavering support. I look forward to see all of you at the seventh edition of the Raisina Dialogue in 2022.

Thank you!

**DAY 5**

# **Feminist foreign policy: New and inclusive multilateralism**

**Shruti Jain**

## Panellists

**Delphine O**, Ambassador-at-Large and Secretary-General for the Generation Equality Forum, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France

**Rajeswari Pillai Rajagopalan**, Director, CSST, Observer Research Foundation, India

**Sebastian Groth**, Director, Policy Planning, Federal Foreign Office, Germany

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

In 1995, United Nations (UN) adopted the Beijing Declaration, acknowledging that national and global peace is directly linked with the advancement of women — who are “fundamental force for leadership, conflict resolution, and the promotion of lasting peace”. While diplomatic engagements have laid emphasis on feminist ideals in the past, they have primarily viewed gender inequality as separate from areas connected to national security. Gendered structures are evident in global diplomacy. International agenda related to trade, military security, and foreign aid have largely been male-dominated areas. Diplomatic engagements comprising issues related to gender inequality are most often associated with “soft” normative power and distanced from aggressive or pragmatic security issues.

In recent years, however, there has been a cultural shift in policymaking—few countries such as Sweden, Mexico, and Canada have adopted a Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP) approach. The approach is also being recognised by multilateral institutions across the world. It is within this context that the panel discussed the importance of adopting a feminist foreign policy approach and its possible impact on the nature of multilateralism.

The FFP framework was first adopted by Sweden in 2014. Other countries such as Canada, France, Spain, Luxembourg, and Mexico have also adopted the FFP framework. While some countries have not formally adopted the FFP, they have maintained a gendered approach to their foreign policy. Sebastian Groth, Federal Foreign Office, Germany, remarked that even though Germany does not use the term “FFP”, it concurs with its very concept. The FFP framework goes beyond the traditional realm of diplomacy and security by including diverse voices and acknowledging women’s political agency. Instead of working in silos, the feminist foreign approach integrates women across issues related to foreign aid, trade, diplomacy, and security. The FFP lays strong emphasis on the inclusion of women in roles related not only to development areas but also “hard” issues such as conflict resolution and military affairs.

The uptake of FFP has been limited to mostly Europe and North America. The majority of countries, including India, do not have a national framework for feminist foreign policy. Rajeswari Rajagopalan, Observer Research Foundation, observed that even though women in India have made a sizeable contribution to the U.N. Peacekeeping Agenda, a national action plan to adopt FFP is still lacking. Mexico became the first Latin American country to adopt FFP in 2020. Its objective includes ensuring parity within the Foreign Ministry and in their feminist agenda abroad. Mexico’s FFP adoption affirms Global South’s capacity to appropriate the model. Adoption of the FFP can provide India with an opportunity to offer diverse representation in decision-making and policy outputs. By adopting a feminist foreign policy, women’s political interests are more likely to be integrated into mainstream policymaking rather than being side-lined.

While definitions regarding the feminist foreign policy can differ, building a gender-inclusive environment and leadership in mainstream policymaking is key to the principle of FFP. Diplomacy is now undergoing complex transformation, where new diplomatic processes involving non-state actors are being used extensively in the form of Track II and Track III diplomacy. According to Delphine O, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France, the participation of non-governmental organisations, think tanks, feminist movements, youth organisations and the private sector is crucial in advancing gender equality in the area of foreign policy. As countries reconceptualise diplomacy, it is necessary for them to move beyond mere tokenism and incorporate FFP in their effort towards ensuring gender equality.

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