



Raisina Dialogue 2022

Conference Report

The Raisina Dialogue is India's flagship conference on geopolitics and geoeconomics, held annually since 2016. It is organised by the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) in collaboration with the Ministry of External Affairs, India. The 7th Edition of the Raisina Dialogue was held in an in-person format over three days, from 25-27 April, 2022.

The theme of Raisina Dialogue 2022 was “**Terra Nova: Impassioned, Impatient, and Imperilled**”. Over the course of three days, the Dialogue, had panel discussions and conversations across multiple formats on six thematic pillars - (i) Rethinking Democracy: Trade, Tech and Ideology; (ii) End of Multilateralism: A Networked Global Order?; (iii) Water Caucuses: Turbulent Tides in the Indo-Pacific; (iv) Communities Inc.: First Responders to Health, Development, and Planet; (v) Achieving Green Transitions: Common Imperative, Diverging Realities; and (vi) Samson vs Goliath: The Persistent and Relentless Tech Wars

This year, Raisina Dialogue hosted sessions at Berlin and Washington D.C. The Raisina Young Fellows programme also took place at the sidelines of the main conference.



Key Highlights

Day 1 – April 25, 2022

The Dialogue was inaugurated by Shri Narendra Modi, Prime Minister of India. He was joined by President of the European Commission, H.E. Ursula von der Leyen, as the Chief Guest. As vibrant democracies, she said, the EU and India share fundamental values such as rule of law, fundamental freedoms, and democracy. Despite the geographic distance, and the difference in the languages spoken, both India and the EU are poised to form strong partnerships and forge deeper bilateral ties. Challenges continue to brew in the spheres of technology and economy, and security, as it stands today, is more disruptive than it has ever been before. The situation in Ukraine will have an impact on the #Indo-Pacific; in many ways, it already has. For the EU, all at once, China stands as an economic negotiator and a systemic rival. These global developments have pushed the EU to form responses and strategies – but there is also the pandemic to consider. The disruptions caused by the pandemic, noted Ursula von der Leyen, would require massive investments. The needs are massive, she said, but so are the opportunities.

In a country the size of India, the sum of many individuals' small decisions can have a tremendous overall impact. India and the EU share many of the values that relate to the use and regulation of technology and we could unlock greater potential freedoms and utility as we look to partner in this domain. EU and India cooperation, she proposed, should find itself at the nexus of trade, technology, and security.

In the vote of thanks, Dr. S. Jaishankar, India's Minister of External Affairs, said: Seven years since its inception, the Raisina Dialogue is taking place today before 1200 participants from 99 nations. Conversations on economy, security, technology, climate action and digital are growing stronger everyday in India and the EU. As it comes of age, the Raisina Dialogue sets new directions for India's partnerships with the world.



Day 2 – April 26, 2022

Welcome Address

V. Muraleedharan, Minister of State, Ministry of External Affairs, India

The second day of the Raisina Dialogue 2022 began with a welcome address by V. Muraleedharan, Minister of State for External Affairs, India. India, he noted, is at the forefront of the global fight of the pandemic. The Indian mission for self-reliance, or Atmanirbharta, continues to shape itself with the changing global order. In the 21st century's people-centric approach, India has developed the ability to respond to new challenges. Gone are the days of debates in court – now the people are forming decisions, and driving foreign policy. The pandemic forced most nation-states to look inwards, but India's guiding principle of the “world is one family” has strengthened its global image. India has never shied away from its responsibility of being a global stakeholder. As India goes beyond its borders, and engages with the wider community, its commitment to shaping equitable and just values continues to be affirmed everyday.



The Revenge of Ideology? Polarisation and the Exhaustion of Liberalism

Teodoro L. Locsin Jr., Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Philippines

Carl Bildt, Former Prime Minister, Sweden; Co-Chair, European Council on Foreign Relations

Stephen Harper, Former Prime Minister, Canada

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

Jane Holl Lute, Former Deputy Secretary, Department of Homeland Security, United States

Moderator: **Palki Sharma Upadhyay**, Executive Editor, WION, India

In a rapidly polarising world, whether on the streets or on virtual platforms, the fate of the liberal order lies at stake. The session sought to answer several questions: Is a liberal order an oxymoron when liberalism itself has no modern-day variant? Is a democratic political regime the secret sauce to bind collectives in the future? Or the preferences of the dominant? Is economic globalisation more important than commonly-agreed politics?

We live in extremely dynamic times, noted Teodoro L. Locsin Jr., and autocratic and subversive regimes will eventually be under immense strain and crisis. History has shown that open, responsible, and adaptive systems of governance have the best chance of success. What is important is to remember that the democratic process via the conduct of elections is not jeopardised by the actions and threats of extreme politics. Democracies unite not simply because they are democratic but because national interests align.

Stephen Harper spoke of the need for a new generation of leadership to address the stress governments find themselves under. The future of the liberal order, however, is not as bleak as it is often made out to be, he argued. Over time, global alliances have developed shared value systems and governance frameworks which have enabled nations to face unilateral threats – such as the invasion of Ukraine by Russia.

In a similar vein, Carl Bildt spoke of the strength of liberal societies, as evidenced by the fact that we have debates on the nature of governance – a conversation that is entirely absent in countries like Russia and China. There was never any evidence that China was moving towards a liberal system, pointed out Bildt. The narrative of End of History over 30 years ago was presumptive that the whole world would subscribe to the liberal order. Respect for the territorial sovereignty of states is a fundamental component of preserving a peaceful and functional world order, he said, because the supreme international crime is the crime of war.

Liberalism isn't what it used to be, argued Baijayant Panda. The debate on the contours of free speech, the moderation of content on internet-based platforms, etc. are just some instances of how the concept and its functioning have changed in modern times. In India, those who call themselves liberal, said Panda, stand for certain principles that are similar to no other country



in the world, particularly those on the left of centre politics which is distinct from classical western liberal values. Modern India has transitioned away from an era of diffidence during the colonial period to one of confidence today as it looks to actively engage with the world. India is viewed as a collaborative nation by the whole world today. Whose rules are we talking about when we discuss a rules-based order, he questioned. To live in a rules-based world, the rules must be adapted to the needs of a 21st-century world order.

Jane Holl Lute averred that democracy is thriving via liberal values of freedom and equality under the rule of law. “I don't think there is anyone in this world who does not yearn to be free,” she said. But what we see around us today is a redefining of the “we” or the otherisation which is leading to the trampling of liberal values – a phenomenon that is taking us back to almost the 1930s. Politics, the world over, has shown that winners need to be generous in the context of not only democracies but also liberalism which is what is actually under strain.



Townhall – The Raisina AMA

S. Jaishankar, Minister of External Affairs, India

Critical global issues were at the forefront of the conversation. S. Jaishankar highlighted the shocks experienced by the international order, particularly in the past two years — the COVID - 19 pandemic, Afghanistan, and Ukraine, as well as the friction between the West and Russia, the USA, and China. Responses to a changing world require an operational matrix, noted the Hon'ble Minister. In India's case, especially since 2014-15, there has been a greater clarity on how we engage the world — concentric circles, neighbourhood first, but also a conscious policy engaging the major powers. Self-reliant India, he noted, is not just capable but also has the right mindset, and is willing to shoulder greater responsibilities.

Jaishankar also stressed India's clear position on the Ukraine conflict – since the beginning of the tensions, it has urged the cessation of hostilities, a return to dialogue, and the importance of national sovereignty. Recognising that the conflict in Ukraine is the dominant issue, not just in terms of principles and values but also with practical consequences such as higher energy prices, food inflation, etc., he said: there will be no winners from this conflict. For a return to diplomacy, the fighting has to stop.

He did, however, note that international relations do not necessarily function by precedence. Ukraine, said Jaishankar, is not a precedent for China, and such events have been underway in Asia for the past decade without Europe's attention. This is a part of the world with unsettled boundaries, terrorism, and continuous challenges to the rules-based order. It is the rest of the world that needs to play catch-up – and recognise that problems are not “going to happen”, but rather are already happening.

Jaishankar also spoke of climate action and climate justice, two important tenets of the Indian perspective to the larger geopolitical shift taking place. He laid emphasis on both, noting that not only did it require everybody to do their utmost, but also ensure that the more vulnerable, less-resourced countries and societies continue to be supported. Highlighting South-South cooperation, and India's self-reliance mission in the global landscape, he spoke extensively on India's developing bilateral ties, FTAs, and future engagements as a consequence of globalisation.



New Fuels, Old Aspirations: Moving the Next 5 Billion

Anniken Huitfeldt, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Norway

Mathias Cormann, Secretary-General, OECD

Aminath Shauna, Minister of Environment, Climate Change and Technology, Maldives

Amitabh Kant, CEO, NITI Aayog, India

Moderator: **Ila Patnaik**, Chief Economist, Aditya Birla Group, India

The next industrial revolution cannot be based on fossil fuels, said Ila Patnaik. The question is, how can we meet the Sustainable Development Goals while shifting to a greener economic system?

Anniken Huitfeldt spoke of Norway's future ambitions as a large producer of oil and gas. "We will develop our fossil fuel industry, but we will invest the revenues from these sources to finance renewable energy," she said. "In this way, we will help the developing economies increase the uptake of green technologies." Norwegian companies which are already in India, alongside other joint projects with Indian companies, and development assistance will pave the way for future Norway-India partnership in the green transition.

We need a globally coordinated and coherent approach to financing the transition, argued Mathias Cormann. He stressed the importance of greatly scaling up investments in clean energy, and the need to leverage both public and private sector investment to achieve the US \$4 trillion target by 2030. "There needs to be more consistency and integrity from the private sector in financing the green transition with clear objectives on what investments are actually green," said Cormann. Through diversified financial instruments, a whole gamut of investment opportunities can be tapped into. Investors seek consistency to assess what constitutes as green investments, and thus, there needs to be an urgent implementation of standards. There is also a significant need for investment in innovation and R&D, and faster transfer of technology and knowledge from the developed world to the developing world.

Aminath Shauna identified the lack of political will of countries to come together and solve the issue of energy transition as the biggest hindrance to the green movement. "We are not treating the climate crisis as an emergency," she noted. "The pandemic showed us that resources can be brought to bear when the political will is focused on solving a crisis." Climate finance and technologies have not reached the most vulnerable countries like the Maldives, and there remains a clear gap between countries investing in green energy and the needs of the most vulnerable countries.



Agreeing with Shauna, Amitabh Kant said, “There is no shortage of finance in the world, it's the lack of political will that hinders action. Developed nations have to step up their efforts to solve this crisis.” India, he argued, has the size and scale to become a leader in green technologies. Despite developed countries not living up to their promise of low-cost finance, India has emerged as a leader in the energy transition. As the only G20 country which was NDC compliant, India’s renewable energy story has been inspiring. The future of decarbonisation depends on green hydrogen – the question is, asked Kant, how do you make it cheaper? “We need a quantum jump in technologies to reduce the cost of renewable energy needed to produce green hydrogen.” The growth of renewables in India has been driven by the private sector and new entrepreneurs, he pointed out. This entrepreneurial spirit, said Kant, will be a driving force of the energy transition in India.



In Conversation with Nitin Gadkari, Minister of Road Transport and Highways, India

Nitin Gadkari, Minister of Road Transport and Highways, India

Moderator: **Shereen Bhan**, Managing Editor, CNBC TV-18, India

Crude oil import presents an economic and environmental challenge for India, noted Nitin Gadkari. “India’s present efforts at advancing green technologies,” he said, “will provide us with a way out of this unsustainable dependence.” With the rise of e-vehicles in all segments, including recently for electric trucks, Gadkari expressed confidence in the ability of India’s present policies to ensure a rapid transition to cleaner vehicles. The government, he pointed out, has been very supportive of e-vehicles. There is an integrated approach across multiple ministries, PLI schemes, vehicle scrappage programmes, and localised content that together lay the foundation for India to become a leading manufacturer of e-vehicles.

“We plan to make #India the global manufacturing hub for all vehicles segments,” he proclaimed. To make this possible, efforts are being made to reduce logistic costs through improved connectivity. Bio-ethanol, said Gadkari, will also be an important fuel for India; as work is being done to enable flex engines in the country. This would serve as a major boost to the farming sector in India.

Gadkari also posed an invitation to global EV manufacturers, such as Tesla, to set up their manufacturing facilities in India. “We have all the facilities available and the government will provide all the support to help foreign manufacturers,” he affirmed.

Due to high temperatures in India creating a safety issue for batteries in EVs, the country has pushed for strict standards and tests to ensure the high quality of battery cells. As such, Gadkari posed an earnest request to manufacturers – prioritise safety while manufacturing EVs.

Acknowledging the critical role of green hydrogen going forward, he stated that the industry should focus its efforts on reducing the cost of green hydrogen production. As long as economic viability and appropriate technology are available, both Indian and global investors will be ready to invest in green technologies. “Power availability is crucial for Indian industries,” noted Gadkari. “At present, for thermal power we need coal, but we are increasing green power.” However, he pointed out, there still remain some practical limitations, and a greater understanding must be inculcated in the global community of the unique challenges India faces in moving away from coal-based thermal power.



The Brussels Effect: Compass for a Strategic Europe

Zbigniew Rau, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Poland

Jean Asselborn, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Luxembourg

Gabrielius Landsbergis, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lithuania

Leslie Vinjamuri Wright, Director, US and Americas, Chatham House, United Kingdom

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

Moderator: **Ali Aslan**, International TV Presenter and Journalist, Germany

Ali Aslan spoke of how the Ukraine war exposed Europe's dependence on Russian energy. There is still widespread belief that Putin is a politician who will never back down. The debate on EU's strategic autonomy is not a new one, but it has evolved into various more aspects now. "At this point there seems to be no room for peace talks between President Putin and Zelensky. The NATO will not put boots on the ground as America has already made clear."

The EU is trying to do their best according to its own assessment of what is at stake in this war and the predominant consensus is that there is a very high level of unity and understanding, according to Zbigniew Rau. "We have to overcome this dilemma to build lasting European consensus."

Jean Asselborn asserted that the efficiency of financial sanctions can only be gauged over the course of a few months. Furthermore, it was crucial for European nations to impose sanctions in order to alert Moscow of the consequences of such aggressions. Sanctions have allowed for nations to put forth the message that actions such as that of Russia will lead to exclusion from the international community.

Leslie Vinjamuri Wright pointed out the importance of unity in the face of adversity in case of the Ukraine war.

"Whether the US remains the dominant power is not the most important question," argued Rachel Rizzo. Strategic sovereignty means not relying on Russia for your energy, the US for your security and China for corporate profits. The concern, Rizzo noted, is to move into the renegotiation of rules of the global world order as Ukraine has shown. Europe has demonstrated immense solidarity in enforcing sanctions, with extended funding from Germany. "But the longer the war goes on, the more important question would be – where are we spending the political capital extended by other countries for the war?"



Trading Security or Trade in Security: Europe and the Indo-Pacific

Anniken Huitfeldt, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Norway

Anže Logar, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Slovenia

Anthony Abbott, Former Prime Minister, Australia

Sanjay Verma, Secretary (West), Ministry of External Affairs, India

Petra Sigmund, Director General for Asia and the Pacific, Federal Foreign Office, Germany

Moderator: **Peter Grk**, Secretary-General, Bled Strategic Forum, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Slovenia

Anniken Huitfeldt noted that an attack on a country's territorial integrity is an attack on democracy and international rules-based order. "Europe will be more united to defend democracy." The Security Council's inability to solve humanitarian crises like the one in Myanmar has been because China and Russia think this is a domestic issue and so we are trying to get more support from ASEAN countries as a regional response is very important.

Anthony Abbott, speaking on the Ukraine crisis, pointed out that the most important question for the world is how much help we can give them. If Russia manages to pulverise Ukraine, Beijing, which is closely watching this crisis, will feel emboldened. China, he said, is taking a ruthlessly selfish approach in all aspects. Purely in economic terms, China's rise has helped many countries, but at the same time China has exploited the rules and has been a disproportionate beneficiary of the liberal trading order. India, with its sophisticated manufacturing base, is providing a good alternative to reduce Australia's reliance on China, and thereby, ensure supply chain resilience.

The EU, as a global actor, needs to show that defending the rules-based order is not just a regional concern—and not just a concern of the US and China—but also of the EU, as showcased by Germany when it released its Indo-Pacific strategy, said Petra Sigmund. "The EU needs to be present in the Indo-Pacific."

One should not have double standards when part of the multilateral fora, argued Anže Logar. While there were doubts about the EU acting decisively, the EU did adopt a common and united position. Should Russia decline, it will be China who will be the beneficiary, and so the multilateral order must ensure that the war in Ukraine stops, he asserted.



In Conversation with Wopke Hoekstra, Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Netherlands

Wopke Hoekstra, Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Netherlands

Moderator: **Harsh V Pant**, Vice President, Studies and Foreign Policy, Observer Research Foundation, India

Speaking at the Raisina Dialogue, Wopke Hoekstra addressed the impact of the ongoing Ukrainian War on the European Union and its role in the global order at large. Identifying that multilateral institutions, territorial integrity and democratic values are under threat, the minister advocated for European countries to undertake a geopolitical role along with their economic might. The conversation also underlined the importance of ties between India and the Netherlands.

“There is always more that we can do between India and the Netherlands,” he said. “Especially as India is one of the top 5 investors in the Netherlands. We cherish this decade of friendship with India, and there are several opportunities beyond bilateral concerns that we can explore.”

Multilateralism has come under attack in the last few years, but the pushback against multilateralism must be countered, he noted, emphasising the need to ensure institutions like the World Bank, UN, etc. continue to play the vital role that they have been entrusted with.

The EU and India have a lot in common and the future for both countries looks bright and robust in terms of their expanding collaboration and deepening their partnership.



The Doctrine of Lapse: Lessons from the UN Era

Ararat Mirzoyan, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Armenia

Daniel Carmon, Senior Research Fellow, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Israel; Former Ambassador of Israel to India

Lakshmi Puri, Former Assistant Secretary General, United Nations, India

Charles Kupchan, Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations; Professor of International Relations, Georgetown University, United States

Jane Holl Lute, Former Deputy Secretary, Department of Homeland Security, United States

Moderator: **Shashi Tharoor**, Member of Parliament, India

There have been a series of crises—first the Covid-19 pandemic, then the Afghanistan crisis, and then the Ukraine-Russia war, noted Lakshmi Puri. “Is that the last crisis that will break the UN’s back?” The UN is more than the sum of the power dynamics of the most influential member states. And how they act—or choose to not act—affects the UN’s role. “The UN lacks ambition, scale, and teeth”, she said. “Where institutions like the UN Security Council have teeth—they do not have the bite.”

With the onslaught of global challenges, there is a need to retain the system of multilateral diplomacy. But at the same time, Ararat Mirzoyan pointed out, it must be understood that the organisation should not work in a business-as-usual mode.

Europe and America have been dominating power centres for several decades, said Charles Kupchan. Now there will be two blocs: a liberal international order on one side, and the autocratic capitalist order on the other side. “The liberal international order is not what it used to be,” he pointed out. “Populism and illiberalism are here to stay and the political landscape has changed.”

The UN is comprised of many “tensions”: between developed and developing countries; between the Secretariat and the membership; and the ones who contribute the most to the budget and those who contribute lesser, Daniel Carmon said. “Since the years the UN was set up, the regulations have made the member states very influential in setting the stage for the Secretariat to be more limited than what it can do.”



“The UN is not irrelevant,” asserted Jane Holl Lute. “Every treaty establishing international or regional organisations precedes—such as the EU and NATO—seek to work in accordance with the principles of the UN.”

The UN and its continued relevance, Shashi Tharoor noted, has been thrown into sharp relief because of the ongoing Ukraine crisis. “The UN is not a single entity; it is an unusual institute. It is a stage, where the member states play their part. When member states agree, the UN transforms into an actor.”



From Mountain to Ocean: Harnessing Commerce, Connectivity and Creativity in the Subcontinent

Aminath Shauna, Minister of Environment, Climate Change and Technology, Maldives

Vinay Mohan Kwatra, Ambassador to Nepal; Foreign Secretary (Designate), India

Shahidul Haque, Senior Fellow, North South University; Former Foreign Secretary, Bangladesh

Biswo Nath Poudel, Vice Chairperson, National Planning Commission, Bhutan

Tshering Cigay Dorji, Former CEO, Thimphu TechPark, Bhutan

Moderator: **Cecile Fruman**, Director, Regional Integration and Engagement, South Asia, World Bank

Covid-19, Aminath Shauna said, has taught us a very important lesson where we have developed vaccines, imported and exported important medicines - by staying home and using digital technologies. South Asia has demonstrated advanced technologies that could be scaled up in other countries as well. The Maldives is witnessing drastic changes because of climate change in the form of coastal erosion, flooding and unpredictable weather. Satellite and drone technology, she noted, could be useful to monitor coastal erosion and help engage in data-driven policy making.

“We have overcome physical barriers through digital technologies, which is something that we learnt well from the Covid-19 pandemic,” said Shahidul Haque.

Increasing productivity in a land-locked country like Nepal can be met through internet access to a large extent, noted Biswo Nath Poudel. Some countries have tried to set up their own digital platforms and make their own rules which has led to more autocratic tendencies in these countries. “When you reject integration with the rest of the world, you may be asserting your own independence but isolating a part of the population – the results of which can be disastrous.”

Platform-based digital cooperation is a very promising domain where you can have one platform in the entire South Asian region, said Vinay Mohan Kwatra. In the domain of digital cooperation, it is important to keep in mind that whatever bandwidths and networks operate, they eventually have to be safe and secure. “There is a remarkable opportunity in the digital space,” noted Kwatra. “It allows you to bridge the geographies at effectively no extra cost. South Asia needs to come together as a region to ensure that digital platforms are safe, secure and trusted.”



Echoing the sentiment, Cecile Fruman said, “Regional integration could help build a green and clean recovery, and estimates show that it could increase annual inter-regional trade by 44 billion dollars. Countries of South Asia need to work together to address the challenges of inclusion, governance and data privacy.”

There is a number of Bhutanese youth who have started entrepreneurship in the digital space despite the small market size, along with a growing number of creators on social media platforms like Facebook, Instagram and Youtube, explained Tshering Cigay Dorji. “India and Bhutan have a shared legacy and cultural heritage. We can take advantage of multilateral platforms like SAARC and BBIN for technological collaboration in the near future.”



Dragon's Fire: Deciphering China after Ukraine

Adm. Tony Radakin, Chief of the Defence Staff, United Kingdom

Maj. Gen. Jung Hae-II, President, Korea National Defense University, South Korea

Reinhard Bütikofer, Member, European Parliament, Germany

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

Gudrun Wacker, Senior Fellow, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Germany

Moderator: **Yalda Hakim**, Chief Presenter-International Correspondent, BBC World News, Australia

As the plains of Ukraine turn into a battlefield, few players have more at stake than China. Its “no limits” partner faces stringent Western sanctions and its strategic competitors have found a new resolve. China is faced with a choice between its stated respect for sovereignty and its burgeoning friendship with Moscow.

We have to be cautious with the Ukraine conflict since it is still going on, noted Tony Radakin. “Strategic errors lead to Strategic consequences. It will have implications for the world and Russia.”

Explaining the South Korean position, Jung Hae-II emphasised the importance of maintaining balance between China and the US.

EU started dealing with dependencies on China, much before it was pointed out, argued Reinhard Bütikofer. “We must take Xi Jinping at his word with regard to his intentions, he said. “We can’t have a policy of appeasement.” Speaking on the lessons learnt from the crisis, he pointed out that Germany has taken steps on Russian gas dependency. “The Ukraine war is a geopolitical awakening for Germany.”

Andrew Shearer highlighted that China’s objective was clear – it wants to be a leading power. On the way to achieving that global dominance, it is creating a base in Asia. The Ukraine crisis hasn’t offered lessons to the West alone – China, he noted, will learn a lesson from the Ukraine conflict as well. “It will learn that it must subdue its opponent swiftly.”

The West talks about democracy but doesn’t fight for it, argued Yalda Hakim.

EU’s Indo Pacific strategy is based on values and interest, explained Gudrun Wacker. China was brought into WTO because the West thought that it could change it. This belief, however,



has been destroyed. “China is weaponising trade and its economy. It has a big toolkit: sticks and carrot,” she said. “China is now pulling out more sticks.”



Day 3 – April 27, 2022

Welcome Address – Meenakashi Lekhi, Minister of State, Ministry of External Affairs, India

The third day of the Raisina Dialogue 2022 began with a welcome address by Meenakashi Lekhi. These two years, she said, have brought turbulence times, and the pandemic has taken a toll. With changing times, she emphasised the pivotal role of India in the global world order. Globalisation has become challenging, and Aatmanirbharta has become more integral. “It is not the time for contestation but a time for cooperation,” she said. When oceans and seas are free and inclusive, this can be a common pursuit for all stakeholders in the region and beyond.

21st-century threats are not the traditional threats – their nature has changed. These are more in number & greater in degree, from cyber-attacks to supply chain disruption. Cooperation with all stakeholders will be critical to overcome these common threats.

India provides for the world, and the disruptions caused in the world can be covered by us, asserted Lekhi. “We need to focus on global value chains diversification, especially with other countries which share the same values.”



Sabres of Silicon: (Re)Assessing a 21st-Century Global Risk Landscape

Scene Setter - **Tim Cahill**, Senior Vice President, Global Business Development & Strategy, Lockheed Martin, United States

Adm. R Hari Kumar, Chief of the Naval Staff, India

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

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

Adm. John C. Aquilino, Commander, U.S. Indo-Pacific Command

Air Marshal Luc De Rancourt, Deputy Director General for International Affairs and Strategy, Ministry for Armed Forces, France

Moderator: **Lisa Singh**, Director and CEO, Australia India Institute, Australia

There is a wide range of threats that we are facing such as the continuing struggle of terrorism, emerging asymmetric capabilities, and military and economic competition, explained Tim Cahill. The domains in which our adversaries operate now are very broad. While we have been occupied with Covid-19 concerns, adversaries have grown stronger and expanded their capabilities. There is a need to develop an ability to counter our adversaries' hypersonics.

He highlighted the importance of developing technologies like autonomy, manned and unmanned teaming, and networked systems, in order to deal with the dynamic threat scenario. "The network system needs to be resilient and this is a leap from where we are now. This is essential to counter the threat scenario if we aim to excel." He also emphasised the need to draw in the commercial industries globally. Finding the convergence of national needs for security, economics, and business for the industry is critically important. Supply chains, Cahill explained, need to be drawn from around the world.

We are in a contested world because of the conflict, said R. Hari Kumar, and also because of the challenge posed by technologies that are emerging. This is not a zero-sum game; it offers great opportunities for cooperation and collaboration like India's collaborative approach in dealing with the COVID-19 challenge and the International Solar Alliance. "India has kept up its goal of being the first responder which helps in developing trust, interoperability, exchange of information and good practices, and domain awareness. It is impossible for any one country to ensure maritime security, Kumar noted, and therefore, there is a need for cooperation, collaboration, and interoperability so that peace and order can be collectively maintained in the Indo-Pacific region.

Technology is being used widely in grey-zone tactics, said Angus Campbell. The most appropriate approach to deal with these grey-zone tactical threats is to show a comprehensive demonstration of capabilities by joining hands with other like-minded nations. "We have to be



innovative and demonstrate strength to expose the undesirable behaviour of belligerent nations,” he argued. “We welcome the idea of seeing minilaterals and plurilaterals coming together.”

We have not only seen threats within the conventional domain, but also in other domains like outer space, cyber domain, and information domain, pointed out Koji Yamazaki. In cyber warfare, how we use this new technology especially in cross-domain operations will be key. It is also important to differentiate between disinformation and correct information, he noted. “These kinds of efforts will be equally crucial. We must clearly demonstrate our will and capability to deal with these emerging threats and have a synergised approach.”

“We are cooperating with like-minded countries and becoming interoperable to ensure a free and open Indo-Pacific,” said John C. Aquilino. All forms of technology apply in military warfare and there is a need to prepare with a sense of urgency. Perhaps as a consequence, the world is seeing greater cooperation in the multilateral sphere rather than the bilateral one.

Luc De Rancourt posed an important question – does technology change the way we wage war? Do we really want a world where the international regime is under a zero-sum game which leads to a security dilemma or do we want to maintain equilibrium by strengthening cooperation with like-minded countries? One important document, he noted, that has been endorsed is the Strategic Compass. “The French Indo-Pacific strategy completely aligns with the EU’s Indo-Pacific strategy.”

The 21st century has brought numerous threats with it to the global order like the recent attack on Ukraine by Russia, cyber threats, weaponisation of domestic environments, etc, said Lisa Singh. How the countries in the international order could bring together stability in this age of digital threat to ensure a stable and rule-based order in the Indo-Pacific, will be an interesting development to follow in the foreseeable future.



Chasing the Monsoon: Life@75

S. Jaishankar, Minister of External Affairs, India

João Gomes Cravinho, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Portugal

Stephen Harper, Former Prime Minister, Canada

Jeff M. Smith, Senior Research Fellow, Asian Studies Center, The Heritage Foundation, United States

Velina Tchakarova, Director, Austrian Institute for European and Security Policy, Austria

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

India at 75 has evolved as a significant global actor with commensurate expectations from the world regarding its choices, actions, and its dynamic evolution. From responding to climate change and humanitarian crises, to global peace and security, to technology and digital frontiers, India's actions will shape the 21st century world.

“When we are looking at India at 75, we are not just looking at the 75 completed years but the 25 years ahead,” said S. Jaishankar. “What have we done, where have we faltered?”

He explained that the next 25 years for India should be about capability building. India should be practical about how it leverages the world order and how it engages with other partners. “It is better to engage with the world on the basis of who we are rather than try to please the world as a pale imitation of who they are,” asserted Jaishankar. “The idea that others define us and we need approval, is an era that we need to put behind us.”

What stands out for India at 75 is that it is a stabilising actor, said Jeff Smith. In stark contrast to China's position, India has treated other countries with respect and has been a friend of the West. He highlighted the need to distinguish between criticism in free press and government policies, and the appeal of India as a rising power in the world. “All countries want to do more business with India.”

The perception of Europe towards India is shifting positively, noted Velina Tchakarova. “It is a watershed moment of realisation in Europe that relations with India need to be elevated significantly. Both do not want to be caught in a binary world.”

India's definition in the world is increasingly being shaped by the nature of India itself, said Stephen Harper. In areas of trade and investment, free and open society have remarkably shaped India's destiny. As China rises disruptively, India's choices have changed at the international level. On India's position on the Russia-Ukraine war, he said, “There is a misunderstanding that India's position is not always in line with the West.” Beyond the threat



to the international order that Russia poses, when it comes to energy needs, India's national interests align with the West, he asserted.

One of the major differences between the India of a decade back and the India of now is its ability to shape the world – and its consciousness about the need to do so stands out, said João Gomes Cravinho. He noted the significant proximity between India and the EU, and remarked, “It is a very natural approach for India to reach out to other partners of the world in order to collectively shape the world order.”



In Conversation with Bhupender Yadav, Minister of Environment, Forest and Climate Change, India

Bhupender Yadav, Minister of Environment, Forest and Climate Change, India

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

Bhupender Yadav pointed out the several achievements at COP26. The developed countries of the world agreed to clearly define climate finance and there was an increasing recognition of the greater need for financing adaptation.

But there were also several disappointments. The \$100-billion dollar promise from developed countries has been ignored. The promised technological transfer is also not happening at the required pace.

While India is not part of the climate problem, it is keen on being part of the solution. India's pledges at COP26 have emphasised its commitment to climate action even further, and its efforts in catalysing change in all sectors of the economy.

The CDRI, ISA, and OSOWOG initiative signal India's firm commitment to help achieve global climate targets and become a climate leader.

"Climate finance is a major challenge for developing countries, but India's climate plan is based on the development of the country," he explained. "India is a voice for the developing countries."



Diminished Democracies: Big Tech, Red Tech, and Deep Tech

Rajeev Chandrasekhar, Minister of State, Electronics and Information Technology, India

Zunaid Ahmed Palak, Minister of State, Information and Communication Technology, Bangladesh

Anne Neuberger, Deputy National Security Advisor, Cyber and Emerging Technology, United States

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

Nanjira Sambuli, Fellow, Technology and International Affairs Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, United States

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

Technology, once presumed to deepen and reinforce democracy, also poses risks to free societies along multiple axes. Large tech companies have gained influence in sectors from financial services to healthcare, while regulators struggle to keep up. Authoritarian states have discovered the use of technology as a method of control. And technology itself has moved into areas such as deep fakes that challenge social reality itself.

Big Tech is now playing an interventionist role in democracy, Red Tech is being used for surveillance and subversion, while Deep Tech is about criminality, explained Kanchan Gupta.

In the ongoing Ukraine war, social media companies wanted to control the information imbalance but that has caused public resentment over the lack of transparency and access to complete information, pointed out Anne Neuberger.

Zunaid Palak, speaking of the Bangladeshi perspective said, “In Bangladesh, we believe in democracy, but we also want to protect our cyberspace by teaching our citizens about digital literacy so that they can filter out fake news and understand privacy and rights.” He emphasised the need to replicate initiatives from the EU, and create similar frameworks and mechanisms for the region and Asia Pacific for data protection.

We have seen even democratic tech being used for surveillance, noted Nanjira Sambuli. Securitisation of issues has created demands for surveillance which are being fulfilled by Big Tech and Deep Tech. Even as we talk about shared values, when it comes to regulations, we have different conceptions. “Tech development doesn’t happen in the vacuum.”

With faster connectivity becoming a reality in the next decade, said Vivek Lal, we need regulations to catch up with technological developments. Solutions need to be devised across political, academic/think tanks and commercial spectrums to tackle the challenges posed by technology.



Previously, tech and social media platforms were treated as symbols of innovation and therefore, they were regulated lightly, explained Rajeev Chandrasekhar. “However, this condition cannot persist for long and there needs to be greater regulation of these platforms.” User harm and cyber-crimes are being committed across borders, he said, and that is creating the perception of cyberspace as a lawless sphere. Social media needs to go beyond mere criminality and also expand focus on user harms when it comes to regulations. “Algorithmic biases exist and therefore we need to create mechanisms to ensure accountability on algorithmic coding.”



The First Responder: Women Leadership and the SDGs

Smriti Z. Irani, Minister of Women and Child Development, India

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

Waseqa Ayesha Khan, Chairman, Parliamentary Standing Committee on Ministry of Power, Energy and Mineral Resources; Member of Parliament, Bangladesh

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

Shombi Sharp, Resident Coordinator India, United Nations

Moderator: **Chandrika Bahadur**, Former Director, SDG Academy, India

Across the world, women have steered effective and inclusive Covid-19 response programmes, establishing themselves as first responders in both policy chambers and on the frontlines. Despite the challenges that complicate female leadership and participation across different realms, it is critical to achieve gender equity to enable and accelerate the Sustainable Development Goals. Drawing on lessons from the pandemic, the panel came together to discuss how women can be further empowered and their potential unlocked to accelerate development.

Smriti Irani highlighted several initiatives undertaken by PM Modi to help empower women in India, such as a menstrual protocol, SWAYAM, DISHA, and a dedicated Ministry of Skilling for the development of women and children. The notion that we have to teach women how to lead - it comes with an assumption that they're not already capable of doing so. "Leadership is not limited to politics only," asserted Irani. "To encourage women, we need to start at home. Show them more female leadership in all spheres of life."

Waseqa Ayesha Khan spoke of the need for political will, affirmative action, and definitive policy changes to empower women. "All leaders must steer clear of toxic masculinity," she said, "be it male or female leaders."

Kwati Candith Mashego-Dlamini spoke of the South African perspective, and said, "In South Africa, we have space for women and struggle side by side with men." Women, she emphasised, need to be seen as individuals. Empowerment of women cannot be a side agenda; we need to focus on how we can help them have their own space and strength.

Vanita Sharma launched 'The First Responders: Women Who Led India through the Pandemic', a joint publication by the Observer Research Foundation and the Reliance Foundation. The book shed light on 25 women who represented thousands of women in India. These women leaders are not just CEOs and executives but come from communities and



grassroots. “There is a lot that can be learnt from the women at the grassroot level,” she asserted.

Gender equality is the unfinished business of our time, said Shombi Sharp. “As we're facing a climate crisis, wars and conflicts all around, the evidence is clear that the SDG-5 for gender equality is the greatest return on investment in achieving all other SDGs.” He argued – the world has a greater chance of achieving peace and stronger climate action with women on the table.



Building the Gates of Globalisation: Investment, Infrastructure and Taboos

Geoffrey Onyeama, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nigeria

Jayant Sinha, Member of Parliament, India

Romana Vlahutin, Ambassador at Large for Connectivity, European External Action Service

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

Philippe Orliange, Executive Director, Country Programs, AFD, France

Moderator: **Garima Mohan**, Fellow, Asia Programme, German Marshall Fund, Germany

Post the pandemic, states are grappling with three overarching ideas: Self-reliance, the stability and security of supply chains; and the right balance between geopolitics and economic imperatives. With the frailties of the old global supply chains exposed, trading nations seek like-minded actors to create networks built on trust, and infrastructure that prioritises resilience and quality.

“We have various partnerships for infrastructure development, such as the Belt and Road Initiative, and other initiatives with EU, India and among African countries as well,” said Geoffrey Onyeama. These contribute enormously towards development. During COVID-19, with the collapse of several businesses, nations have directed extensive focus on reviving them. Job creation and investment in infrastructure also remain a huge priority for governments.

India like any other large country faces many challenges and has many priorities, explained Jayant Sinha. “We have to create enough good jobs for our young people and create them even as we safeguard our future.” He emphasised the need to forge partnerships with many like-minded countries. As India pursues economic growth, according to Sinha it faces a unique challenge. “We not only need to develop our economy; we need to simultaneously decarbonize.” To make India more competitive, sustainable, and resilient, green technologies and green industries will be imperative. This will enable India to move forward on our self-reliance and Atmanirbharta initiatives.

We are going through multiple crises in the last few years—but they have been serving as great catalysers, noted Romana Vlahutin. “We have seen how the EU is shaping its response to these crises, and the EU is now at a moment of reckoning.” Infrastructure, she said, is a strategic tool and we have to treat it like that. Connectivity is not just primarily about things like ports or railways, but it is also about the system of values underpinned by transparency, stability and the ability to make sovereign choices. “Our approach is to be strategic and transformative about large scale infrastructure,” said Vlahutin. “We recognise the need to work with the private sector, and with like-minded countries and partners.”



Tadashi Maeda spoke of the COVID-19 pandemic, and the resultant disruption of supply chains, particularly in semiconductors. “It has damaged manufacturing sectors, especially automobile industries.” He highlighted the need for greater resilience in supply chains. Every country has made some retreat from international cooperation. “This is not good since Japan is a resource scarce country,” he explained. “We need to rely on global partnership and free trade.”

Philippe Orliange noted that there is no ecological transition without a social transition. The Global Gateway Initiative, he said, plans to provide a common strategic framework for cooperation, alongside with the EU and non-European partners. What needs to be worked out now is the link between the strategy itself, and how it’s going to transform the operation on ground.



Domestic Discord, Global Expectations: Will the American Eagle Fly?

Carl Bildt, Former Prime Minister, Sweden; Co-Chair, European Council on Foreign Relations

Ashok Malik, Policy Advisor, Ministry of External Affairs, India

Ming-Shih Shen, Acting Deputy CEO & Director, Division of National Security Research, Institute for National Defence and Security Research

Daniel Twining, President, International Republican Institute, United States

Lisa Curtis, Senior Fellow and Director, Indo-Pacific Security Program, Centre for a New American Security, United States

Moderator: **Lynn Kuok**, Shangri-La Dialogue Senior Fellow for Asia-Pacific Security, IISS, Singapore

Afghanistan and Ukraine have laid bare the cracks in the edifice of American power. Its interventions have failed, its military might no longer deters adversaries like China and Russia, and its domestic frailties are clear for all to see.

If you look at the handling of the Russia crisis, said Carl Bildt, we are flying together. The international order is closer than in the past, covering all aspects of security. There is a significant strengthening of NATO and transatlantic aspects of security. The strengthening of NATO has implications for the #Indo-Pacific region, most notably with respect to China.

Ashok Malik noted that the rejuvenation of the Quad has been primarily driven by India – while Washington has played catch up. India and the US, he explained, are using the same language to approach the Ukraine-Russia crisis. However, the two countries are using different geopolitical and strategic dictionaries. When it comes to China’s actions in Ladakh or elsewhere in Asia, those positions are crystal clear for India. Dualism in international order – a black and white approach – doesn’t always work. “We completely understand the Ukraine situation and we have sympathies for what is happening in Ukraine.” However, he emphasised, India also has certain geopolitical compulsions.

When the Ukraine war broke out, said Ming-Shih Shen, many people in Taiwan were very concerned. The “today Ukraine–tomorrow Taiwan” debate may have been fuelled because of the Ukraine war. The Ukraine crisis may be a recent provocation but Taiwan has been preparing to defend itself since 1949, said Shen. “We have enough capability to defend against China and strategic ambiguity is our best strategy against China. We do not need to tell the world how we will do that.”

Daniel Twining pointed out that we all have our domestic issues. “We have to make sure that these don’t distract us from doing what we have to do strategically across the world,” he argued.



China remains the number one national security concern for the US, said Lisa Curtis. The Indo-Pacific strategy lays out a strategy of networked deterrence against any type of threat in the region. The Indo-Pacific strategy of the US, she noted, has underscored the importance on India and its bilateral relationship. “An economic strategy has not been laid out yet and that is perhaps the weakest part of the Indo-Pacific strategy.”



Out of Africa: Leading on Trade and Economic Integration

Geoffrey Onyeama, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nigeria

Richard J. Randriamandrato, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Madagascar

Kwaku Ampratwum-Sarpong, Deputy Minister Political and Economic, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Ghana

Dammu Ravi, Secretary (Economic Relations), Ministry of External Affairs, India

Usta Kaitesi, CEO, Rwanda Governance Board, Rwanda

Moderator: **Omneya Ghamry**, Programme Manager, Cairo International Centre for Conflict Resolution, Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding, Egypt

Africa has defined global trade since time immemorial. From fostering the Greco-Roman spice trade with India to hosting the mighty Suez Canal, Africa has helped connect the world. As we enter the digital age, young Africa is once again poised to shape our common future. Its partnership with a dynamic Asia will be critical.

Nigeria and India share a special relationship in this age of globalisation, said Geoffrey Onyeama. India has a comparative advantage in the health sector, and India's role during the COVID-19 outbreak attests to this point. As such, healthcare and ICT are the primary areas of India-Africa cooperation. He also spoke of the African Continental Free Trade Area agreement, which would help enable partners like India to do business and access a unified and bigger market in Africa.

India has been a source and supplier of medical equipment to African countries, said Kwaku Ampratwun-Sarpong. India is helping Africa to increase agricultural productivity by moving from manual labour to mechanisation in the agricultural sector.

India's development assistance is there to ensure the recipient country prioritizes their developmental needs and identifies specific projects, explained Dammu Ravi. A variety of Indian developmental assistance programmes spanning various sectors, community development programmes, continue to be successful. Indian capacity building, he said, should evolve to institutional settings in Africa including in medical, healthcare, and agricultural institutions. He highlighted the enormous potential and India's desire to engage in infrastructure connectivity, port and other development projects with third countries.

African women have enormous potential to drive transformation in the continent, said Usta Kaitesi. Therefore, it is the duty of the leadership to ensure the inclusion of women in the decision-making process. "Any form of development will be sustainable only if it is citizen-



centric,” she asserted. What Africa can offer India is a collective understanding of the approaches that would help both the regions to solve common developmental challenges.



Beachheads of Globalisation: Investments, Debts and Transitions

Hugh Hilton Todd, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Guyana

Ausaf Sayeed, Secretary (CPV and OIA), Ministry of External Affairs, India

Mohamed Nasheed, Speaker of the Parliament; Former President, Maldives

Malshini Senaratne, Asst. Head of Department and Lecturer, University of Seychelles, Seychelles

Moderator: **Preeti Soni**, Head, UN Asian and Pacific Centre for Transfer of Technology, India

Maritime nations will be instrumental in shaping new low-carbon development strategies while also dealing with biodiversity preservation, the costs of adaptation and with debt burdens worsened by the pandemic.

In the case of Guyana, said Hugh Hilton Todd, the country is punching above its weight when it comes to climate action. Nevertheless, significant work has been done at the national level with reference to the Sustainable Development Goals. The benefits of economic globalisation have been reaped by the G20. “The world has moved on and we have to catch up,” he remarked. As such, the small states have no option but to be practical with the lending opportunities offered by a country like China.

Countries like Guyana, the Maldives, Barbados, Tuvalu are all saying the same thing—that global trade is going on but we are facing the brunt of it—but why are their voices not being heard? These countries, Todd pointed out, have stuck by the Paris Agreement but developed countries have not. As a result, they have had to deal with their challenges on their own – and nobody has attempted to look after the interests of the global citizen.

India has focused on conducting hydrographic surveys, anti-piracy, illegal fishing regulation through coastal surveillance in order to boost the resilience of our neighbouring waters, explained Ausaf Sayeed. “We believe in sharing our knowledge and resources, and ever since our independence, we have built upon our partnerships driven by developmental priorities and capacity building.”

India develops its partnership models in the form of equal relations irrespective of the size, economy and population of countries. Its partnership model is one of peace and prosperity, and it does not offer debt-funded infrastructure.

The blue economy and the oceans are facing the first impact of climate change in terms of temperature rises, acidification, and so on, said Mohamed Nasheed. These are directly affecting corals, fishing, and therefore, the livelihood of coastal communities. “Climate change is very real and it is happening now and we must, therefore, attend to it immediately,” he asserted.



Fishing, Nasheed pointed out, is vital for a country like the Maldives but problems such as bottom trawling impact fish stocks. Therefore, it is imperative to regulate fishing. The impact of climate change is compounded further for debt-ridden countries like the Maldives and Sri Lanka, thus making their efforts unsustainable. “It is as though we are walking with our eyes closed right into a disaster.” A restructuring of debts, he emphasised, is crucial for countries like the Maldives, Seychelles and Sri Lanka.

While dealing with the increasing costs of adaptation, the role of global partnerships and leveraging of opportunities is crucial going forward, said Preeti Soni.

Seychelles is 1% land and 99% ocean, explained Malshini Senaratne. Thus, self-sufficiency for the nation derives from global partnerships, and non-traditional security issues like maritime piracy has been central to their development. “As a small nation, we are imperilled as far as climate action goes but there is also a grain of resilience in island nations which cannot be ignored,” she asserted.

Seychelles has put attempted to come up with innovative efforts when addressing climate change. They were the first to introduce debt-for-nature swaps and green bonds and a lot of restructuring has taken place. Still, a lot more remains to be done. Echoing Preeti Soni, she emphasised the need of global partnerships. “Especially in the aftermath of COVID-19, there needs to be a collective response mechanism,” said Senaratne. “Because our problems are also the world’s problems.”



Closing Remarks by Rajkumar Ranjan Singh, Minister of State, Ministry of External Affairs, India

Over the past few decades, India has been among the first responding countries in the event of any disaster in our neighbourhood. “The Covid-19 pandemic,” Rajkumar Ranjan Singh noted, “has thrown into relief fault lines and vulnerabilities in terms of socio-economic, health and human safety on the one hand and global supply chains on the other.”

These challenges notwithstanding, India has demonstrated its intent and ability to lead, assist, and support nations. In the third decade of the millennium, the building of resilience and constructive partnerships are the need of the hour and India at 75 is committed to this goal as it expands upon its aspirations and ambitions to shape its approaches for the future.

Strengthening the ideals of democracy through employing innovation, the deepening of partnerships across the Indo-Pacific, the building of global partnerships in order to deal with human and global problems form some of the key aspects of India’s partnerships going forward, said Singh. New Delhi, today, is thus recognised by nations in its immediate neighbourhood as well as those across the world as a capable and reliable partner and also one that is dedicated to protecting a free, open and democratic world order. “In the spirit of Vasudaiva Kutumbatakam, the whole world is one family and it is together that can find peace and prosperity.”



Showstopper: Weaponisation of Everything

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

Péter Sztáray, Minister of State for Security Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Hungary

Anne Neuberger, Deputy National Security Advisor, Cyber and Emerging Technology, United States

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

Moderator: **Indrani Bagchi**, CEO, Ananta Aspen Centre, India

The geopolitical developments and the pandemic in the last two years have made us acutely aware of the frailties of global public goods, supply chains, and institutions. The weaponisation of financial systems and prominent symbols of globalisation has rung alarm bells around the world.

We can see the weaponisation of many things, noted Tobias Lindner. Sometimes, he said, it is easier to use economic pressure rather than military power. For some, it is easier to use misinformation. And still, Lindner pointed out, weapons remain. He highlighted the need to uphold and strengthen multilateralism and the rules-based order. “It should be our common interest to uphold the UN Charter, and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries.” China, he said, is using economic power to pursue its political interests. As such, he proposed that the right approach would be to go to the WTO to address this. Upholding the rules-based order, he asserted, is the way forward.

Presenting a staunch front against the weaponisation of anything, Péter Sztáray expressed the need to decide on “no-go” zones on weaponisation in order to build a peaceful world. But the Ukraine war, he admitted, shows how difficult it is for countries to adhere to such rules.

There is a need to enforce international norms with consequences, noted Anne Neuberger. In the cyber context, there is a system of voluntary international cyber norms. From a supply chain perspective, she emphasised the need to work with countries to ensure that technologies are secure by design and that they cannot be weaponised.

Weaponisation can take place when there is an imbalance between demand and supply, explained Harsh Vardhan Shringla. They could be raw materials, strategic minerals, or financial instruments – anything that can be controlled to the detriment of others. “What can countries do to insulate themselves from the weaponisation of everything?” he asked. The quest of self-sufficiency, or Atmanirbhar Bharat for India, doesn’t mean isolation—it means creating capacities that can help you and help others. “We talk about a free and open Indo-Pacific. This



is the sort of region we want to live in: where we want to impose a rules-based order, there is protection of the global commons, and where weaponisation is minimised.”



Raisina@Berlin

Welcome Remarks

Norbert Lammert, Chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e. V.

Inauguration and Opening Statement

Parvathaneni Harish, Ambassador of India to Germany

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Shanthie D'Souza, Visiting Researcher at German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Founder & President of Mantraya

Jürgen Hardt, Foreign Policy Spokesperson of the CDU/CSU Parliamentarian Group

Moderator: **Norbert Lammert**, Chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e. V.

Drawing on a German perspective, the panel came together to address the prospects for multilateral cooperation in view of the raging war in Europe.

Parvathaneni Harish, in his opening statement, noted Germany's significance to India – especially as an important partner in Europe, and the most important economic investment and trade partner.

Even as India celebrates 75 years of independence, it also celebrates 70 years of Indo-German relations, with it having been nearly 22 years since the two countries embarked on a strategic partnership.

Harish acknowledged the great potential that lies in Indo-German partnership in the realm of scientific, technological and research collaboration. The two countries have partnered extensively in higher education; today, there are over 30,000 Indian students in Germany in various areas of stem disciplines, and working on advanced research.

Great opportunities lie in the future of India-Germany relations – the commitments made by them at Glasgow on climate provide space to further the partnership between the two and add an important dimension to the bilateral relations. There are also possibilities in collaboration on digitalization, fintech and start-ups. The India-Germany partnership remains embedded in the larger context of the India-EU strategic partnership.

On strategic relationships in the present-day scenario, Jürgen Hardt explained that strategic cooperation with India is vital, not only for Europe but for Germany as well. He agreed with Harish on points of collaboration between the two countries, but also added the importance of strategic cooperation in the field of foreign and security policy.



Shanthie D’Souza analysed the Indian perspective on Germany, and noted that there’s potential for a greater and more strengthened relationship with Europe. Acknowledging the war in Ukraine, she noted, “India is located in such a situation where it has a close relationship with Russia. There is a dependency there, especially in terms of military supplies and armaments.” As such, we have to understand the constraints on India’s position, said D’Souza. Even so, she said, “You should also take cognizance of the fact that India did time and again ask Russia to revise its position. It did see it as an act of aggression.”

She also addressed points of cooperation between India and Germany, noting the Indo-Pacific as an important theatre in the region.