



ANNUAL REPORT

2024



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2024





ORF aims to support policymaking that fosters a strong and prosperous India within a just and equitable world. It envisions India as a nation ready to lead in the knowledge era—one that not only shapes domestic and global discourse but also charts its own path toward long-term sustainable growth. ORF amplifies Indian perspectives and ideas on international platforms, offering non-partisan, independent, and well-researched insights to a wide range of decision-makers across government, business, academia, and civil society worldwide.

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## MESSAGES

The year 2024 presented a host of formidable challenges, from intensifying global conflicts to economic uncertainties. In this shifting environment, ORF continued to assert its influence on policy and global discourse. Chairman Sunjoy Joshi and President Samir Saran discuss how ORF adapted to these changes, leading efforts such as the Raisina Roundtable @ Tokyo and strengthening ties with the Global South. Looking ahead, they outline ORF's commitments and the promising initiatives planned for the coming year.



## Sunjoy Joshi

Chairman, Observer Research Foundation

**AS THE WAR IN UKRAINE CONTINUES** to fester in the heart of Europe, the year 2024 is ending with the world in ever greater torment, hurting with the pain of a fresh conflict reignited in the Middle East. Both conflicts are now emblematic of renewed great- and not-so-great-power rivalries that hold the warring sides hostage yet again to the absolutism of their chosen pole positions.

But bipolarity is a disorder that must be treated. It is an anachronism in a world well past the age of rivalries of the Cold War kind, led by two dominant superpowers. The world today is no longer just multipolar but has also become multi-stakeholder. It encompasses a web of connections and interconnections between not just nations but institutions, corporations, civil society communities, and influencers—a web so intricate that it is impossible to decipher where one nation's interest ends and another's begins.

What we are left with today is no balance of power but rather an unbalance, where no single entity has the will nor the power to emerge dominant. A world of alliances and coalitions to help each navigate the here and now. We struggle to diversify global value chains amidst the shifting sands of economic clout and technological prowess.

The divide between the North and South has become ever more pronounced. It is no longer a mere economic divide but has become a discursive divide where each questions the other's priorities, proprieties, and values. And in the midst of this constant questioning, the Global South today is finding new voices. These voices may be strident at times but are emerging stronger with each passing day.

Inevitably, within this melee, India's 1.4 billion people too, are finding their voices—voices that speak not just for themselves but for others of the Global South.

Can India in these conflicted times become the bridge between these divided worlds? Can it emerge as the wellspring for a truly multipolar and collaborative approach that can help the world abandon confrontation and return yet again to cooperation?

It showed the way during its G20 Presidency through its commitment to fostering global dialogue and consensus. The principle of *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*—“The world is one family”—guided the Global South as it brought its voice to the forefront of global discourse. ORF, as part of its T20 stewardship, played its part.

Building on the momentum of India’s G20 presidency, ORF further deepened its engagement with Africa, a region critical to the evolving world order. Our annual Kigali Global Dialogue continued to provide a platform for meaningful exchanges, and we took a significant step forward by launching the Cape Town Conversations in South Africa.

The Raisina Dialogue, flagging the theme, “Chaturanga: Conflict, Contest, Cooperate, Create”, set the stage for critical discussions between government leaders, policymakers, and thought movers from across the world. Adding to the success of our Raisina iterations in Washington, Sydney, and Berlin, we expanded our reach with the launch of Raisina @ Tokyo in March.

The Indian G20 presidency also steered the conversation towards just transitions—a theme that ORF has explored with renewed vigour. In 2023, we launched the Energy Transition Dialogue, a platform designed to critically assess the prevailing narratives surrounding inclusive energy transitions. The dialogue was followed by yet another significant event, From G20 to COP28: Energy, Climate, and Growth, which focused on elevating the voices of the Global South within the global climate policy discourse.

Our centres in Mumbai and Kolkata, by engaging with state governments, local bodies, and grassroots organisations, mirrored these efforts at the regional level. Notable events included the Kolkata Dialogue; Data for Development: Actions, Experiences, Lessons; Inclusive Futures, Impactful Pathways; and Urban Frontiers: Pathways to Resilient, Inclusive, and Equitable Cities.

ORF SPARK returned in 2024 to reach out to both urban and rural youth, eliciting policy conversations in schools, colleges, and universities. The results were captured in the publication, *Hope in the Horizon: India’s Youth and Global Futures*—a collection of essays offering fresh insights and perspectives into some of the most crucial issues facing the world today.

Through its publications, ORF continued to stimulate expert discussions, producing over 2,000 short-form articles and 200 long-form policy research papers over the year. Among these, two seminal volumes stand out. The first, a collaboration with Reliance Foundation, *Ideas, Innovation, Implementation: India's Journey Towards the SDGs*, showcases 17 lighthouse case studies from India, each addressing a specific Sustainable Development Goal (SDG). These case studies offer potential pathways for transformation. The second, produced in association with PwC and titled, *The India Opportunity: Developing Resilient Electronics Supply Chains*, underscores the importance of building resilient supply chains for India to integrate seamlessly into global production networks.

As we look to the future, ORF remains resolute in its mission to be a catalyst for change in a world that is increasingly being defined by complexity. We are committed to fostering conversations that matter, building partnerships that drive progress, and advancing research that illuminates and inspires. The road ahead may be fraught with challenges, but it is also rich with opportunities. I am confident that, with the continued dedication of our colleagues and the unwavering support of our partners, ORF will continue to make meaningful contributions to the global discourse and help create a brighter world.



## Samir Saran

President, Observer Research Foundation

**IF WE HAD THOUGHT** that 2023 was tumultuous enough, 2024 is proving to be just as tempestuous, giving us extraordinary events that are altering the visage of the global order. A number of seminal elections have been conducted in many countries over the year, and at the time of writing this note, several more are scheduled to be held. India cast its vote in a keenly contested general election between April and June that led to a historic third term for the ruling party; the UK ushered in change as a Labour government took the helm after over a decade of the Conservatives; and the US could see its first female president in Kamala Harris before the year ends. Wars continued to rage across geographies, and in different parts of the world, democracies were undermined due to internal factors and external machinations. It is an unstable time for global security, and as disruptions brew and conflicts erupt, plural societies need to work exponentially harder to defend the gains since the big wars in Europe last century.

The year has already lent itself to much history-making. The Earth experienced its hottest day on record; “artificial intelligence” entered our everyday lives with aplomb, stirring both excitement and anxiety; and conflicts continued to be the preferred mode of dispute resolution, relegating dialogue to a distant memory.

How does a think tank, even one as experienced as ORF, make itself relevant at such a juncture? In the past year, we counted the ways.

In April, ORF co-hosted the Climate Action Champions Network in Dubai, United Arab Emirates, as torrential rains flooded the city. One hundred individuals from India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Bhutan gathered to discuss and explore solutions to the disproportionate impacts of climate change on countries of the Global South.

It was also this year that we launched ORF Middle East, our new overseas affiliate, based in Dubai. ORF Middle East aims to discover policy ideas in and for a region both exciting and complex. Cities and countries located here are poised to help shape India's future and, in turn, stands to become the largest beneficiary of India's rise.

Indeed, 2024 has been a watershed year for countries of the Global South, with more of them taking the centre stage in global conversations and becoming increasingly unabashed in flagging their needs and magnifying their aspirations. In February, ORF hosted its annual ministerial discussion on the sidelines of the Munich Security Conference, tackling the new role of the Global South. The panel, titled "Vishwa Mitra: Bridging Divides", featured Dr. S. Jaishankar, India's External Affairs Minister; Prince Faisal bin Farhad Al Saud, Saudi Arabia's Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Stephen Harper, Canada's Former Prime Minister; Ms. Margrethe Vestager, Executive Vice President of the European Commission for a Europe Fit for the Digital Age; and Dr. Meghan O'Sullivan, Director, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School.

ORF incubated a few other dialogues this year, spotlighting the ambitions of the emerging powers and the developing world. These included the Energy Transition Dialogues in New Delhi, which conceived solutions for a people-positive energy transition in the Global South. We also hosted our annual event in New York during the United Nations high-level week, in partnership with UN in India, the Permanent Mission of India in New York, and Reliance Foundation. Our ministerial session, "South Rising: Partnerships, Institutions and Ideas", discussed the role of India and the Global South in driving development in the 21st century. It featured Dr. S. Jaishankar, India's External Affairs Minister; Kamina Johnson Smith, Jamaica's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade; Mr. João Gomes Cravinho, Portugal's Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Hugh Hilton Todd, Guyana's Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation.

In 2023, as the Secretariat of the T20 during India's G20 presidency, ORF managed one of the largest think-tank coordination exercises in the grouping's history: 131 international and national experts participated in seven task forces, with nearly half of all members being women; 64 convenings were held across 16 Indian cities and six overseas locations, of which four were in the Global South (i.e., Rwanda, Indonesia, the United Arab Emirates, and South Africa); and in September, the Think20 Summit 2023 took place in Mysuru, bringing together 210 experts from 35 countries and 110 institutions across the world.

In addition to ORF's own publications, the Think20 Secretariat oversaw the writing and release of over 300 policy briefs and other publications. No less than 1,000 authors from 75 countries across the globe contributed to this feat, with 43 percent of them being women. We put together seven task force statements and the final T20 Communiqué, and presented these to the sherpa track in the run-up to the final Leaders' Summit, resulting in our own recommendations making it to the final G20 Declaration.

We hosted the formal handover of the Think20 to our successors in Brazil at our new flagship conference—the Cape Town Conversation—establishing a platform for conversations around G20 and the Global South.

This year, during Brazil's G20 presidency, ORF continued its engagement with the Think20, ensuring Indian representation in five of the six task forces. Our scholars are serving as chairs and co-chairs on three of the task forces. ORF also has a representative in Brazil's International Advisory Council Secretariat and has made efforts to ensure that the work done by India is being carried forward by the successive presidency.

The Raisina Dialogue, our flagship event which has now become a fixture on the calendars of many leaders across the globe, started 2024 with a flourish. Inaugurated by Greek Prime Minister H.E. Kyriakos Mitsotakis and Indian Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, it saw the participation of 20 foreign ministers; 24 Cabinet ministers; five former heads of states; nine heads of military commands; and 37 heads of think tanks from more than 25 countries. With over 100 sessions and nine associated events, Raisina Dialogue 2024 hosted over 3,600 participants from 120 countries. During the Dialogue, we published *Raisina Chronicles: India's Global Public Square*, a volume I had the pleasure of co-editing with Dr S. Jaishankar, to commemorate a decade of Raisina. It makes for a precious time capsule, containing essays and speeches from past participants, to capture the evolution of the Raisina Dialogue over the years.

ORF will continue to expand Raisina's scope and grow more branches across the globe in the hope of creating a truly global public square. We added a new global arena in March this year with the Raisina Roundtable @ Tokyo, where delegates discussed the Quad and the developments in the Indo-Pacific region.

Our Mumbai and Kolkata offices continued to do inventive work on numerous fronts. One of them is ORF Spark, our signature youth outreach programme that brings policy conversations across schools, colleges, universities, and other engagement spaces. It has so far reached over 17,000 young people across nearly 50 colleges and schools in the cities of Mumbai, Pune, Nagpur, and Vadodara.

It is the same recognition of the power of India's youth that was evident in our publication, *The ORF Foreign Policy Survey 2023: Young India and the Multilateral World Order*. The report highlighted some of the youth's most crucial concerns about the country's foreign policy.

ORF Kolkata has emerged as the foundation's data-centred policy research hub. Its publications covered vast policy domains and enriched key debates through their incisive data driven approach to problem solving. Building on our 5x series (our past ones include Maharashtra and Gujarat), our scholars in Kolkata put together the publication *Leap to the Himalayas: A 10-point Agenda for a 5x Nepal*, which presents a concise 10-point strategy for Nepal's transformation into a prosperous, resilient and globally connected nation. In *India Employment Outlook 2030: Navigating Sectoral Trends and Competencies*, the authors presented invaluable insights into the nation's evolving workforce, and identified emerging sectors and skills crucial for India's future growth.

Looking ahead, I am incredibly excited about some upcoming initiatives. One is in Armenia—the fastest-growing economy in Eastern Europe and Central Asia and an upcoming giant in the technology domain. This month, we will launch the Yerevan Dialogue that will discuss crucial issues like connectivity, climate change, economic instability, and the ethics of technological innovation.

Then there is Raisina Middle East in Abu Dhabi. This newest member of the Raisina family will be the venue to discuss global trade, investments, resilient and sustainable infrastructure, technology and innovation and fair and equitable energy transitions.

I am also thrilled to announce the launch of Sagarmanthan: The Great Oceans Dialogue, which we will host in partnership with India's Ministry of Ports, Shipping and Waterways in the business capital of India, Mumbai. Designed as an annual dialogue, Sagarmanthan will serve as a global platform for conversations on the blue economy, maritime logistics, ports, shipping and waterways sectors, critical minerals, diversified supply chains, the global maritime economy, and training and labour standards.

Even as we engage the future, I am reminded of ORF's foundational ethic of collaboration—of recognising that no country is truly an island and it is only in working together that we can attempt to solve the most urgent problems we confront. ORF has made it its mission to build global communities and shall continue to be led by this conviction.

For the year that was, I am grateful to the members of our Board, led by our Chairman Mr Sunjoy Joshi. Their wisdom and sagacity guided us immensely. I am thankful to my colleagues, the exceptional team at ORF, for their enthusiasm and energy. It infected our efforts and our stakeholders. And finally a note of gratitude to our partners for their unrelenting support and for believing in us.

I eagerly await what we do next as Team ORF.

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*We aim to shape the discourse around critical global challenges, ensuring that our research not only responds to immediate concerns but also anticipates the needs of tomorrow.*

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**Samir Saran**

President, Observer Research Foundation

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## RESEARCH

The Observer Research Foundation is dedicated to crafting innovative, evidence-based policy solutions that tackle the critical challenges confronting humanity. We are committed to high-quality research, bringing together a diverse array of interdisciplinary programmes and international collaborations. This approach not only stimulates meaningful debates but also generates insights that cross conventional disciplinary lines.

# Centre for Economy and Growth

## MISSION STATEMENT

Three major shifts will play out rapidly during the 2020s: The transition from villages to cities; the transition to low-carbon modes of production and consumption; and the transition to an increasingly digital world. The effects of these will be felt by all economic actors: Business, markets, and finance, as well as workers, consumers, and communities. To attain India's goal of becoming a US\$ 10-trillion economy by the end of the decade, these shifts will have to be harnessed effectively. The Centre for Economy and Growth conducts research, produces commentary, and provides platforms along the following major verticals—Urban Futures, the Green Transition, Climate Finance, Energy and Resource Security, International Trade, Investment Policy, and New Multilateralism. The Centre produces, deliberates on, and promotes policies to reconcile India's political and development aspirations with the imperative of sustainable and inclusive economic growth

## A QUICK VIEW OF THE PAST

Over the past year, our efforts have been centred on enabling a green transition that aligns with India's growth aspirations. We have focused on identifying high-potential sectors within the energy transition that can drive economic output and job creation. Our work has particularly emphasised strategies to attract increased investments into India, with a strong focus on mobilising private capital. Additionally, we have provided a nuanced understanding of the global climate action discourse, highlighting the perspectives and challenges of developing nations. Our aim has been to highlight the necessity for global partnerships to adapt and ensure equitable and inclusive transitions in these regions.

## Vision For the Future

Moving forward, the Centre for Economy and Growth is committed to furthering its efforts in understanding the interconnections between effective climate action and inclusive growth. Specifically, we will look to create roadmaps for ensuring a just and inclusive transition by focusing on means to accelerate high potential sectors of the energy transition including green hydrogen, energy storage, and decentralised renewable energy. We will also look to create an ecosystem to accelerate increased international private investment for climate action in India. Increasingly we will also look to mainstream the need to prioritise climate adaptation as a means to achieve the SDGs. Our ultimate goal is to shed light on the voices and regions that have thus far been marginalised in global policy discussions, thus, amplifying their significance.

## EVENTS

March 12, 2024

**G20 Carbon Pricing Experience and Global South Prospects**



The Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister (EAC-PM) hosted a closed door roundtable discussion on a report titled “Navigating Carbon Pricing: The G20 Experience and Global South Prospects”. The report is a jointly produced effort by the Observer Research Foundation and Environmental Defense Fund. The roundtable discussion was presided over by Dr. Bibek Debroy, Chairman, Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister (EAC-PM). Special Interventions were made by Mr. Ajay Seth, Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance and Mr. Abhay Bakre, Director General, Bureau of Energy Efficiency, Ministry of Power.

## PROMINENT PUBLICATIONS



### Financing Climate Tech in India: Insights from a Dialogue with Entrepreneurs and Investors

Priya Shah, Promit Mukherjee,  
and Urvi Tembay



### Financing Climate Tech in India: Insights from a Dialogue with Entrepreneurs and Investors

June 2023

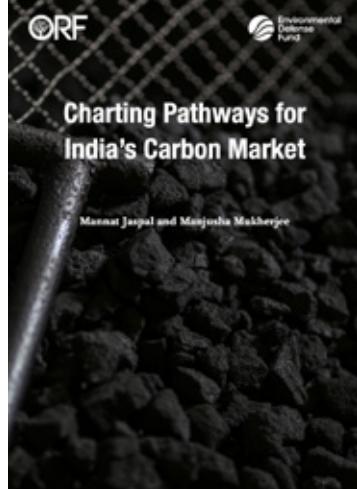


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### Charting Pathways for India's Carbon Market

Manav Jagat and Manjusha Mukherjee



### Charting Pathways for India's Carbon Market

June 2023



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### Occasional Paper



### From Risk to Resilience: Climate Vulnerability Assessments in India

August 2023



CLICK HERE

### Occasional Paper

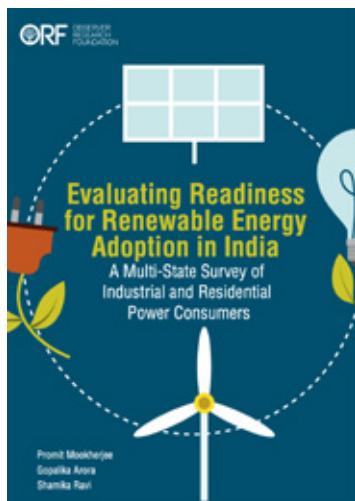


### India's G20 Leadership: Elevating Capacity Building for Sustainable Development Financing

September 2023



CLICK HERE



**Evaluating Readiness for Renewable Energy Adoption in India: A Multi-State Survey of Industrial and Residential Power Consumers**

November 2023



**A Green Bank for Global South Climate Finance**

December 2023



**Navigating Carbon Pricing: The G20 Experience and Global South Prospects**

March 2024



# Centre for New Economic Diplomacy

## MISSION STATEMENT

With its initial mandate to delineate economic diplomacy in a changing world, the Centre for New Economic Diplomacy (CNED) has attempted to craft a new approach towards post-pandemic recovery and resilience. On the other hand, there is an increasing acknowledgement among the global community that the business-as-usual models of development are proving counterproductive, and there is a need to carve out new development pathways for the global south. To do so, the Centre has attempted to build transnational partnerships and strengthen multi-stakeholder responses to the development challenges confronting the international community. It has primarily focused on geographies like South Asia, ASEAN, BIMSTEC, and Africa where development challenges emerge in various forms: either in the garb of “development deficit” or in the forms of environmental degradation and social costs of growth. International trade, connectivity, macroeconomics, labour markets, development finance, technology, climate change, health, food and nutrition, etc are some of the major domains of intervention of the Centre. Treating gender equality as a critical normative developmental concern with its intersectionality across other SDGs, CNED has built gender as a cross-cutting driver across its various verticals.

## A QUICK VIEW OF THE PAST

In 2023, a large component of CNED’s efforts went into handling the operational and research management of Think20, the think-tank engagement group under India’s G20 Presidency. CNED scholars and the extended research community produced 81 long-form papers (combining ORF and external peer-reviewed publications) and 247 short-form pieces under the various domains of CNED’s research interventions and organized more than 50 digital discussions, webinars and physical workshops and

panels. These also include edited volumes and policy briefs published under various task forces of the Think20. CNED scholars have worked on macroeconomic problems of the South Asian economies, models of inclusive growth in the BRICS, development partnerships for promoting SDGs, water governance including water pricing and national water policy for India, the intersectionality of climate change and SDGs, Indo-Pacific strategies of India and South Korea, AI governance in India, etc. CNED's report entailing recommendations for Nepal charting the path towards five times its present GDP has been an important research highlight of 2023-24. Other important research outputs include projecting the size of the Unified Payment Interface (UPI) market in India as the country traverses its path to attain a US\$5 trillion economy; an evaluation of the G20 countries in the context of their pandemic response by using the 'Sustainomics' framework; and the Capetown Chronicles (the publication outcome of the Capetown Conversation organized in association with the Thabo Mbeki Foundation, during November 2023) that delves into Africa's persisting development concerns amidst the lingering effects of the pandemic and the debt crisis. As evident in 2023-24, significant forums like Capetown Conversation and Think20 engagements aside, CNED's events and publications have broadened its development network and community engagement. This was made possible by engaging with both traditional and non-traditional stakeholders on key issues of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The partners with whom CNED scholars worked include IFPRI, UNFPA, Reliance Foundation, Coca-Cola, DASRA, BMGF, AFD and PWC, to name a few.

## **VISION FOR THE FUTURE**

At the heart of CNED's vision lies the creation of resilient economic systems through a holistic development approach. As we navigate the post-pandemic landscape, the Centre's future endeavours will be shaped by focusing on economic resilience, green recovery, and advancing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In 2023, the mid-year assessment of the SDGs suggests a scanty achievement of the avowed goals that are supposed to be achieved by 2030. Therefore, the question that looms large is: what after 2030? This question will drive CNED's endeavours. While the Centre remains dedicated to its established areas of expertise, it is also poised to adapt to emerging needs. On the other hand, geoeconomic developments during the G20 Leaders' Summit (e.g., India-Middle East- Europe Economic Corridor or IMEC) that can shape the global geopolitical narratives and development trajectories will need attention. Additionally, the Centre will delve into critical analyses of Regional and Free Trade Agreements, natural capital assessments and environmental market developments in the global south, new development cooperation models, reforming the

international financial architecture, digital financial inclusion, technology and society, gender and development in the global south including women's leadership climate change, food and nutritional security, global health, new institutional structures for global labour market, development and climate finance, etc. The focus will largely be on Africa and South Asia, both of which are climatically and economically vulnerable. The Centre also plans to conduct country-specific studies that will help developing and underdeveloped countries move to a higher growth trajectory. On the other side, CNED will also take up important issues and concerns relevant to India's aspiration of Viksit Bharat 2047—the ambitious vision to catapult the nation into a developed economy—and aspires to inform the policymakers, opinion-makers, and civil society and the citizenry about the steps to achieve the same.

## EVENTS



### August 28, 2023 **Harnessing India's Demographic and Gender Dividend**

The roundtable discussion emphasised the critical issue of youth unemployment and the growing gap between degrees and job opportunities, focusing on the shortage of skilled human

power rather than financial concerns. The conversation also highlighted the gendered nature of the care economy, where women disproportionately bear caregiving responsibilities, calling for strategies to promote inclusive growth. Additionally, the global impact of India's policy decisions was discussed, stressing the need to bridge research and policy gaps for more informed and effective outcomes.



**September 25, 2023  
Delivering Development:  
Journeys, Directions and  
Lighthouses**



Reliance Foundation, Observer Research Foundation, and United Nations India hosted the launch of RF-ORF publication, *Ideas, Innovation, Implementation* at 'Delivering Development: Journeys, Directions and Lighthouses' (UNGA, New York); during the UNGA78 week. It saw

the active participation of many esteemed delegates in this international event that was held in New York. This included Ruchira Kamboj, Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations; Shombi Sharp, UN Resident Coordinator – India; Jagannatha Kumar, CEO, Reliance Foundation, India; and Melissa Fleming, Under-Secretary-General for Global Communications, United Nations.

**November 29, 2023**

**Mangrove Symphony: Blending Blue Carbon, Climate Resilience & Sustainable Finance in the Indo-Pacific**



As part of the Sustainable Finance in the Indo-Pacific (SUFIP) Development Network (DN), a one-day hybrid workshop titled "Mangrove Symphony: Harmonizing Blue Carbon, Climate Resilience & Sustainable Finance in the Indo-Pacific" was held on November 29, 2023, at ORF Kolkata. The inaugural session set the tone by focussing on the critical relationship shared by climate change and mangroves. With a special focus on the Indo-Pacific, mangroves play a pivotal role as blue carbon reservoirs, making it imperative for the policymakers to explore innovative ways of financing their conservation and restoration.



December 21, 2023

### **Empowering People with Disabilities: Innovations and Policies for Inclusion**

This event served as a platform to delve into key themes surrounding education, employment, innovation, and assistive technologies, with the overarching aim of fostering an inclusive society where individuals with disabilities are recognised as equal contributors to national growth and innovation.

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February 2, 2024

### **Analysing global commitments on food security and diets: Implications for South Asian countries**

Observer Research Foundation in collaboration with the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) South Asia organised a regional consultation on 'Analysing Global Commitments on Food Security and Diets: Implications for South Asian Countries' on February 2, 2024. This discussion was attended by 50 participants such as government officials, academics, development partners, international organisations members, and members of civil society from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka. It sought to draw learnings from the experience of other nations to help us shape the final recommendations and also support the development of advocacy around SDG 2.



**February 19, 2024**

**Combatting disinformation online: EU and Indian perspectives (Delhi)-  
High-level EU India roundtable**

This event, held alongside the Raisina Dialogue 2024, was the fourth roundtable co-organised by the EU-funded Enhancing Security Cooperation In and With Asia (ESIWA) project and the Indian Observer Research Foundation (ORF), in partnership with the EU Delegation to India, focusing on “Combatting Disinformation Online: EU and Indian Perspectives.

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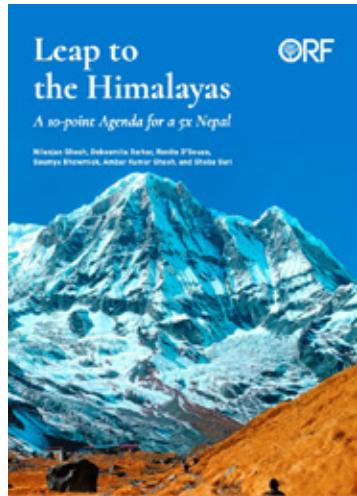
**March 8, 2024**

**Let's SWAG! | Salute Women Across Generations**

This event was held on International Women’s Day 2024. With eight women leaders; 15 colleges and universities; 160 enthusiastic participants; four hours of inspiring conversations and fast-paced workshops.



## PROMINENT PUBLICATIONS



**Leap to the Himalayas: A 10-Point Agenda for a 5x Nepal**  
October 2023

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**AI Governance in India: Aspirations and Apprehensions**

Pranjal Sharma, Anirban Saha,  
Amrita Basur, Prateek Tripathi



**AI Governance in India: Aspirations and Apprehensions**  
December 2023

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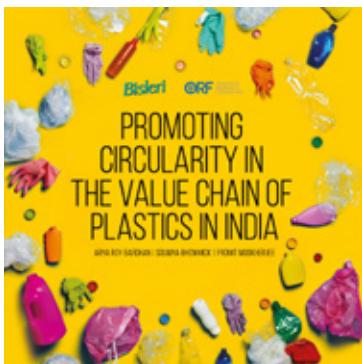
**Our Uncommon Future:  
Intersectionality of Climate Change  
and SDGs in the Global South -  
Lighthouse Cases and  
Learnings from India**  
July 2023

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**Pandemic Proofing the Future:  
Lessons from the G20's  
COVID-19 Response and  
Recovery**

November 2023



**Promoting Circularity in the  
Value Chain of Plastics in India**

February 2024



# Centre for Security, Strategy and Technology

## MISSION STATEMENT

Critical and emerging technologies are at the centre of contemporary international politics, determining the contours of conflict, contestation, and cooperation. As the far-reaching implications of these technologies intersect politics, economics, and society, nations are aggressively pursuing strategies to gain dominance and influence geopolitical landscapes. The rise of unilateral alliances underscores the search for tech-based partnerships among like-minded countries. Amidst this intense competition for technological supremacy, a critical gap in global governance has emerged, leaving a regulatory void.

India, as a major digital power in the Indo-Pacific and as a bridge between the Global North and Global South, has a pivotal role in shaping the trajectory of tech cooperation and regulation, even as it seeks to harness critical and emerging technologies. The Centre for Security, Strategy and Technology (CSST) at Observer Research Foundation (ORF) seeks to advance an Indian perspective on the evolving geotech landscape. Towards this, it regularly carries out robust, multi-disciplinary research and scholarship in critical and emerging technologies. Collaborating with governments, academia, think tanks, and the policy community, the CSST aims to foster multi-stakeholder discussions on harnessing technology for a positive future.

## A QUICK VIEW OF THE PAST

Over the past year, CSST continued its focus on critical and emerging technologies by conducting research and convening workshops, webinars and panel discussions around them. These covered themes such as the impact of emerging technologies on the evolution of warfare, state of global and regional cybersecurity cooperation,

emerging US-China tech competition and Artificial Intelligence and data protection regulations. In addition, the centre played a critical role in shaping Quad's technology cooperation through its participation in the Quad Tech Network and Quadrilateral Critical and Emerging Technology Forum. Besides, CSST faculty members actively engaged with their counterparts at a variety of international and national forums, including closed-door and public gatherings, to discuss the geopolitical dimensions of technology.

## VISION FOR THE FUTURE

In the upcoming year, the centre will sharpen its focus on emerging technologies by amplifying research on three dimensions: global competition, quest for governance, and impact on India. Besides, in line with its commitment to expand multi-stakeholder engagement, CSST will work with partner institutions to study previously unexplored domains such as cyber resilience, genetic engineering, semiconductors and quantum encryption. In addition, the centre aims to engage with new voices and partners to advance the stated vision of multi-disciplinary research.

## EVENTS

**July 18, 2023**

### **Momentous Changes: Defence Reforms, Military Transformation, and India's New Strategic Posture**

The event launched the ORF and S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies Special Report on India's defence modernisation. The launch of the report was accompanied by presentations from the contributing authors, including General MM Naravane (former Chief of Army Staff, India), Admiral Karambir Singh (former Chief of Naval Staff, India) and Lieutenant General Raj Shukla (Member, Union Public Service Commission).



August 28, 2023

### Cybersecurity Futures 2030: India Workshop

The workshop was co-hosted with the UC Berkeley Center for Long-Term Cybersecurity and the World Economic Forum's Centre for Cybersecurity. It undertook a scenario-planning exercise to inform cybersecurity strategic plans around the globe.

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December 7, 2023

### Exploring the Nexus of Cyber Espionage and Economics

ORF, in collaboration with the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, held a roundtable discussion focusing on safeguarding intellectual property (IP) amidst the growing threat of economic cyber-espionage. The panel discussion explored various dimensions of cyber espionage, looking at how nation-states leverage digital tools to gain economic advantages, influence global markets, and shape geopolitical landscapes.



## PROMINENT PUBLICATIONS



**Crime and Punishment in the Metaverse: A Primer**  
December 2023



**The Digital Silk Road in the Indo-Pacific: Mapping China's Vision for Global Tech Expansion**  
January 2024



**Future Warfare and Critical Technologies: Evolving Tactics and Strategies**  
February 2024



**Fixing Cyber Vulnerabilities: An Agenda for the Quad**  
February 2024



# Strategic Studies Programme

## MISSION STATEMENT

ORF's Strategic Studies Programme seeks to shape India's foreign policy and national security choices by deepening understanding and identifying policy interventions on contemporary Indian and global debates. The programme offers original analysis—a mix of theoretical, historical, and practical perspectives—through extensive academic research, interdisciplinary studies, data-driven analysis, and engagement with experts and policymakers. The programme's outreach activities, in the form of seminars and roundtables as well as collaborations with ORF's growing network of worldwide partners, serve to enhance and frame growing public debate, domestically and around the world, on India's power and its purpose.

## A QUICK VIEW OF THE PAST

In a world clouded with geoeconomic uncertainty and the sharpening of geopolitical contestation, the researchers of the Strategic Studies Programme continued to engage with a range of national and global stakeholders on key themes: the state of global (dis)order; institutional infirmities and normative shifts; increasing great power contestation; emergence of middle powers; evolving strategic contours in the Indo-Pacific, Eurasia, and Africa; maritime challenges and opportunities in and around South Asia; trends in India's neighbourhood; Indian foreign and national security policies; and the changing nature of warfare. The programme made important interventions in all the above mentioned areas by producing academic research, policy studies as well as via extensive outreach engagements.

## VISION FOR THE FUTURE

India is, today, unmistakably global as it anchors itself as a regional and global stakeholder. A fragmented world and the advent of new challenges call for a contemporary understanding of power transitions, key geographies, global institutions, and security threats, critical to inform choices for an evolving and emergent India.

In 2024-25, the Strategic Studies Programme will continue to track regional and global developments and trends that implicate India's capacities and options, now and in the future.

**Some key areas of focus include the following:**

A continuing global power transition mandates greater scrutiny of the US-China rivalry and its impact on Indian pursuit of its interests. Rediscovered geographies will likewise continue to be a key and expanding focus area, whether the broad Indo-Pacific and Eurasian spaces, or sub-regions in India's immediate and extended neighbourhood.

The programme will also delve into evolving traditional and non-traditional threats to India's national security amidst the changing nature of competition and warfare.

Our future research agenda aims to be forward-looking. India's role and responsibilities in the world will continue to derive from an understanding of the changes in the traditional global architecture as well as its own growing capacities.

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## EVENTS



**June 29, 2023  
A Conversation with  
H.E. Enrique A. Manalo,  
Secretary of Foreign  
Affairs, Republic of the  
Philippines**

ORF hosted Philippines Secretary of Foreign Affairs Enrique A. Manalo, who was in conversation with ORF research faculty, think tankers, academics, and former diplomats about the current foreign

policy discourse in the Philippines. The event tackled issues such as the Philippines handling of the US-China great power competition, tensions in the South China Sea and prospects and opportunities for stronger India-Philippines bilateral relations.



August 7, 2023

## China Chronicles: Economic uncertainty over the People's Republic



The Chinese economy, through which the Communist Party draws its legitimacy to rule the nation, has been under significant strain. The COVID-19 pandemic forced stringent lockdowns in China's cities, denting the country's growth story. China is also facing a looming demographic crisis after its population declined for the first time in 60 years in 2022. Youth unemployment is at an all-time high, presenting serious worries for the regime, while the United States and its partners are working to deny technology critical to China's development. This event—part of the China Chronicles series that explores the rise of China as a global player along multiple axes and its implications to provoke a more nuanced debate in India—featured perspectives from experts on the trajectory of the world's second-largest economy.

**NATIONAL SECURITY DIALOGUES**

**INTEGRATED THEATRE COMMANDS**  
IMPLICATIONS FOR INDIA'S MILITARY

AUGUST 21, 2023 | 3:00 PM IST

ORF Conference Room, 20, Rouse Avenue Institutional Area, New Delhi

This is an in-person event.

DISCUSSANTS	MODERATOR
ADMIRAL ARUN PRAKASH (RETD) Former Chief of Naval Staff	Lt GEN RAJ SHUKLA (RETD) Former Goc-CivC ARTRAC
AMRITA NAYAK DUTTA Senior Assistant Editor, Indian Express	AIR VICE MARSHAL ANIL GOLANI (RETD) Additional Director-General CAPS
PROF HARSH V PANT Vice President, ORF	

August 21, 2023  
National Security  
Dialogues | Integrated  
Theatre Commands:  
Implications for India's  
Military



This iteration of the ORF's National Security Dialogues—a monthly event to dissect the myriad themes of India's security sphere—unpacked, arguably, the Indian military's most significant reform of instituting theatre commands. With reports suggesting Integrated Theatre

Commands are on the anvil and institutionalisation imminent, this discussion was aimed at dissecting their import for India—from their history, requirements and need for the military, their intended benefits, implications for military administration, and challenges in implementation, bearing in mind the situation at both the northern and western borders.



November 20, 2023

**U.S.-India Post-2+2: A Conversation about Operationalising our Commitments with U.S. Ambassador to India Eric Garcetti**



This event was held on the heels of the 2023 US-India 2+2 dialogue, and featured a closed-door interaction with H.E. Eric Garcetti, Ambassador of the United States to India, against the backdrop of strengthening bilateral ties. The event delved into the operational aspects of the partnership based on the shared goals and collaborative endeavours between the two nations.



**December 11, 2023  
India-France Bilateral  
Track 1.5 Dialogue I  
Implementing the India-France Indo-Pacific  
Roadmap**

ORF and Paris-based think tank Fondation for la Recherche Stratégique (FRS) organised the inaugural edition of the India-France Bilateral Track 1.5 Dialogue. The Dialogue focused on Implementing the India-France

Indo-Pacific Roadmap on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the India-France Strategic Partnership. It involved top Indian and French experts including diplomats, academics, military personnel, and development actors coming together to reflect on the partnership and support the operationalisation of objectives laid out in the Roadmap. Both H.E. Thierry Mathou, Ambassador of France to India, and H.E. Jawed Ashraf, Ambassador of India to France, participated in the Dialogue.



February 5, 2024

**Address by Shri Amit Shah on Security Beyond Tomorrow: Forging India's Resilient Future & Launch of ORF Foreign Policy Survey**



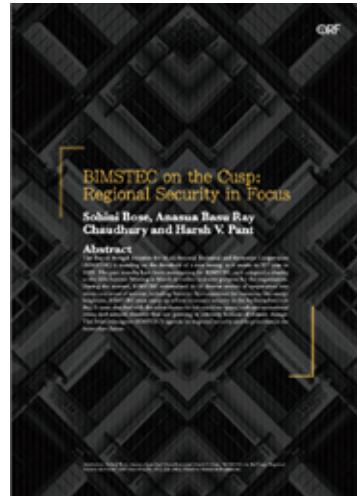
Union Home Minister Shri Amit Shah delivered an address on the theme 'Security Beyond Tomorrow: Forging India's Resilient Future'. The event also saw the launch of the *ORF Foreign Policy Survey 2023: Young India and the Multilateral World Order*.

## PROMINENT PUBLICATIONS



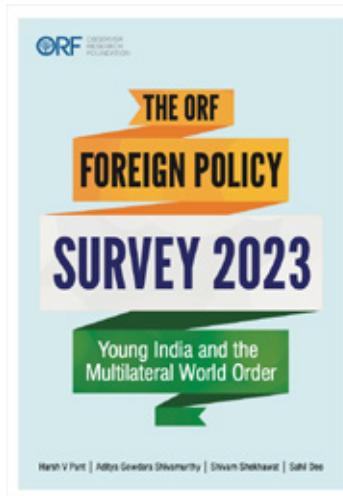
**Think20 India 2023: Critical,  
Constructive, Conclusive**  
August 2023

 CLICK HERE



**BIMSTEC on the Cusp: Regional  
Security in Focus**  
August 2023

 CLICK HERE



**The ORF Foreign Policy Survey  
2023: Young India and the  
Multilateral World Order**  
February 2024

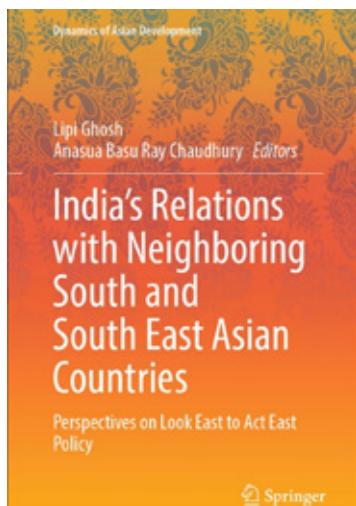
 CLICK HERE



**China's 'Three Warfares' Strategy in Action: Implications for the Sino-India Boundary, the Arctic, and Antarctica**  
February 2024



## EXTERNAL PUBLICATIONS



**India's Relations with Neighboring South and South East Asian Countries: Perspectives on Look East and Act East**  
November 2023



**India and the Gulf: Theoretical Perspectives and Policy Shifts**  
August 2023



# Neighbourhood Studies

## MISSION STATEMENT

The Neighbourhood Studies Initiative of the Strategic Studies Programme aims to promote research on the key pressing issues of India's Neighbourhood. As the world order transits from the West to the East and pivots around the Indo-Pacific region, India and its neighbourhood—entailing the regions of South Asia and the Indian Ocean—is gaining geostrategic importance. At the same time, it is a region in turmoil, which impacts India's security and stability, especially in India's periphery. India, which has traditionally maintained a strong presence among its neighbours for development, security, and strategic goals, is seeing an assertive and aggressive China increase its influence among its neighbours. This evolving competition has also incentivised other powers to assert themselves in the region, placing India and its neighbourhood in a geopolitical spotlight and calling upon a thorough understanding of the region.

## A QUICK VIEW OF THE PAST

The Neighbourhood Studies programme has been analysing developments in the region and their implications for India through commentaries and long-forms for ORF and in external publications. The scholars associated with the programme were very active in the print, electronic, and digital media offering their comments and analysis, raising the profile of ORF as well as taking forward the public discourse on the region. The team has also been delivering lectures and talks at premier institutions like Foreign Service Academy, various war colleges and other symposiums. In addition to organising a monthly discussion telescopied on a specific issue/country of the region, the scholars have interacted with visiting delegations and diplomats, acquainting them with India's stand on developments in the region.

## VISION FOR THE FUTURE

The political and security challenges have multiplied in the region. The violent overthrow of the government in Bangladesh has added to the complexities in India's strategic environment. The situation in Myanmar is spiraling out of control. Pakistan remains hostile and unstable. Tensions with India are likely to increase as the problems for the Pakistani regime multiply. The tidal wave of terrorism in Pakistan coupled with political instability and near economic collapse means India could have a huge crisis on its Western borders at a time when its eastern and northern borders (China) are also disturbed. Although the new government in Maldives has tempered its stand on India, the situation remains fraught. Afghanistan continues to present challenges, and despite short-term accommodation of India's interests, questions remain about the kind of policy India needs to pursue with that country. Amidst the flux in India's neighbourhood, the Neighbourhood Studies team will strive to highlight emerging trends and developments, analyse them to inform and suggest policy alternatives that protect and advance India's interests.

## EVENTS



and Kathmandu address their major irritants without giving in to their domestic politics and pressure? As India and Nepal undergo significant politico-economic and systemic transformations, how should both countries interact with each other? How can India and Nepal leverage the ongoing geopolitical jostling to further their mutually beneficial relationship?

June 26, 2023

**The Neighbourhood Scope  
Prachanda Paradigm:  
Revisiting India-Nepal  
Ris(h)ta**



Nepalese PM Pushpa Kumar Dahal's recent visit to India triggered immense interest in the trajectory of India-Nepal relations. Some have called the visit a mark of "new history," others have termed it an "old wine in a new bottle". How can New Delhi



**December 10-20, 2023**  
**Nepal's Young Leaders' Delegation**

On December 10-20, 2023, the Observer Research Foundation hosted the first edition of the interaction programme with Young Leaders from Nepal. The programme seeks to provide a platform for young Nepali leaders to gain insights into various undergoing transformations, and network and familiarise themselves with Indian policymaking circles and the civil society. This will deepen the cooperation between the peoples and government of the two countries and familiarise the delegates with India's economy, society, and polity.



**December 14, 2023**  
**Neighbourhood Scope**  
**The Durand Churn:**  
**Reassessing Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations**



Tensions are once again flaring up on both sides of the

Durand Line. Pakistan's decision to evict undocumented immigrants from the country and the resultant surge in militant attacks inside Islamabad has aggravated already fraught ties between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Taliban has also hardened its position by criticising the decision as 'unjust' and 'un-Islamic.' More than two years since the group returned to power in Afghanistan, Pakistan's expectations of reaping the dividends of an Islamic Emirate in its neighbourhood have come to naught with the current caretaker Prime Minister declaring how 'peace' in Afghanistan has become a nightmare for Pakistan.



January 30, 2024

### Neighbourhood Scope | Bangladesh: A Post-Election Assessment



Since being re-elected to power in 2009, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina has promoted political stability, cracked down on extremists, and ushered in an era of economic growth and development in Bangladesh. Her fourth consecutive win in January 2024 is also largely expected to lead the country on a similar trajectory of stability and growth. However, the next five years are not free of challenges. The opposition Bangladesh National Party (BNP) is provoking the masses to join street protests, the West has continued to criticise Bangladesh's democracy despite accepting the election results, and conflicts across the world have begun to impact the economy. Most importantly, Bangladesh will have to continue to balance between India, China, and other major powers as the Bay of Bengal region grows in prominence.

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February 6, 2024

### Interaction with Parliamentarians and Politicians from Sri Lanka (Invite Only)





March 21, 2024

### Neighbourhood Scope | Bhutan: A Quest for Peace and Prosperity



Bhutan and India enjoy a time-tested relationship “based on trust, goodwill, and mutual understanding.” However, Bhutan, a tiny landlocked nation between India and China, is at a crossroads. It is attempting to end its border disputes with its assertive and aggressive northern neighbour, China, while being sensitive to Indian security interests and concerns. At home, the country is confronting an economic crisis while its working population is migrating elsewhere. With multiple crises at the forefront, there is an increasing call within Bhutan to promote domestic reforms and end the border dispute with China while diversifying its economy, bilateral ties, and development partnerships.

## PROMINENT PUBLICATIONS



**Locating Sri Lanka in Biden's  
Indo-Pacific Strategy**  
August 2023



**Taliban 2.0: Stronger or Moving  
Towards Fragmentation?**  
September 2023



**U.S.-China Competition: Perspectives  
from South Asia**

Aditya Gowda Shivamurthy  
Editor



DECEMBER 2023

**U.S.-China Competition:  
Perspectives from South Asia**  
December 2023



**Afghanistan Under the Taliban: Enduring  
Challenges, Evolving Responses**

Shivam Shekharwal  
Editor



MARCH 2024

**Afghanistan Under the  
Taliban: Enduring Challenges,  
Evolving Responses**  
March 2024





## FORUMS

ORF hosts a wide array of public events, conferences, and dialogues each year, including some of the world's most renowned gatherings, such as the Raisina Dialogue and the Kigali Global Dialogue. This year, we have made significant progress by launching new initiatives such as the Energy Transition Dialogues and Cape Town Conversation. These events provide a crucial platform for influential policymakers from around the globe to convene, engage in meaningful discussions, and explore innovative ideas that can help shape a new world order and effectively tackle pressing global governance challenges.

# Kigali Global Dialogue 2023



The Kigali Global Dialogue brings together policymakers, academics, civil society, and the private sector from around the world to deliberate and devise solutions to critical sustainable development challenges facing the global community today. The three-day conference is co-hosted by the Observer Research Foundation, ORF America, the Rwanda Governance Board, the Rwanda Convention Bureau, and the South Africa Think Tank.

The 2023 KGD is an official outreach event of the G20 under India's Presidency. The platform is unique because it brings together delegates and speakers from more than 70 countries, it amplifies perspectives from across geographies, and more than half of our speakers are women. KGD 2023 was titled "Perspectives, Propositions, Pathways".

## KGD STARTUP BOOTCAMP

ORF and ORF America aim to foster innovation and promote sustainable development through technological advancements. As a part of these efforts, Kigali Startup Bootcamp was hosted alongside the Kigali Global Dialogue in June 2023. The Bootcamp brought together a diverse group of startups, investors, VCs, experts, and policymakers, providing a platform for meaningful exchanges of ideas and experiences.

## THEMATIC PILLARS

- Resource Equity: Panoramas Beyond Preclusion
- Traverse, Transform, Transcend: Reimagining Tech and Society
- Unleash: Gender-First Development
- Remonetise Development: A New Global Governance Framework
- Dispersed Globalisation: Propositions for A New World Order



Hon. Dr. Vincent Biruta, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Rwanda



Panel Discussion “The Next Gold Rush: Critical Minerals” featuring H.E. Jorge Quiroga, H. E Susana Malcorra, and Dhruva Jaishankar



Anil Sooklal, BRICS Sherpa and Ambassador-at-Large for Asia and BRICS, South Africa in conversation with Samir Saran



Spotlight Address delivered by Said Abass Ahamed, Ambassador and Special Envoy of the President of the African Union - H.E. Pres. Assoumani, Union of the Comoros



Studio session with H.E. Auxillia Mnangagwa, First Lady, Republic of Zimbabwe and Vlada Galan, Managing Director, Actum, United States



Startup Bootcamp at the Kigali Global Dialogue



Panel discussion "Whims and Wishes? Ideas that Can Change Our World" featuring Usta Kaitesi, H.E. Moussa Mara, H.E. Jorge Quiroga, Hiroyuki Akita, Velina Tchakarova, and Samir Saran

# Raisina Forum for Future of Diplomacy 2023



Launched in 2022, the Raisina Forum is an annual 10-day policy workshop, which brings together 35-40 young diplomats from across the world. It seeks to foster the skills required to lead in a rapidly changing world, and focuses on health, cyber governance, climate change and energy, new political geographies, instruments of development cooperation, and emerging models of multilateralism.

The objective of this Forum is to build a network of diplomats engaged with political and economic developments with the capacity to analyse emerging and complex global issues with an eye to their interlinkages across nations and regions, and with a focus on finding solutions in the Indo-Pacific and with partner countries and organisations that will influence the region and its journey. The second edition of the Forum took place from October 6-15, 2023, at the Taj Palace Hotel, Delhi. The cohort comprised 38 young diplomats from 34 countries.

Group photo with EAM S. Jaishankar



## SERVING PLANET, PEOPLE, AND PROSPERITY

OCTOBER 6 - 15, 2023 | NEW DELHI, INDIA



Samir Saran in conversation with H.E Jorge Quiroga



Amitabh Kant, G20 Sherpa, India sharing his insights on India's G20 Presidency

# RAISINA | FORUM FOR FUTURE OF DIPLOMACY 2023

SERVING PLANET, PEOPLE,  
AND PROSPERITY

6 - 15  
OCTOBER

JAPANGOV  
THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN



Samir Saran in conversation with EAM S. Jaishankar



Amb. Vinay Mohan Kwatra addressing the cohorts

# The Energy Transition Dialogues



The energy transition in the Global South represents a crucial journey towards establishing sustainable, low-carbon, and equitable energy systems. Hosted by ORF in partnership with GEAPP, The Energy Transition Dialogues convened domestic and international stakeholders to critically assess the narratives surrounding inclusive energy transitions. The event brought together thought leaders, policymakers, and experts from the private sector, financial services, and civil society to explore solutions for advancing a people-centered energy transition in the Global South, with a particular focus on India. Additionally, ORF produced policy-oriented knowledge products to inform and enrich the conference discussions. The Energy Transition Dialogues took place from November 1-3, 2023, at the Hyatt Regency in New Delhi, India.

## THEMATIC PILLARS

- Renewable Energy Proliferation
- Scaling Up Energy Efficiency
- Decarbonisation of Transport and Industry
- Utility Reforms
- Clean Energy Financing
- Aligning Energy Transitions with the SDG Agenda



Eric Garcetti, Ambassador of the United States of America to the Republic of India, delivers the Keynote Address



Panel discussion on “Pricing, Trade, and Investment: A Global Climate Alliance” featuring Yemi Osinbajo SAN, Jayant Sinha, Jesse Scott, Alistair Ritchie, Mahua Acharya and Pedro Martins Barata



Amitabh Kant, G20 Sherpa, Government of India and Jochen Flasbarth, Secretary, Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development, Germany in conversation with Sunaina Kumar, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, India



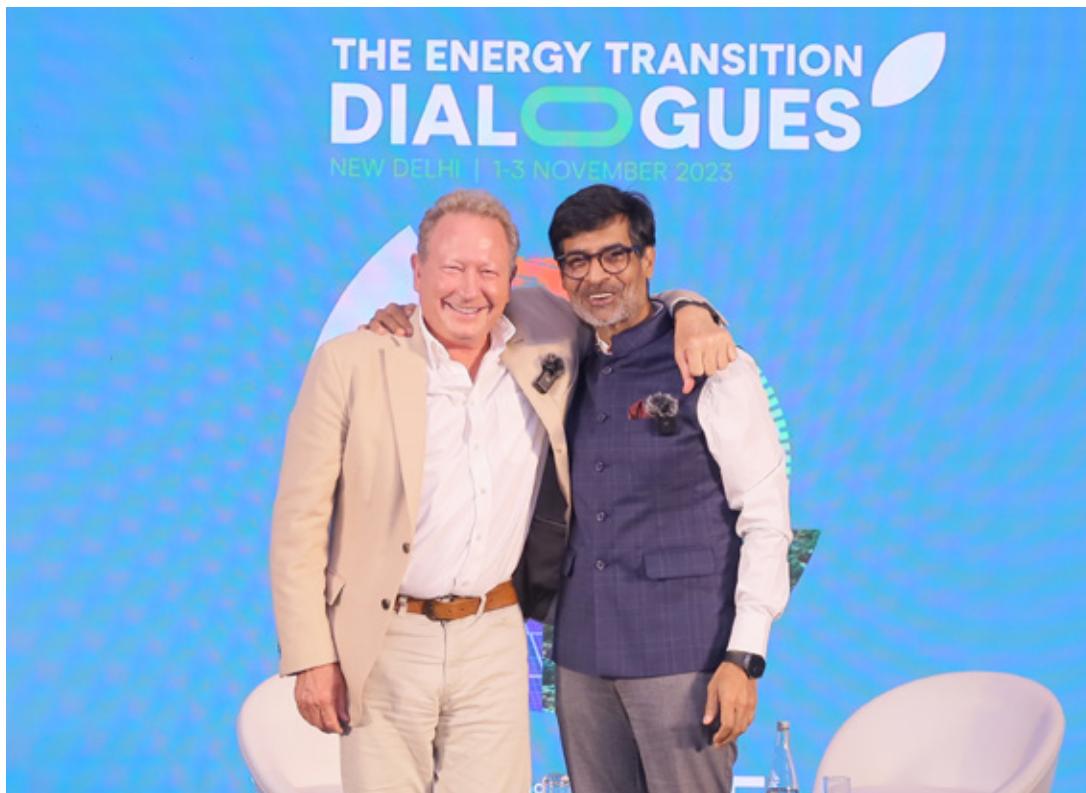
Hardeep Singh Puri, Minister of Petroleum and Natural Gas & Minister of Housing and Urban Affairs, Government of India, sharing his insights during a ministerial in conversation with Samir Saran



Panel discussion on “Building Resilience: Sustainability, Supply Chains, and Geopolitics” featuring Glauco Avelino Sampaio Oliveira, Kiat Sittheeamorn, Ana Miguel dos Santos, Ulka Kelkar and Sunjoy Joshi



Piyush Goyal, Minister of Commerce & Industry, Government of India, sharing his insights during a ministerial in conversation with Ashok Malik

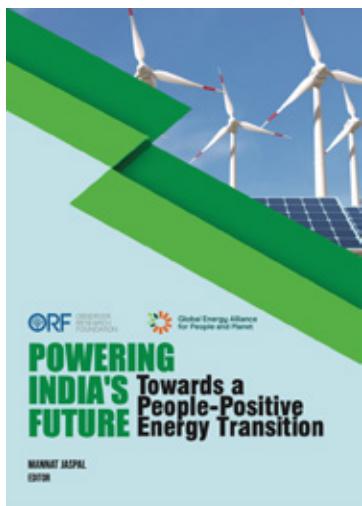


Andrew Forrest AO, Executive Chairman and Founder of Fortescue, Minderoo Foundation, and Tattarang, Australia in conversation with Samir Saran



"Reforming Global Finance: A New Multilateral Agenda" featuring N.K. Singh, Co-Convenor, Expert Group on Multilateral Development Bank Reforms, India and Jayant Sinha, Member of Parliament, Government of India

## PROMINENT PUBLICATIONS



### Powering India's Future: Towards a People-Positive Energy Transition

November 2023



### TIME TO VENTURE: Scaling up Transformational Climate Tech in India

November 2023



# Cape Town Conversation

CAPE TOWN  CONVERSATION



Africa is the continent where key global opportunities are playing out and where solutions are being discovered and partnerships forged to respond to the challenges of the present and future. As such, Africa is playing a central role in shaping both political and developmental narratives, policies, and new institutions in the global governance system.

The year 2023 is unique for international cooperation with South Africa holding the BRICS presidency and three developing countries in the G20 Troika—Indonesia (past presidency), India (current presidency), and Brazil (next presidency), with South Africa to follow. A key outcome of India's Presidency has been the introduction of the African Union as a permanent member of the G20. Now is the time to realise common futures, and to move beyond the binaries of North–South and for innovation and dialogue to flow. In this effort, India is a unique partner—it can share its developmental frameworks and bring voices from the developing world to shape international conversations.

Cape Town Conversation will serve as an annual South Africa-based platform that brings together key stakeholders and new voices. It is designed as a common platform where established and emerging actors convene for a global conversation on contemporary issues of global governance—identifying new challenges, ideating possible solutions, and shaping the world order of the future.

## THEMATIC PILLARS

- Women-Led Development
- Achieving Just Green Transition
- The Development Imperative
- Data for Development
- Making Multilateralism Deliver
- Reclaiming Peace: Building Bridges in a Turbulent World



Welcome address by Vincent Maphai, Deputy Chairperson, Thabo Mbeki Foundation



Keynote Address by Thabo Mbeki, Former President of South Africa



Anil Sooklal, BRICS Sherpa and Ambassador at Large for Asia and BRICS speaking at the in conversation “Critical and Inexorable: Scripting the Agenda for South Rising”



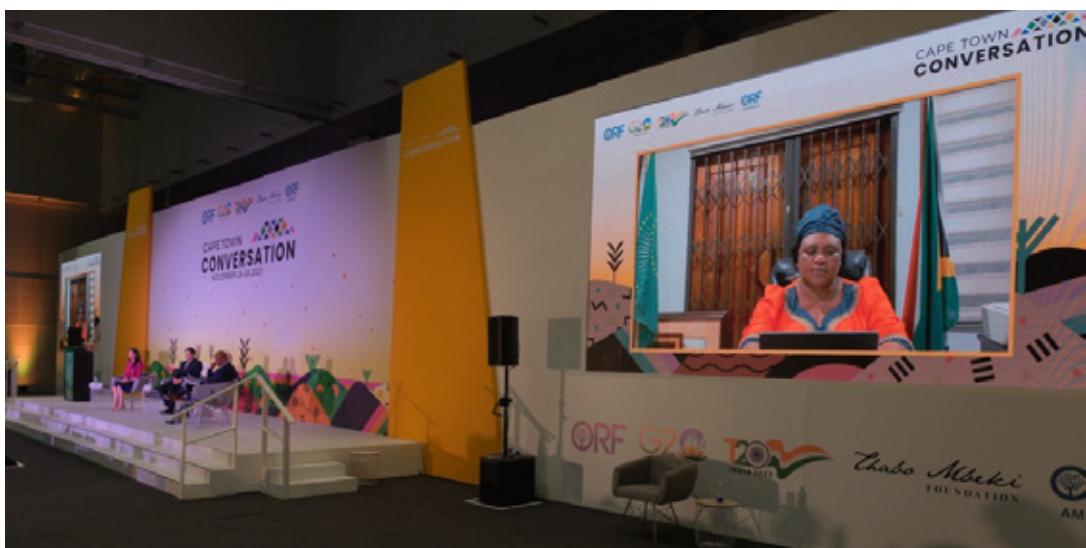
Keynote Address by Grace Naledi Mandisa Pandor, Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa



Panel discussion “Cross-Border Cooperation: Pathways to Conflict Resolution” featuring Ellen Sirleaf-Johnson, Mbaranga Gasarabwe, Ami Mpungwe, and Pauline Bax



Mohamed Nasheed, Former Speaker, People's Majlis and Former President, Maldives in conversation with Sunjoy Joshi



Virtual Ministerial Address by Thoko Didiza, Minister of Agriculture, South Africa

## PROMINENT PUBLICATIONS



**Cape Town Chronicles**

November 2023



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# Raisina Young Fellows Programme 2024

The Raisina Young Fellows Programme, also known as the Asian Forum on Global Governance (AFGG), is an annual ten-day policy workshop organised by the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), India. This year, the Forum included 53 young leaders from 31 different countries.

The participants came from diverse professional backgrounds such as academia, journalism, finance, think tanks, policymaking, lawyers, politicians and personnel from non-profit organisations. The 2024 edition of the Raisina Young Fellows Programme was held from February 19-29 at the Pullman Hotel, Aerocity, Delhi.



Group photo with the young fellows



Discussion with the young fellows



Shamika Ravi addressing the young fellows



Young fellows interaction



Discussions with the young fellows

# RAISINA DIALOGUE 2024



The Raisina Dialogue continues to be India's premier platform for global discourse on geopolitics and geoeconomics. As the world grapples with complex challenges, the 2024 edition of the Dialogue, themed "Chaturanga: Conflict | Contest | Cooperate | Create," brought together a diverse array of leaders, policymakers, and thinkers from across the globe to deliberate on the most pressing issues facing the international community. Hosted by the Observer Research Foundation in partnership with the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, this year's conference drew a remarkable attendance of 3,300 participants, including heads of state, cabinet ministers, local government officials, and thought leaders from the private sector, media, and academia. Over the course of 118 sessions, including an Inaugural Session, Valedictory Address, Ministerial Addresses, and various other discussions, participants engaged in deep dives into critical global issues.

The Dialogue featured an impressive lineup of speakers, such as Stephen Harper, Former Prime Minister of Canada; S. Jaishankar, Minister of External Affairs, India; and Børge Brende, President of the World Economic Forum. Demonstrating a strong commitment to gender parity, the event saw 1,184 women among its 3,300 attendees and 126 women among its 293 speakers, reflecting the Dialogue's inclusive approach to global discourse. The Raisina Dialogue 2024 not only reinforced its status as a leading global conference but also emphasized the need for collaborative efforts to navigate the complexities of the modern world, contributing meaningfully to shaping the future of international relations and global governance.

## THEMATIC PILLARS

- Tech Frontiers: Regulations and Realities
- Peace with the Planet: Invest and Innovate
- War and Peace: Armouries and Asymmetries
- Decolonising Multilateralism: Institutions and Inclusion
- The Post-2030 Agenda: People and Progress
- Defending Democracy: Society and Sovereignty



Inaugural Session with Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis



Opening remarks by EAM S. Jaishankar



Amitabh Kant sharing his insights during the panel discussion "New Fuels, New Aspirations and a New Security: How Energy Access Shapes the World"



Sunjoy Joshi delivers the Welcome Address



Amb. Vinay Mohan Kwatra delivers the Welcome Remarks



Panel discussion on “Looking Back, Looking Ahead: The Long Decade” featuring Matt Keogh, Maneesh Gobin Janaina Isabel Tewaney Mencomo, Shirley Ayorkor Botchwey, Peter Mandelson, and Samir Saran (L-R)



Panel discussion on “Her Road from India: From Boardrooms to Global Institutions” featuring Masuda Bhatti, Maggie Sprenger, Angela Rayner, Smriti Irani, Ayoade Alakija, and Shombi Sharp (L-R)



Ashwini Vaishnaw, Minister for Communications, Electronics & Information Technology and Railways, India in conversation with Virat Bhatia, Managing Director, Apple, India



Panel discussion on “A Tapestry of Truths: Can the Two Hemispheres Agree?” featuring Jorge Quiroga, Anwar bin Mohammed Gargash, January Yusuf Makamba, Hanke Bruins Slot, S. Jaishankar, and Palki Sharma (L-R)



Panel discussion on “From the Aegean Sea to the South China Sea: Responding to Maritime Sieges” featuring Adm. John C. Aquilino, Adm. R Hari Kumar, Adm. Nicolas Vaujour, Adm. Sir Ben Key, Air Marshal Robert Chipman, and Samir Saran (L-R)



(L-R) N.K. Singh, Chairperson of Fifteenth Finance Commission; Co-Convenor, Expert Group on MDB Reforms, India sharing his insights during the discussion on “Democratic Dollars: Can the Planet Reclaim the Bretton Woods?”

Kajsa Ollongren, Minister of Defence, Netherlands offering her perspective on the panel discussion on “The New Wars: Policies, Practices, and Preparation”

Piyush Goyal, Minister of Commerce and Industry, Consumer Affairs, Food and Public Distribution, Textiles, India and Leader of the House, Rajya Sabha, India in conversation with Ashok Malik



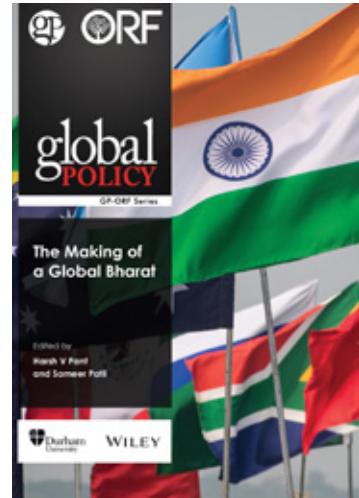
Panel discussion on “Northern Lights and Southern Sun: Sustainable De-risking and the New North-South Partnership” featuring Gabrielius Landsbergis, Lars Løkke Rasmussen, Ummu Salma Bava, Martin Eyjólfsson, Børge Brende, and Radhicka Kapoor (L-R)

## PROMINENT PUBLICATIONS



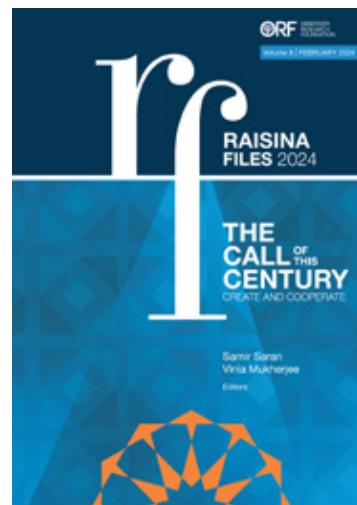
**Raisina Chronicles: India's Global Public Square**  
February 2024

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**The Making of a Global Bharat**  
February 2024

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**Raisina Files 2024 - The Call of This Century: Create and Cooperate**  
February 2024

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**Health Equity and Inclusion  
in Action**

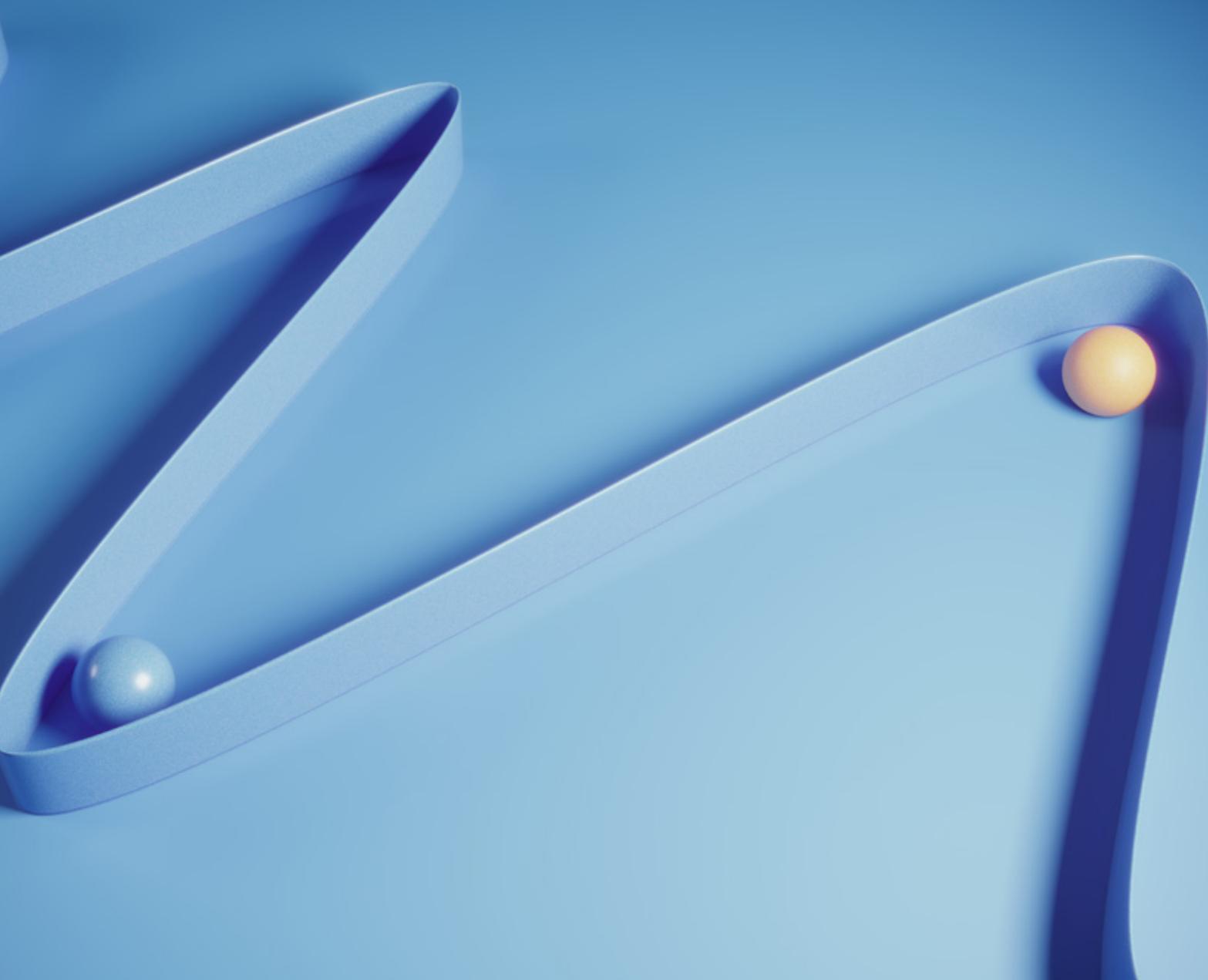
February 2024



**The India opportunity:  
Developing resilient electronics  
supply chains**

February 2024





## ANNEXURE

- ▶ **Events**
- ▶ **Publications**
- ▶ **Faculty**
- ▶ **Organogram**

# INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

## 2023

**MAY 08:** 3rd Meeting of the G20 Development Working Group Women-Led Development: Pillars of Progress by Strategic Studies Programme

**JULY 05-07:** Nature Solves: A New Framework for Our Sustainable Future by Strategic Studies Programme

**JULY 22:** Powering Progress in the Global South: Accessible and Affordable Clean Energy For All Strategic Studies Programme

**JULY 31-AUGUST 02:** T20 Mysuru Summit by Strategic Studies Programme

**SEPTEMBER 06-16:** Raisina Forum for Future of Diplomacy 2023 by Strategic Studies

**SEPTEMBER 22:** Delivering Development: Journeys, Directions and Lighthouses by CNED

**SEPTEMBER 23:** South Rising: Partnerships, Institutions and Ideas by Strategic Studies Programme

**NOVEMBER 01-03:** The Energy Transition Dialogue by Centre for the Economy and Growth

**NOVEMBER 12:** From G20 to COP28: Energy, Climate and Growth by Strategic Studies Programme

**DECEMBER 06:** Next Generation Global Shipping by Strategic Studies Programme

## 2024

**FEBRUARY 01-MARCH 15:** 2024 Raisina-IE Global Student Challenge by Strategic Studies Programme

**FEBRUARY 17:** Vishwa Mitra: Bridging Divides by Strategic Studies Programme

**FEBRUARY 19-29:** Raisina Young Fellows by Strategic Studies Programme

**FEBRUARY 21-23:** Raisina Dialogue 2024 by Strategic Studies Programme

**MARCH 06-07:** Raisina Roundtable @ Tokyo by Strategic Studies Programme

**MARCH 06-07:** India @ 100: Challenges and Opportunities in the Decade Ahead by Strategic Studies Programme

# ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSIONS

## 2023

**APRIL 4:** Red Scare: Europe's Divided Answers to China Tech by Strategic Studies Programme

**APRIL 26-27:** U.S.-India Relations: Perspectives on Regional and Geopolitical Developments by Strategic Studies Programme

**MAY 31:** The Neighbourhood Scope I Pakistan: Between Democracy, Dictators, and Devastation by Strategic Studies Programme

**JUNE 12:** Diplomat Diaries I Conversation with Ambassador Diana Mickevičienė by Strategic Studies Programme

**JUNE 26:** The Neighbourhood Scope I Prachanda Paradigm: Revisiting India-Nepal Ris(h)ta by Strategic Studies Programme

**JUNE 29:** Implications of Quantum Science on National Security by Strategic Studies Programme

**JULY 12:** National Security Dialogues I What is Comprehensive National Power? The Case of China by Strategic Studies Programme

**JULY 26:** Diplomat Diaries I Conversation with Ambassador Federico Salas Lotfe by Strategic Studies Programme

**JULY 31:** The Neighbourhood Scope I Debts, Geopolitics and Uncertainty: Beyond the Colombo Conundrum by Strategic Studies Programme

**AUGUST 17:** Closed-door Interaction with US Congress Members by Strategic Studies Programme

**AUGUST 17:** Interaction with the Asia-New Zealand Foundation Delegation by Strategic Studies Programme

**AUGUST 22:** ORF-USIP Closed Door Dialogue on the Myanmar Crisis by Strategic Studies Programme

**AUGUST 23:** The Neighbourhood Scope I Between Kabulistan and Khorasan: Two Years of the Taliban in Afghanistan by Strategic Studies Programme

**SEPTEMBER 29:** The Neighbourhood Scope I Decoding Dhaka 2023: Elections, Economy, and Geopolitics by Strategic Studies Programme

**OCTOBER 03:** Harmonising the "Fluid Mosaic" Towards Integrated Water Resource Management in India by Strategic Studies Programme

**OCTOBER 17:** A New Dawn in the Archipelago: Anticipations and Expectations from Muizzu's Maldives by Strategic Studies Programme

**OCTOBER 26:** Global Conflicts & Lessons for India's Airpower by CSST

**NOVEMBER 06:** Interaction with delegation from Center for Naval Analyses by Strategic Studies Programme

**DECEMBER 04:** Navigating Green Horizons: The Evolving Political Economy of Trade Routes by Strategic Studies Programme

**DECEMBER 07:** ORF X ASPI I Exploring the Nexus of Cyber Espionage and Economics by CSST

**DECEMBER 08:** Challenges and Opportunities in Disarmament, Arms Control and Non Proliferation by CSST

**DECEMBER 13:** Roundtable on United Nations Security Council Reforms by Strategic Studies Programme

**DECEMBER 14:** The Durand Churn: Reassessing Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations by Strategic Studies Programme

**DECEMBER 15:** Ukrainian Perspectives by Strategic Studies Programme

**DECEMBER 21:** Empowering People with Disabilities: Innovations and Policies for Inclusion by SDG Programme

## 2024

**JANUARY 25:** In Conversation | New Orientation for Reformed Multilateralism by Strategic Studies Programme

**JANUARY 30:** Panel Discussion: Bangladesh: A Post-election Assessment by Strategic Studies Programme

**FEBRUARY 20:** The Long View from DC: The India-US Partnership by Strategic Studies Programme

**FEBRUARY 21:** Combatting Disinformation Online: EU and Indian Perspectives by Technology, economy & society

**FEBRUARY 29:** India – South America Ties | Lucrative Pathways, Limitless Possibilities: A Discussion with Jorge-Tuto Quiroga, former President of the Republic of Bolivia by Strategic Studies Programme

**MARCH 12:** Interaction with H.E. Mr. Demeke Atnafu, Ethiopian Ambassador to India by Strategic Studies Programme

**MARCH 21:** Bhutan: A Quest for Peace and Prosperity by Strategic Studies Programme by Strategic Studies Programme

# TALKS

## 2023

- APRIL 04:** ORF-NUJS T20 Youth Engagement | Home and the World: India and the G20 by Strategic Studies Programme
- APRIL 13:** A Global Digital Health Framework for Connected Healthcare by Strategic Studies Programme
- APRIL 17:** National Security Implications of the Current Energy Crisis by Strategic Studies Programme
- APRIL 18:** BP Energy Outlook 2023 by Strategic Studies Programme
- APRIL 20:** Hindu-ORF Policy Conclave 2023 by Strategic Studies Programme
- APRIL 20-21:** India, Korea in the Emerging Dynamics of the Indo-Pacific by Strategic Studies Programme
- APRIL 28:** Development Cooperation as an Instrument of Diplomacy by CNED
- MAY 22:** Down to the Nanometre: The US-China Chip Race by Strategic Studies Programme
- MAY 30:** Critical Technology Competition in the Indo-Pacific by Strategic Studies Programme
- MAY 30:** Data for Development: Actions, Experiences, Lessons by CNED
- JUNE 14:** Interaction with Mr. ITO Teruyuki, Director General, South Asia Department Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) by Strategic Studies Programme
- JUNE 21:** Realigning Green Transitions: An Indian Perspective on COP28 and the Global Stocktake by Strategic Studies Programme
- JUNE 29:** A Conversation with H.E. Enrique A. Manalo, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Republic of the Philippines by Strategic Studies Programme
- JUNE 30:** Friday Afternoon Talk | Bangladesh and India: Shaping the future of the Indo-Pacific by Strategic Studies Programme
- JULY 01:** Live Discussion | The Road from Moscow by Strategic Studies Programme
- JULY 13:** India-South Korea Strategic Partnership in the Indo-Pacific: The Way Forward by Strategic Studies Programme
- JULY 18:** Panel Discussion | Half the Sky: Catalysing Women-Led Development by Strategic Studies Programme

**JULY 18:** A Conversation with H.E. Mr. Jorge Taiana, Minister of Defence of Argentina by Strategic Studies Programme

**JULY 27:** Unpacking Germany's China Strategy by Strategic Studies Programme

**AUGUST 07:** China Chronicles: Economic uncertainty over the People's Republic by Strategic Studies Programme

**AUGUST 12:** Rising together: Youth aspirations for a sustainable India by Strategic Studies Programme

**AUGUST 16:** Perceptions of Bangladesh in the US and the Jamaat-e-Islami problem by Strategic Studies Programme

**AUGUST 21:** National Security Dialogues | Integrated Theatre Commands: Implications for India's Military by Strategic Studies Programme

**AUGUST 24:** Eastern European Perspectives: A Conversation with Linas Kojala by Strategic Studies Programme

**SEPTEMBER 15:** The India-France Development Partnership: Pathways for Agenda 2030 in the Indo-Pacific by CNED

**SEPTEMBER 19:** Interaction with USD (R&E) Ms. Heidi Shyu by Strategic Studies Programme

**SEPTEMBER 21:** National Security Dialogues | China's new 10-dash line in the South China Sea: Implications for India by Strategic Studies Programme

**SEPTEMBER 29:** Climate Change, Development, and the Natural Capital Conundrum: The Role of Economics by Strategic Studies Programme

**OCTOBER 06:** A Conversation with Jorge Quiroga, former President of Bolivia by Strategic Studies Programme

**OCTOBER 09:** A Decade of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in South Asia by Strategic Studies Programme

**OCTOBER 09:** Inclusive Futures, Impactful Pathways | Enhancing Women Participation and Leadership by Strategic Studies Programme

**OCTOBER 31:** Diplomat Diaries | Conversation with Ambassador Dimitrios Ioannou by Strategic Studies Programme

**NOVEMBER 01:** US Elections in 2024: Good News for India, Frustrating for American Democracy by Strategic Studies Programme

**NOVEMBER 20:** Diplomat Diaries | Conversation with H.E. Ina Hagniningtyas Krisnamurthi, Amb of Indonesia to India by Strategic Studies Programme

**NOVEMBER 20:** US-India Post-2+2: A Conversation about Operationalising our Commitments with U.S. Ambassador to India Eric Garcetti by Strategic Studies Programme

**NOVEMBER 29:** Mangrove Symphony: Blending Blue Carbon, Climate Resilience & Sustainable Finance in the Indo-Pacific" by National Security by Strategic Studies Programme

**DECEMBER 01:** Urban Frontiers: Pathways to Resilient, Inclusive and Equitable Cities by Geoeconomics Programme

**DECEMBER 02:** Climate Change and Health: The Role of Academic Institutions and Future Research Directions by CNED

**DECEMBER 07:** Diplomat Diaries | Conversation with H.E. Kenneth Félix Haczynski da Nóbrega, Ambassador of Brazil to India by Strategic Studies Programme

**DECEMBER 10-20:** Nepal Young Leaders' Delegation by Strategic Studies Programme

**DECEMBER 11:** India-France Bilateral Track 1.5 Dialogue | Implementing the India-France Indo-Pacific Roadmap by Strategic Studies Programme

**DECEMBER 12:** All-Weather Friendship: Assessing China-Pakistan Defence Relations by Strategic Studies Programme

**DECEMBER 14:** Interaction with delegation from National Defence College, UAE by Strategic Studies Programme

**DECEMBER 22:** Trafficked Children, Borders, Crime by Technology, economy & society

## 2024

**JANUARY 9:** ORF SPARK Dialogue 2024 by Geoeconomics Programme

**JANUARY 10:** A Conversation with Joe Hackett, Secretary General, Department of Foreign Affairs, Ireland by Strategic Studies Programme

**JANUARY 15:** Democracy and Conflict - Opposites or Complements? by Centre for Economy & Growth

**JANUARY 16:** Interaction with the Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW), Poland by Strategic Studies Programme

**JANUARY 17:** ORF-Prospect Foundation Interaction by Strategic Studies Programme

**JANUARY 18:** Interaction with Dr. Huo Wenle, Assistant Professor at Center for South Asian Studies, Shandong University, China by Strategic Studies Programme

**JANUARY 18:** Interaction with Arctic expert Andreas Østhagen by Strategic Studies Programme

**JANUARY 22:** Beyond the West: BRICS as a Catalyst for South-South Cooperation by CNED

**JANUARY 25:** Interaction with USIP by Strategic Studies Programme

**JANUARY 30:** Interaction with Stimson Center by Strategic Studies Programme

**JANUARY 31:** Interaction with the United States Institute of Peace by Strategic Studies Programme

**FEBRUARY 01:** Interaction with Dr. Arzan Tarapore I “Non-combatant deterrence: Why India should deter conflict over Taiwan” by Strategic Studies Programme

**FEBRUARY 02:** Analysing Global Commitments on Food Security and Diets: Implications for South Asian Countries by CNED

**FEBRUARY 05:** Interaction with the Thai Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Senate by Strategic Studies Programme

**FEBRUARY 05:** Address by Shri Amit Shah on Security Beyond Tomorrow: Forging India’s Resilient Future by Strategic Studies Programme

**FEBRUARY 06:** Interaction with Parliamentarians and Politicians from Sri Lanka by Strategic Studies Programme

**FEBRUARY 06:** Interaction with the North European Open Science and Education Consortium delegation by Strategic Studies Programme

**FEBRUARY 09:** #PreventCancerTogether: Discussing Cancer in Public Policy by SUFIP Development Network

**FEBRUARY 17:** Shared Seas, Shared Goals: Steering the Indo-Pacific Journey by Strategic Studies Programme

**FEBRUARY 20:** Panama I Gateway to Latin America - A Conversation with Janaina Tewaney, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Panama by Strategic Studies

**MARCH 8:** Let’s SWAG! I Salute Women Across Generations by Strategic Studies Programme

**MARCH 12:** Interaction with SIGNAL Group, Israel by Strategic Studies Programme

## BOOK DISCUSSIONS

### 2023

**JULY 18:** ORF-RSIS Special Report Launch | Momentous Changes: Defence Reforms, Military Transformation, and India's New Strategic Posture by Strategic Studies Programme

**JULY 24:** The Next New: Navigating the Fifth Industrial Revolution by Strategic Studies Programme

**SEPTEMBER 12:** India and the Gulf: Theoretical Perspectives and Policy Shifts by Strategic Studies Programme

**SEPTEMBER 13:** Pathways to Equality: Advancing Gender Goals in the G20 by Strategic Studies Programme

**OCTOBER 27:** Empowering Emerging Economies: G20 Presidencies in a Shifting World Order by Strategic Studies Programme

**NOVEMBER 03:** India's Secret War: BSF and Nine Months to the Birth of Bangladesh by CNED

**DECEMBER 15:** Book Discussion | The Next New: Navigating the Fifth Industrial Revolution (HarperCollins, 2023) by Pranjal Sharma by Centre for New Economic Diplomacy

### 2024

**JANUARY 03:** Why Bharat Matters - A Conversation with Dr. S. Jaishankar by Strategic Studies Programme

**JANUARY 21:** Book Discussion | India's Moment: Changing Power Equations around the World by Strategic Studies Programme

**FEBRUARY 07:** Book Discussion: Anger Management: The Troubled Diplomatic Relationship between India and Pakistan by Strategic Studies Programme

**MARCH 12:** Navigating Carbon Pricing: The G20 Experience and Global South Prospects by Geoeconomics Programme

**MARCH 28:** Transformation- Emergence of Bangladesh and Evolution of India-Bangladesh Ties by Strategic Studies Programme

**APRIL 05:** One Stop by Neha Mehta by Technology, Economy and Society

# MONDAY MORNING MEETINGS

## 2023

**APRIL 03:** Three decades of local governments in India by Niranjan Sahoo

**APRIL 10:** Showcasing India's Pashu Sakhi Model: The Rising Pipeline of Women Community Animal Health Service Providers by Arundhatie Biswas

**APRIL 17:** Bridging the SDG Financing Gap: A 10-point Agenda for the G20 by Soumya Bhowmick

**APRIL 24:** Towards a Values-based Order: Deciphering Biden's Sri Lanka Policy by Aditya Gowdara

**May 01:** India must secure its relationship with Russia by Aditya Bhan

**MAY 08:** Understanding India's approach towards a Taliban-ruled Afghanistan by Shivam Shekhawat

**MAY 15:** Beyond Cyber Fires and Ukraine: PLASFF impact on Sino-Indian Conventional War by Kartik

**MAY 22:** The Quad's Counterterrorism Working Group: A Blueprint by Kabir Taneja

**MAY 29:** Biometric Data and Surveillance: Current Uses and Ethical Concerns by Shravishtha Ajaykumar

**JUNE 05:** Size of the Digital Payments Market in India under various GDP growth scenarios by Renita D'Souza

**JUNE 12:** Cyber Mercenaries: A Call to Action for the Quad by Trisha Ray

**JUNE 19:** Functioning of the Sixth Schedule in Northeast region: A Review by Ambar Ghosh

**JUNE 26:** Indian Ocean Seabed Warfare and the European Harbinger by Samuel Bashfield

**JULY 03:** The Digital Silk Road in the Indo-Pacific: Mapping China's Vision for Global Tech Expansion by Sameer Patil & Prithvi

**JULY 10:** National Security Implications of Quantum Science by Prachi Mishra

**JULY 17:** China's Three Warfares Strategy: The Sino-Indian Boundary, the Arctic and Antarctica by Kartik

**JULY 24:** Re-Adjusting Priorities: Dynamics of Visegrad Four- European Union Relations by Ankita

**JULY 31:** Treading a Pragmatic Path: Russia in Afghanistan post 2021 Taliban Takeover by Shivam

**AUGUST 07:** Health Equity and Inclusion in Action by Oommen Kurian

**AUGUST 14:** Cybersecurity Threats from Online Gaming by Prateek Tripathi

**AUGUST 21:** The Light at the End of the Tunnel: Tracking Changes in Indian Infrastructure Development near the Line of Actual Control by Jack Swartz

**SEPTEMBER 04:** The COVID-19 Response and Recovery: Tracking the G20's Performance by Oommen Kurian & Debosmita Sarkar

**SEPTEMBER 11:** Governing Urban Wetlands in India: A Must for India's Sustainable Urbanisation by Snehashish Mitra

**SEPTEMBER 18:** Biden's Cyber Security Policy: Preparing for a Secure Cyberspace by Sameer Patil & Vivek Mishra

**SEPTEMBER 25:** Creating Collaborative Pathways for Securing Critical Mineral Supply Chains by Urvi Tembey

**OCTOBER 09:** Trilateralism in India-France Relations in the Indo-Pacific by Shairee Malhotra

**OCTOBER 16:** Navigating the Indo-Pacific: Development Cooperation as a Diplomatic Tool by Swati Prabhu & Pratnashree Basu

**OCTOBER 23:** Elected Women Representatives in India: The Unsung Change-makers of Local Governments by Sunaina Kumar & Ambar Ghosh

**OCTOBER 30:** The Web of Biosafety in India by Shravishtha Ajaykumar

**NOVEMBER 06:** The ASEAN's role in the Myanmar Crisis by Premesha Saha

**NOVEMBER 20:** AI Ambitions: Examining the G20's National AI Strategies by Amoha Barsur

**NOVEMBER 27:** Breaking Water: Reimagining Water Responsive Policies in India by Arundhatie Biswas

**DECEMBER 04:** Making Sense of Russia's Outreach to Bangladesh by Aleksei Zakharov

**DECEMBER 11:** The Challenges and Complexities in Muizzu's Maldives by Aditya Gowdara Shivamurthy

**DECEMBER 18:** Beyond the Byline of Bangladesh's Indo-Pacific Outlook: Deliberating the Continuity and Change by Sohini Bose

## 2024

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**JANUARY 08:** Dragon in the Maghreb: An Overview of Chinese Loans and Investments in North Africa by Prithvi Gupta

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**JANUARY 15:** India's Water-Energy-Food Nexus: A Precarious Balance by Shoba Suri

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**JANUARY 22:** An Examination of India's Multilateral Commitment towards Gaza: The Case of UNRWA Financing by Angad Singh Brar

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**JANUARY 29:** The "Indian Dilemma" of Chinese Enterprises by Antara Ghosal

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**FEBRUARY 05:** How China is Building on its Defence Diplomacy by Kalpit Mankikar

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**FEBRUARY 12:** Assessing the Military Applications of Generative AI by Amoha Basrur

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**FEBRUARY 19:** Status of BRI in Nepal and What it means for China's Influence in the Country by Shivam Shekhwat

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**FEBRUARY 26:** Quantum Computers: Current Scenario and Future Prospects by Prateek Tripathi

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**MARCH 04:** Time for a G20 Development Bank to Resurrect SDGs by Malancha Chakrabarty

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**MARCH 11:** Mapping the Arc of US Support to Ukraine: Political, Economic and Strategic Significance by Vivek Mishra

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**MARCH 18:** Digital Dreams, Real Challenges: Key Factors Driving India's AI Ecosystem by Anulekha Nandi

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## BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS

Momentous Changes: Defence Reforms, Military Transformation, and India's New Strategic Posture | Rajeswari Pillai Rajagopalan, Nishant Rajeev, **July 2023**

Our Uncommon Future: Intersectionality of Climate Change and SDGs in the Global South | Nilanjan Ghosh, Aparna Roy, **July 2023**

Think20 India 2023: Critical, Constructive, Conclusive | Shairee Malhotra, Harsh V. Pant, **August 2023**

Accelerating Global Health: Pathways to Health Equity for the G20 | K. Srinath Reddy, Nitya Mohan Khemka, **September 2023**

Ideas, Innovation, Implementation: India's Journey Towards the SDGs | Shoba Suri, Vanita Sharma, Jayashree B, Anirban Sarma, **September 2023**

Leap to the Himalayas: A 10-point Agenda for a 5x Nepal | Soumya Bhowmick, Shoba Suri, Renita D'souza, Debosmita Sarkar, Ambar Kumar Ghosh, Nilanjan Ghosh, **October 2023**

Converging Paths: Global Governance for Climate Justice and Health Equity | Aparna Roy, Vikrom Mathur, **October 2023**

Time to Venture: Scaling up Transformational Climate Tech in India | Priya Shah, Mannat Jaspal, **October 2023**

Powering India's Future: Towards a People-Positive Energy Transition | Mannat Jaspal, **November 2023**

Evaluating Readiness for Renewable Energy Adoption in India: A Multi-State Survey of Industrial and Residential Power Consumers | Shamika Ravi, Gopalika Arora, Promit Mookherjee, **November 2023**

Pandemic-Proofing the Future: Lessons from the G20's COVID-19 Response and Recovery | Soumya Bhowmick, Shoba Suri, Oommen C. Kurian, Debosmita Sarkar, **November 2023**

Pandemic-Proofing the Future: Lessons from the G20's COVID-19 Response and Recovery | Oommen C. Kurian, Soumya Bhowmick, Debosmita Sarkar, Shoba Suri, **November 2023**

Cape Town Chronicles | Lukhanyo Neer, Malancha Chakrabarty, **November 2023**

The G20 Digital Agenda: Cross-Presidency Priorities | Sebastian Buckup, Anirban Sarma, **November 2023**

Empowering the Global South: G20 Presidencies of Key Emerging Economies in a Shifting World Order | Vidhi Gupta, Roli Shrivastava, Anubha Bhonsle, Soumya Bhowmick, Arya Roy Bardhan, Asad Ali, Tanika Chandna, **November 2023**

Taking a strategic view of telecom networks in Indo-Pacific | Sameer Patil, **December**

Cyber Mercenaries: The Failures of Current Responses and the Imperative of International Collaboration | Fitri Bintang Timur, **December 2023**

The Rise of Global South: New Consensus Wanted | Samir Saran, Karim El Aynaoui, **December 2023**

The ORF Gender Compendium: India's G20 Presidency and Women-Led Development | Arundhatie Biswas, **December 2023**

Confronting the Climate Crisis: Pathways to Urban Resilience | Dhaval Desai, **December 2023**

Harmony in the Concrete Jungle: Creating Inclusive and Equitable Cities | Dhaval Desai, **January 2024**

The ORF Foreign Policy Survey 2023: Young India and the Multilateral World Order | Sahil Deo, Shivam Shekhwat, Aditya Gowdara Shivamurthy, Harsh V. Pant, **February 2024**

Sustainability and Resilience in the Indian Health System | Shoba Suri, Oommen C. Kurian, Mona, **February 2024**

Health Equity and Inclusion in Action | James Snodgrass, Oommen C. Kurian, **February 2024**

Raisina Chronicles: India's Global Public Square | Samir Saran, S. Jaishankar, **February 2024**

Raisina Files 2024 - The Call of This Century: Create and Cooperate | Vinia Mukherjee, Samir Saran, **February 2024**

Stronger Together: A Compendium of Stories of Courage and Resilience During Disasters | Mishel Mohan, Vanita Sharma, Jayashree B, Vikrant Mahajan, Senthilkumaran Krishnan, **February 2024**

Promoting Circularity in the Value Chain of Plastics in India | Promit Mookherjee, Soumya Bhowmick, Arya Roy Bardhan, **February 2024**

The India opportunity: Developing resilient electronics supply chains | Soumya Bhowmick, Aditya Bhan, Amoha Basrur, Jhanvi Tripathi, **February 2024**

Regional Integration in the Indo-Pacific: Connectivity, Cooperation, and New Supply-Chain Linkages | Anita Prakash, **February 2024**

Navigating Carbon Pricing: The G20 Experience and Global South Prospects | Holly Pearen, Alex Hanafi, Aurora Silitonga, Mannat Jaspal, Manjusha Mukherjee, Darcy Jones, Pedro Martins Barata, **March 2024**

## GP-ORF SERIES

Livable Cities for the Future | H.E.  
Kevin Kelly, Joe Hackett, **August 2023**

Pathways to Equality: Advancing  
Gender Goals in the G20 | Nitya  
Mohan Khemka, Vaishali Nigam Sinha,  
**September 2023**

Anchoring the Bay of Bengal in a Free  
and Open Indo-Pacific | Harsh V. Pant,  
Anasua Basu Ray Chaudhury, **January**  
**2024**

Future Warfare and Critical Technologies:  
Evolving Tactics and Strategies | Sameer  
Patil, Rajeswari Pillai Rajagopalan,  
**February 2024**

The Making of a Global Bharat |  
Sameer Patil, Harsh V. Pant, **February**  
**2024**

## ISSUE BRIEFS

India's Moment in the Geopolitics of Oil  
| Hari Seshasayee, **April 2023**

India at the Centre of the Indian Ocean  
Submarine Cable Network: Trusted  
Connectivity in Practice | Kaush Arha,  
**April 2023**

US-Pakistan Deal on the Taliban |  
Happymon Jacob, **April 2023**

Safeguarding Food Self-Sufficiency in  
the Time of COVID-19: Lessons from  
Bhutan | Om Bhandari, **April 2023**

US-Pakistan Military Operations in  
Pak-Afghan Border (Vol. I Issue) |  
Happymon Jacob, **April 2023**

Civil-Military Relations in India:  
Questions and Concerns | Ayesha Ray,  
**April 2023**

Pakistan's Schools of Terror | Wilson  
John, **April 2023**

India's Access to Criminal Evidence in  
the US: A Proposed Framework for an  
Executive Agreement | DeBrae Kennedy-  
Mayo, Peter Swire, **April 2023**

Post-COVID19 Recovery: Harnessing  
the Power of Investment in Sustainable  
Infrastructure | Andrea M. Bassi, Marco  
Guzzetti, Georg Pallaske, **April 2023**

China's Cruise Missile Capabilities:  
Implications for the Indian Army and Air  
Force | Kartik Bommakanti, **April 2023**

Can the Indian economy emerge unscathed from the global financial crisis? | Sridhar Kundu, **April 2023**

International Human Rights Standards: How Does India Measure Up? | Dilip Lahiri, **April 2023**

Malaysian Indian Community: Victim of ‘Bumiputera’ Policy | Dilip Lahiri, **April 2023**

Radicalisation of Pakistan and Its Impact on India | Afsir Karim, **April 2023**

Towards Evidence-Based Policymaking: India’s Open-Data Initiatives | Amoha Basrur, Sahil Deo, **April 2023**

The Case for a Feminist Approach to Gender-Based Violence Policymaking in India | Farheen Nahvi, **April 2023**

Rise of Microblogs in China – A Challenge and an Opportunity | Rahul Prakash, **April 2023**

One Rank One Pension: Its impact on the defence budget | Somnath Mukherjee, **April 2023**

Trends in official development assistance: Financing sustainable development | Vivan Sharan, **April 2023**

The last reform: ‘Regionalist logic’ for a new UN Security Council | Niccol Beduschi, **April 2023**

Strengthening BBIN connectivity: Market signals for policymaking | Sujeev Shakya, **April 2023**

Rethinking water-climate cooperation in South Asia | Gareth Price, **April 2023**

Collective action on South Asia’s ‘wicked problems’ | Dipak Gyawali, **April 2023**

Nigeria: The Divisions within and the Way Forward | Priyanka Mehrotra, **April 2023**

Integration of Maoist Combatants in Nepal: The Challenges Ahead | Akanshya Shah, **April 2023**

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**Nandan Haridas Dawda**, Fellow Fellow, Urban Studies

**Niranjan Sahoo**, Senior Fellow

**Promit Mookherjee**, Associate Fellow

**Ramanath Jha**, Distinguished Fellow

**Rumi Ajaz**, Senior Fellow

**Sanjeev Ahluwalia**, Advisor

**Snehashish Mitra**, Fellow, Urban Studies

**Srinath Sridharan**, Consultant

**Uma Shankar Sharma**, General Manager

**Vinod Kumar Tomar**, Assistant Manager

## PROGRAMME, APPRAISAL MANAGEMENT

**Shubh Soni**, Head of Partnerships and Administration

**Hiranshi Mistry**, Programme Assistant

**Megha Choubey**, Associate Fellow, Forums

**Noyontara Gupta**, Junior Fellow

**Pulkit Mohan**, Head of Forums

**Rishith Sinha**, Research Assistant, President Office

**Sanjith Srikanth**, Project Manager

**Sukhmani Sharma**, Programme Coordinator, President Office

**Tanoubi Ngangom**, Chief of Staff and Deputy Director of Programmes

## MEDIA AND PUBLICATIONS

**Laetitia Bruce Warjri**, Head of Communications and Outreach

**Aamir Rabbani**, Multimedia Lead

**Abhishek Sharma**, Manager, Visual Media

**Ajay Singh**, Content Editor, Hindi

**Aswathy Gopinath**, Assistant Editor

**Fiza Jain** Research Assistant, Media and Publications

**Hrishikesh Suryawanshi**, Content and Outreach Coordinator, Marathi

**Karun Sagar**, Editorial Assistant

**Komal Badodekar**, Multimedia Lead, Hindi

**Megha Dutta**, Associate Fellow, Web and New Media

**Naghma Sahar**, Senior Fellow, Digital and New Media

**Nisha Verma**, Librarian

**Preeti Lourdes John**, Deputy Editor

**Rahil Miya Shaikh**, Lead, Graphics and Design

**Sanjay Kumar Verma**, Manager, Web

**Sankalita Dey**, Manager, Web and Production

**Sarah Sawhney**, Research Assistant

**Shubhanjay Varma**, Manager, Digital and Analytics

**Stelin Paul**, Associate Fellow

**Sukrit Kumar**, Content Coordinator, Hindi

**Swati Arjun**, Digital Editor

**Vinia Distinguino Mukherjee**, Publisher

## ADMINISTRATION

**Arun Mehra**, Vice President

**Akshay Saxena**, Accounts Lead

**Anushka Kelaskar**, Administration Assistant

**Asad Abdul Samad**, Administration Manager

**Dharmendar Singh**, Administration Assistant

**Dhaval Dushyant Desai**, Vice President, ORF Mumbai

**Geetha S Kumar**, Assistant Manager, Administration

**Monika Chhabra**, Manager, Human Resources

**N. S. Krishnamani**, Executive Assistant to the President

**Nanu Thekkumbad**, Office Executive and Secretary

**Naresh Krishnakumar Yadav**, Accounts Executive

**Nitika Shangari**, Office Executive and Secretary

**P. G. Darji**, Manager, Finance and Admin

**P. J. Biju**, Executive Assistant

**Parul Kumar**, Administration Assistant

**Pooja Verma**, Front Office Executive

**Prabhu Nath Tiwari**, Administration Assistant

**Pradeep Mahajan**, General Manager, Accounts

**Ramesh Tiwari**, Manager, Commercial

**Ramit Grover**, General Manager, Administration and Human Resources

**Sachin Dattaram Kudkar**, Office Assistant

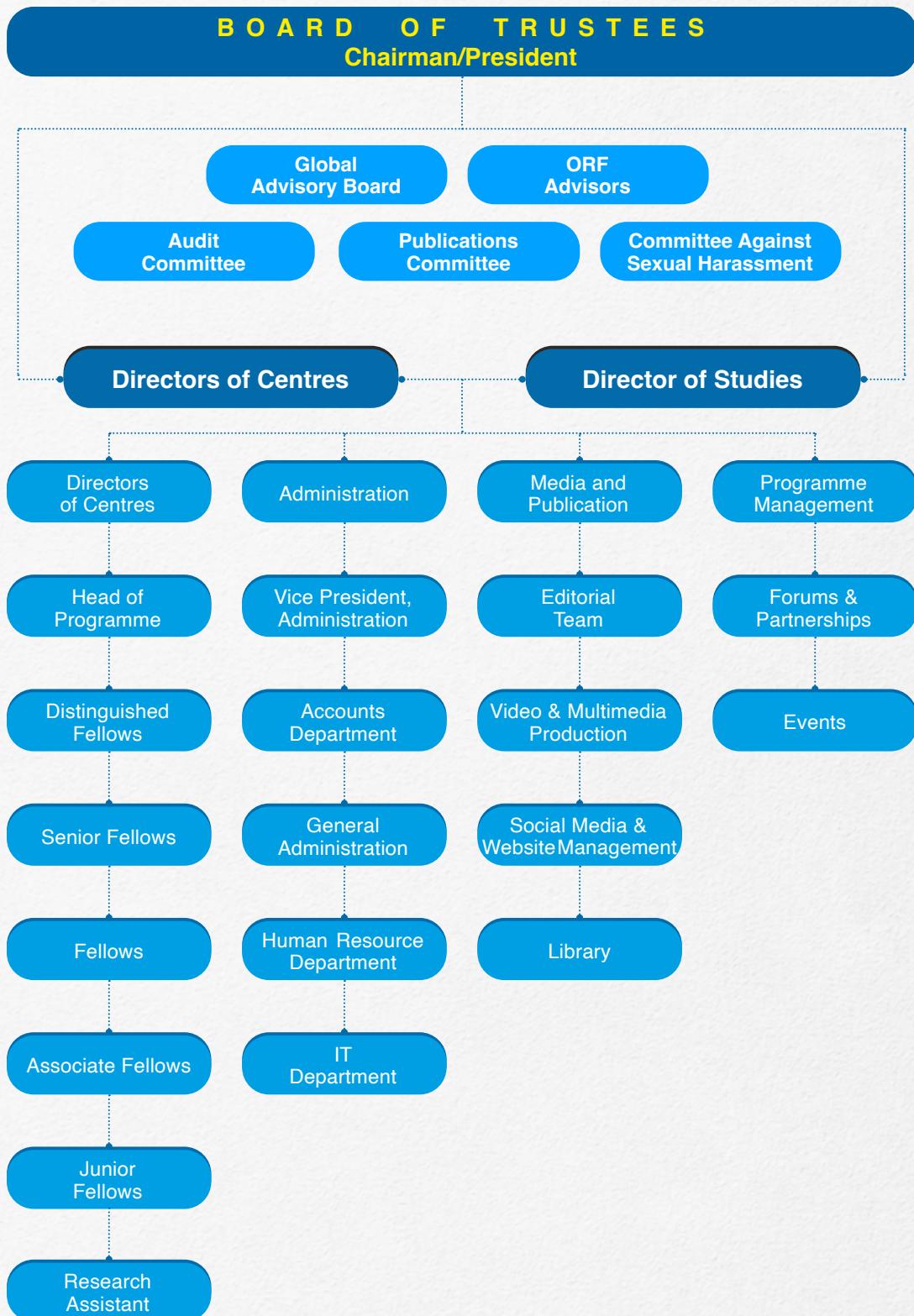
**Sonali Sharma**, Deputy Manager, Administration

**Tarak Nath Roy**, Administration Assistant

**Varun Kumar**, Senior Manager, IT

**Vijay Kumar Seth**, Manager

# ORF-ORGANOGRAM(I)



# ORF-ORGANOGRAM (II)

## STRATEGIC STUDIES PROGRAMME

- Indian Foreign Policy
- Indian Defence and Security Policy
- Area Studies: Neighbourhood; The Indo-Pacific; The Americas; Eurasia
- Maritime Studies
- The Multilateral Order
- Great Power Dynamics

## TECHNOLOGY, ECONOMY AND SOCIETY PROGRAMME

- Creative Industries and Platform Economy
- New Media Studies
- Technology and Democracy
- Law and Digital Markets

## CENTRE FOR SECURITY, STRATEGY AND TECHNOLOGY

- Nuclear Security and Non-Proliferation
- Space Policy
- Cyber Security and Weaponisation Of Technology
- Emerging Technologies and Critical Supply Chains
- Great Power Dynamics

## CENTRE FOR NEW ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY

- SDGS and Inclusive Growth
- Development Cooperation
- Technology for Development
- International Climate Policies and Cooperation
- Human Capital and Health Diplomacy
- Gender, Women Entrepreneurship and Global Partnerships
- Blue Economy
- Education and Skilling
- Health and Nutrition

## CENTRE FOR ECONOMY AND GROWTH

- Geoeconomics
- Economic Multilateralism
- Business And Geopolitics
- Global Trading System
- Urban Futures
- The Green Transition
- The New Social Contract
- Energy And Resource Security
- Political Economy & Reform







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