

W O R L D  
**POLICY**  
C O N F E R E N C E



**14** Edition,  
Oct. 1-3, 2021  
Abu Dhabi, UAE  
[www.worldpolicyconference.com](http://www.worldpolicyconference.com)



# WORLD POLICY CONFERENCE

FOURTEENTH EDITION  
OCTOBER 1-3 2021  
A B U D H A B I  
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES



WORLD  
POLICY  
CONFERENCE





# Foreword



This is the report of the 14th edition of the World Policy Conference held in Abu Dhabi from October 1-3, 2021, drafted under the direction of Song Nim Kwon. Last year, this was the only large-scale international conference to meet mostly “in person” – an achievement made possible by the untiring collaborative efforts between the teams of the host country, the United Arab Emirates, and those of the WPC. This success was down to a determination whose foundation is a faith in the relevance of our model. The WPC is first and foremost a club whose members listen to and respect one another, and which is centered on three pillars. The first of these is that the world will only be able to avoid the fragmentation of zones of influence, and the resultant risks of war, by maintaining the principle – on all levels, and while being open to pragmatic adaptations – of a govern-

nance based on rules within the framework of international law. This principle is more or less that of multilateralism – a handy term, albeit not very specific<sup>1</sup>. The whole problem lies in the notion of adaptation, which spans the idea of change but also of interpretation. We can see it in the economic order – for example, regarding the negotiations for a European Union stability pact; or, more visibly, in European collective security, whose center of gravity is Ukraine; or in East Asia, with President Xi Jinping’s stated intention to reintegrate Taiwan into the Motherland before leaving power. The second pillar of the WPC is “realism”. Multilateralism is an ideal that we should lean towards because it features the only forms of global governance likely – if only as a minimum standard – to consider the interests of all stakeholders. In practical diplomacy, however, negotiations always play out in the shadow of power relations: i.e., the ability to help others or to do them harm. Obviously military force has a special role to play in this. On all levels, action thus assumes a clear understanding of the issues at stake. No human being can make a claim to universal understanding, even if the subject in question is his or her own community(ies). Hence the usefulness of discussions between peers or debates such as those at the WPC. Each participant should come away from this great conference with the sense of having a better grasp of their particular issues. The third, essential pillar is that the WPC prioritizes the perspective of the “middle powers”, in the broad sense of the term. Clearly, it does not exclude the superpowers, which these days are the United States and China. But these superpowers do not dominate our agenda or the way in which we address and analyze the issues. Furthermore, I believe that their own interest in taking part is born precisely of this fact.

I would add that with the WPC being a French initiative, questions as to the direction and future of the European Union, its present and impending influence within the world order, or even relations of all types to be built or rebuilt with neighboring regions to the south (Africa, the broader Middle East), all play a central role in our debates. I am increasingly convinced that their answers will structure the way the international system evolves over the coming decades.

Before drafting this foreword, I carefully reviewed the entire transcript of the 14th WPC sessions – the equivalent of a big book. This report offers an excellent summary in an easy-to-read format. It also highlights the core virtues of networking, even in these times of “social distancing”. I would also point to the fact that friends of the WPC can benefit from consulting our archives, according to their interests and expectations. The entire contents of our successive editions from the first meeting in 2008 in Evian are available on our website [www.worldpolicyconference.com](http://www.worldpolicyconference.com). The WPC is the only large-scale international conference to do this – a demanding task in terms of both human and financial resources. In the same vein, the report is published in French and in English, the two official languages of our conference. Our aim is not (or not primarily) the edification of future historians. To get the most out of an event of the quality of the WPC, one has to be able to go back over the content, at leisure and as required. And this is what I did myself with great profit for this 14th edition of the WPC.

The purpose of this foreword is not to provide a summary of the summary that is the subject of this report, or to comment on speeches from prominent figures that at times involve considerable freedom of expression. I will limit myself to saying a few words on the aspects of our debates that truly illustrate the WPC’s mission. The two sessions on economic issues give an excellent overview of how the leading minds view the medium- or short-term impacts of Covid-19. For example, and despite the general tendency for political units to seek increased strategic autonomy, indications are that globalization is not headed for the gallows in the medium term. This is a key point in defining the potential scenarios surrounding the Sino-American rivalry. In terms of monetary and fiscal policies, the panelists were largely neo-Keynesians. Naturally, I take responsibility for this selection. However, my own affiliation is to a more neo-classical tradition that places greater weight on the post-Covid risks of inflation and stagflation<sup>2</sup>. This is an issue to keep track of.

The two sessions offering different perspectives of the pandemic itself referenced the WPC online conference on health from December 2020, with some distinguished speakers<sup>3</sup>.

Important debates were specifically about Sino-American rivalry: the key structuring geopolitical topic of the day. The main terms of the equation were clearly set out: the unprecedented identity crisis currently sweeping the United States; the staunchly nationalist and Marxist-Leninist turn (with a Chinese twist, of course) taken by Xi Jinping, with the resultant medium- and long-term uncertainties about the performance of State-led capitalism; and the evident will of most other regions of the world to avoid taking a side.

The debates on digital technology highlighted the importance of rethinking our ideas about power relations and dependence in the digital era, and even the circulation of ideas and propaganda. In short, everything that power entails. If the new Cold War is currently much more “lukewarm” than its predecessor, it nevertheless has a strict ideological dimension. For the generations affected by so-called “wokeism”, it is increasingly difficult to tell the difference between true and false within the maelstrom of cyberspace, even for information whose source is States themselves. This applies to China and, of course, Russia; but also to the United States, where propaganda and disinformation did not disappear along with General Powell. And the list does not stop here. One of the greatest risks of our time is the overflowing of emotions at the first thing to penetrate our ears. The WPC met a few weeks after the disastrous American retreat from Afghanistan. So it dwelt at length on the issue and its multiple transversal (humanitarian, security), regional (in particular relating to Asia at least as much as the Middle East, lest we forget) and, naturally, global dimensions: for example, how far the Chinese and the Russians can push their opportunism, etc.

Generally speaking, I share our Arab friends’ insistence on the necessity of greater dialogue to try to agree upon a common vision; on the importance of diplomacy which is primarily a question of a shared understanding of perspectives; and on their disappointment with a Europe, which, in terms of their ongoing relations, they would like to see more united. The same is true of Africa. The continent is increasingly represented at the WPC, and leading African figures spoke powerfully during this edition. Our African friends also lament the lack of energy that we, the Europeans, dedicate to seeking a common vision, without which no large-scale plan is possible. This is something that we have to think about seriously, in operational terms. The situation is pressing, whether it be about Africa or the Middle East. I believe that the WPC is in the process of becoming a most relevant, non-exclusionary space for this. That is, a space that could serve the ideal of a “reasonably open” world – to use a longstanding catchphrase of mine.

To conclude, I would like to thank the teams from Ifri and the WPC for their magnificent work under extremely testing pandemic conditions. Likewise the host country, the United Arab Emirates, which understood the purpose of the WPC and the way the conference fits with its own national plans.

Thierry de Montbrial  
Founder and Chairman of Ifri and the WPC  
February 7, 2022

(1) See Thierry de Montbrial, « Rivalités de puissance, idéologies et multilatéralisme », revue Défense nationale, March 2021. (2) See Thierry de Montbrial, « Perspectives », Ramses 2022, Dunod, 2021, p. 18-20. (3) See the report of the WPC – Health conference, December 2, 2020, <https://www.worldpolicyconference.com/fr/2020-conference-proceedings/#wed-dec-2-0>

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Friday, October 1

08:30 *Welcome remarks*  
**Thierry de Montbrial**, Founder and Chairman of Ifri and the WPC

08:30 – 10:00  
*Plenary session 1 : How Will Globalization Mutate ?*

Chair:  
**Jean-Claude Trichet**, European Chairman of the Trilateral Commission, former President of the ECB

Speakers:  
**Masood Ahmed**, President of the Center for Global Development, former Director of the Middle East and Central Asia Department of the IMF

**Bertrand Badré**, Managing Partner and Founder of Blue like an Orange Sustainable Capital, former Managing Director and Chief Financial Officer of the World Bank Group  
**Bark Taeho**, President of Lee&Ko Global Commerce Institute, former Minister for Trade of Korea

**Thomas Gomart**, Director of Ifri

**Yuichi Hosoya**, Professor of International Politics at Keio University  
**Mari Kiviniemi**, Managing Director of the Finnish Commerce Federation, former OECD Deputy Secretary-General, former Prime Minister of Finland

10:00 – 11:30  
*Plenary session 2 : World Political-Economic Outlook After the Pandemic*

Chair:  
**Lionel Zinsou**, Co-Chair of SouthBridge, Chairman of Terra Nova think tank, former Prime Minister of Benin

Speakers:  
**Nicolas Véron**, Senior Fellow at Bruegel, Senior Fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics  
**Qiao Yide**, Vice Chairman and Secretary-General of Shanghai Development Research Foundation

**Aminata Touré**, Senegalese politician, former Prime Minister  
**Serge Ekué**, President of the West African Development Bank  
**Pierre Jacquet**, President of the Global Development Network, former Chief Economist of the French Development Agency, former Deputy Director of Ifri

11:30 – 13:15  
*Plenary session 3 : Transatlantic Relations, Russia and China*

Chair:  
**Karl Kaiser**, Senior Associate of the Project on Europe and the Transatlantic Relationship, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University

Speakers:  
**Jean-Claude Gruffat**, Chairman of the Competitive Enterprise Institute, member of the Leadership Council of United Way Worldwide  
**Elisabeth Guigou**, Founding President of Europartenaïres, President of the Anna Lindh Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures, former President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French National Assembly  
**Bogdan Klüch**, Senator in the Polish Parliament, Chairman of the Foreign and EU Affairs Committee in the Polish Senate  
**Zaki Laidi**, Senior Advisor to the High Representative and Vice President of the European Commission, Professor at Sciences Po  
**Ana Palacio**, International Lawyer, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain, former Senior Vice President and General Counsel of the World Bank Group

**Wang Jisi**, President of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies at Peking University

**Igor Yurgens**, Chairman of the Management Board of the Institute of Contemporary Development, Vice President of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs

13:15 – 14:45  
*Lunch debate*

**Louise Mushikiwabo**, Secretary-General of the International Organisation of La Francophonie

14:45 – 15:15  
*Plenary session 4*

Conversation with:  
**Josep Borrell Fontelles**, High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Vice President of the European Commission

15:15 – 16:45  
*Plenary session 5 : The Digital World After the Pandemic*

Chair:  
**François Barrault**, Founder and Chairman of FDB Partners, Chairman of IDATE DigiWorld

Speakers:  
**Benoît Cœuré**, Head of the BIS Innovation Hub, former member of the ECB's Executive Board

**Kazuto Suzuki**, Professor of Science and Technology Policy at the Graduate School of Public Policy at the University of Tokyo

**Agnès Touraine**, Chief Executive Officer of Act III Consultants, McKinsey Senior Advisor, former Chairwoman of the French Institute of Directors (IFA)

**Patrick Nicolet**, Founder and Managing Partner of Line Break Capital Ltd., former Capgemini's Group Chief Technology Officer

**Carlos Moreira**, Founder, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of WiSeKey, former UN Expert on cybersecurity

**Jean-Louis Gergorin**, Senior lecturer at Sciences Po Paris, owner of the cyber and aerospace consultancy JLG Strategy

17:00 – 19:00  
*Official opening*

**Welcoming remarks by Sheikh Nahayan Mabarak Al Nahayan**, Minister of Tolerance and Coexistence, United Arab Emirates

**Thierry de Montbrial**, Founder and Chairman of Ifri and the WPC  
**HH Bartholomew I**, Archbishop of Constantinople - New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch

**Edi Rama**, Prime Minister of the Republic of Albania

**Patrick Achi**, Prime Minister of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire

**Message of Prince Faisal bin Farhan Al Saud**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia, addressed by Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia and Engineer **Waleed A. Elkhareiji**

**Message of Jean-Yves Le Drian**, Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs of France, addressed by **Xavier Chatel**, Ambassador of France to the United Arab Emirates

19:30  
*Dinner debate*

**Paul Kagame**, President of the Republic of Rwanda

Saturday, October 2

08:30 – 10:00  
*Plenary session 6 : Asia and the Sino-American Rivalry*

Chair:  
**Thomas Gomart**, Director of Ifri

Speakers:  
**Hiroyuki Akita**, Commentator of *Nikkei*, Japan  
**Renaud Girard**, Senior reporter and war correspondent at *Le Figaro*  
**Lee Hye Min**, Senior Advisor of KIM & CHANG, former G20 Sherpa, former Deputy Minister for Trade of Korea, former Chief Negotiator for the Korea-EU FTA  
**Mayankote Kelath Narayanan**, Executive Chairman of CyQureX Systems Pvt. Ltd., former Senior Advisor and National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister of India

**Marcus Noland**, Executive Vice President and Director of Studies at the Peterson Institute for International Economics  
**Wang Jisi**, President of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies at Peking University

10:00 – 10:30  
*Plenary session 7*

Conversation with:  
**Kevin Rudd**, President of the Asia Society Policy Institute, former Prime Minister of Australia

10:30 – 11:45  
*Plenary session 8 : Health as a Global Governance Issue: Lessons from Covid-19 Pandemic*

Chair:  
**Michel Kazatchkine**, former Executive Director of the Global Fund to fight AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria, Senior Fellow at the Global Health Centre of the Graduate Institute for International and Development Studies, Geneva

Speakers:  
**Christian Bréchet**, President of the Global Virus Network  
**Juliette Tuakli**, Chief Executive Officer of CHILDAccra Medical, Chair of the Board of Trustees of United Way Worldwide  
**Jean Kramarz**, Director of the Healthcare activities of the AXA Partners Group

**Robert Sigal**, Chief Executive Officer of the American Hospital of Paris  
**Haruka Sakamoto**, Assistant Professor at the School of Medicine, Department of Health Policy and Management, Keio University

11:45 – 12:45  
*Plenary session 9 : Global Health : Technology, Economics and Ethics*

Chair:  
**Patrick Nicolet**, Founder and Managing Partner of Line Break Capital Ltd., former Capgemini's Group Chief Technology Officer

Speakers:  
**Jacques Biot**, Board member and Advisor to companies in the field of digital transformation and artificial intelligence, former President of the École Polytechnique in Paris  
**Daniel Andler**, Emeritus Professor at Sorbonne University, member of the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences  
**Kim Sung-Woo**, Chief Executive Officer of MiCo BioMed Co. Ltd.  
**Carlos Moreira**, Founder, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of WiSeKey, former UN Expert on cybersecurity

12:45 – 13:15  
*Plenary session 10*

Conversation with:  
**Didier Reynders**, Commissioner for Justice in charge of Rule of Law and Consumer Protection at the European Commission

13:30 – 15:00  
*Lunch*

15:00 – 15:30  
*Plenary session 11*

Conversation with:  
**Anwar Mohammed Gargash**, Diplomatic Advisor to the President, United Arab Emirates

15:30 – 16:30  
*Plenary session 12 : Geopolitical Dimensions of the Future Supply of Critical Raw Materials*

Chair:  
**Holger Bingmann**, President of the German Section of the International Chamber of Commerce, Honorary Chairman of the German Emirati Joint Council for Industry and Commerce

Speakers:  
**Ingvil Smïnes Tybring-Gjedde**, Non-Executive Director at Norge Mining  
**Peter Handley**, Head of the Energy-Intensive Industries and Raw Materials Unit in the European Commission's Directorate-General for Growth

**David Wurmser**, Founder and Executive member of the Delphi Global Analysis Group, former Senior Advisor to the US Vice President on Middle East

16:30 – 19:00  
*Parallel workshops*

Workshop 1: Money and Finance

Chair:  
**Jean-Claude Trichet**, European Chairman of the Trilateral Commission, former President of the ECB

Speakers:  
**Abdul Aziz Al Ghurair**, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Mashreq Bank  
**Raed Charafeddine**, Central and Commercial Banker, former First Vice Governor of the Central Bank of Lebanon  
**Serge Ekué**, President of the West African Development Bank  
**Jean-Claude Meyer**, Vice Chairman International of Rothschild & Cie  
**Jacques Michel**, Chairman of BNP Paribas Middle East and Africa for Corporate and Institutional Banking

Workshop 2: Energy, Climate and Sustainable Development

Chair:  
**Arnaud Breuillac**, Senior Advisor to the Chairman & Chief Executive Officer of TotalEnergies

Speakers:  
**Mariam Al Mheiri**, Minister of Climate Change and Environment, United Arab Emirates  
**Isabelle Tsakok**, Economist, Consultant on Agriculture and Rural Development, Senior Fellow at the Policy Center for the New South  
**Olivier Appert**, Chairman of France Brevets, Scientific Advisor of the Energy Center of Ifri, former President of the French Energy Council  
**Peter Handley**, Head of the Energy-Intensive Industries and Raw Materials Unit in the European Commission's Directorate-General for Growth

**Marc-Antoine Eyl-Mazzega**, Director of Ifri's Center for Energy & Climate

Workshop 3: Africa

Chair:  
**Robert Dossou**, President of the African Association of International Law, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Benin, former President of the Constitutional Court of Benin

Speakers:  
**Sheikh Shakhbut bin Nahyan Al Nahyan**, Minister of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, United Arab Emirates  
**Nathalie Delapalme**, Executive Director of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation  
**Cheikh Tidiane Gadio**, Vice President of the National Assembly of Senegal, President of the Pan-African Institute for Strategies, Peace-Security-Governance

**Elisabeth Guigou**, Founding President of Europartenaïres, President of the Anna Lindh Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures, former President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French National Assembly

**Aminata Touré**, Senegalese politician, former Prime Minister  
**Juliette Tuakli**, Chief Executive Officer of CHILDAccra Medical, Chair of the Board of Trustees of United Way Worldwide  
**Lionel Zinsou**, Co-Chair of SouthBridge, Chairman of Terra Nova think tank, former Prime Minister of Benin  
**Nardos Bekele-Thomas**, UN Resident Coordinator in South Africa

Discussant:  
**Alain Antil**, Director of the Ifri Sub-Saharan Africa Center

20:00  
*Gala dinner*  
**Khaldoon Khalifa Al Mubarak**, Chairman of the Executive Affairs Authority, Group Chief Executive Officer and Managing Director of Mubadala

Sunday, October 3

09:00 – 10:00  
*Reports from parallel workshops*

10:00 – 10:30  
*Plenary session 13*

Conversation with:  
**Nabil Fahmy**, Founding Dean of the School of Global Affairs and Public Policy at the American University in Cairo, former Foreign Minister of Egypt

10:30 – 11:30  
*Plenary session 14 : The Middle East and External Powers*

Chair:  
**Fareed Yasseen**, Ambassador of Iraq to the United States

Speakers:  
**Khalifa Shaheen Almarar**, Minister of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Arab Emirates  
**Vitaly Naumkin**, President of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Senior Political Advisor to the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General of the UN for Syria  
**Stuart Eizenstat**, Senior Counsel at Covington & Burling LLP, former Chief White House Domestic Policy Advisor to President Jimmy Carter  
**Memduh Karakulluğu**, Founding Board member of the Global Relations Forum, Founding Partner of Kanunum, Chairman of Kroton Consulting

11:30 – 13:00  
*Plenary session 15 : Afghanistan*

Chair:  
**Ali Aslan**, International TV Presenter and journalist

Speakers:  
**Salem Mohammed Al Zaabi**, Director of the Department of International Security Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, United Arab Emirates  
**Jim Bittermann**, CNN's Senior European Correspondent in Paris  
**Renaud Girard**, Senior reporter and war correspondent at *Le Figaro*  
**Marc Hecker**, Director of research and communications at Ifri, Editor-in-Chief of *Politique étrangère*  
**Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean**, Head of Russia-NIS Center of Ifri  
**Mayankote Kelath Narayanan**, Executive Chairman of CyQureX Systems Pvt. Ltd., former Senior Advisor and National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister of India

13:15 – 14:45  
*Lunch*

15:00 – 16:15  
*Plenary session 16 : The Middle East in 2030 : Geopolitical and Economic Aspects*  
Chair:  
**John Andrews**, Contributing Editor to *The Economist* and *Project Syndicate*

Speakers:  
**Ebtesam Al-Ketbi**, President and Founder of the Emirates Policy Center  
**Itamar Rabinovich**, Vice Chairman of the Institute for National Security Studies in Tel Aviv, former Israeli Ambassador to the US, former Chief Negotiator with Syria  
**Bernardino León Gross**, Director General of the Anwar Gargash Diplomatic Academy  
**Mona Makram Ebeid**, Egyptian Senator, Advisor to the UN High Representative for the Alliance of Civilizations  
**Volker Perthes**, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Sudan and Head of the UN Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in Sudan

16:15 – 17:00  
*Plenary session 17 : Stakes of Space Competition*

Chair:  
**Thierry de Montbrial**, Founder and Chairman of Ifri and the WPC

Speakers:  
**Sarah Al Amiri**, Minister of State for Advanced Technology, President of the UAE Space Agency  
**Philippe Baptiste**, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the French Centre for Space Studies (CNES)

17:00 – 18:00  
*Plenary session 18 : Young Leaders : GovTech*

Chair:  
**Lucia Sinapi-Thomas**, Executive Director of Capgemini Ventures

Speakers:  
**Clément Tonon**, member of the French Council of State  
**Faruk Tuncer**, Co-Founder and Chief Executive Officer of Polyteia  
**Mehdi Benchoufi**, Co-Founder and Chief Executive Officer of EchOpen

18:00 *Envoi*





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# Sheikh Nahayan Mabarak Al Nahayan

Minister of Tolerance and Coexistence, United Arab Emirates



“It gives me great pleasure to convey to you the greetings and best wishes of His Highness Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan, Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi and Deputy Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces. With his support and encouragement, we welcome you to Abu Dhabi and the United Arab Emirates. As a distinguished group of influential political, economic, and business leaders, you honor us with your presence. We know that we will learn from you at this conference, just as we have already learned from your accomplishments and your vision in government, economics, business, and world affairs. Your presence in Abu Dhabi underscores the city's importance in world affairs and the global economy. It clearly reflects the prominent place of the United Arab Emirates among the nations of the world. [...] The agenda you have before you contains issues vital to the future, not just for those at this conference, but indeed for the world. I note that you will spend time considering some global wicked problems. By their nature “wicked problems” are tricky and ill-defined, yet some of them, such as climate change, pose existential threats to the world as we know it today.

\*Full version page 118

# Thierry de Montbrial

Founder and Chairman of Ifri and the WPC



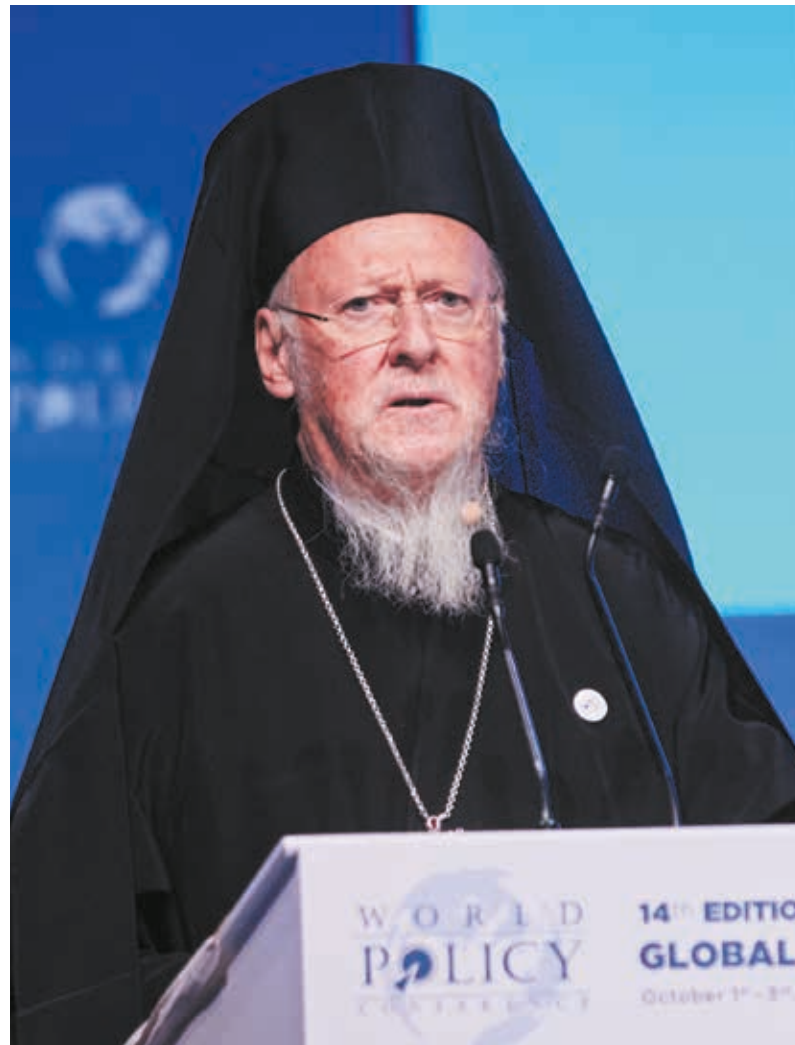
“More than ever, I believe in the WPC's calling as it has been defined since its inception in 2008: medium-sized powers must work together to put across their views on the conditions required to keep the world reasonably open, i.e. globalization without hegemony or any form of extremism. It seems to me that this idea is shared by the United Arab Emirates, which is hosting us today at the very time when the Dubai World Expo is opening, whose symbol is precisely balanced globalization through the smart, reasonable use of technological resources. The entire Middle East is suffering, but the region potentially has everything it takes to again become a place of hope and prosperity. Moreover, everyone has become aware of Africa's immense resources. Europe, if it manages to surmount the challenges inherent to its integration, could become even more of what it has been in past decades, i.e. a pole of prosperity, freedom and peace that has renounced all forms of imperialism. It is clear that in a world of shrinking distances, Europe in the broad sense, the Middle East and Africa form a community of destinies.

\*Full version page 119



# HH Bartholomew I<sup>st</sup>

Archbishop of Constantinople - New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch

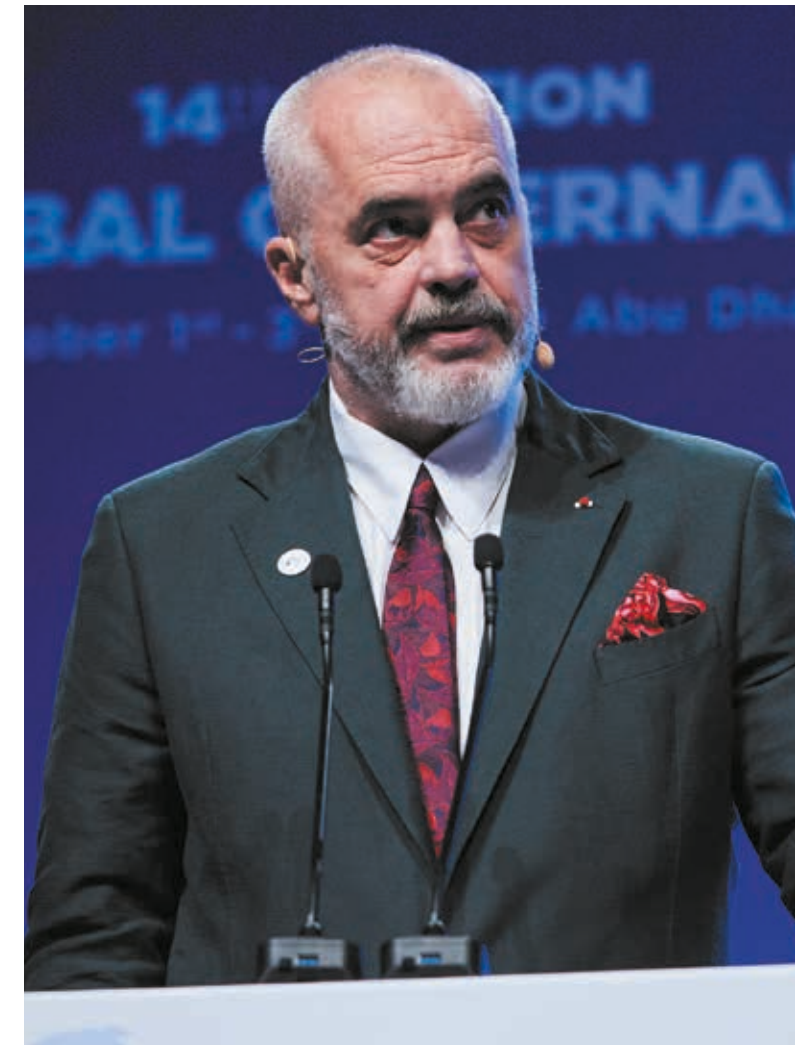


Dialogue is the basis of collaboration. It is in itself a gesture of solidarity and a source of deeper solidarity. It produces mutual trust and acceptance. It is important to understand that dialogue is different from negotiation, debate, confrontation, criticism, etc. The best definition is certainly this magnificent sentence by Claude Lévi-Strauss: "There is not, nor can there be, a world civilization in the absolute sense that this term is often given, since civilization implies the coexistence of cultures offering each other maximum diversity and consists even in this coexistence." Dialogue seems like a paradoxical tension between coexistence and exposure to maximum diversity. This lesson also applies to us in the interreligious field, where dialogue is theoretical while being a *praxis* of coexistence. By this we mean that dialogue cannot be conceived only as a means, an exchange of words. It is also an end in itself whose only objective is the encounter in its transformative capacity. When dialogue becomes transformative, it acquires all its density. Dialogue helps to fight against prejudice. It breaks down barriers. It puts people in touch with each other. It allows us to think differently about our relationship to otherness. Today, more than at any other time in its history, humanity really has the chance and the ability to bring about many changes through communication and dialogue.

\*Full version page 120

# Edi Rama

Prime Minister of the Republic of Albania



The problems we are dealing with today are increasingly more inter-related. Let us consider the climate change and, by the way, you all know that global warming is not just a climate issue; it is a development issue, it is a security issue, an issue that affects the strength or the weakening of the world peace as a whole and peace in various regions. It is an issue with a long-term impact. Therefore, the more effectively we deal with it, the better to prevent the natural disasters, fires, floods, prolonged drought, rising water levels, loss of land etc. The Covid-19 pandemic of today, a global issue, has taken so many lives compared to the losses in the world wars. Are we able as isolated nations to fight this plague of modern times? We saw it and the answer is of course, we are not. The same logic, in my view, applies to the security issue, the fight against international terrorism, the cyberwar, to the drinking water and food supply to all, to the goals for a sustainable and long-term development with the aim of leaving no one behind and so on and so forth. At these times of global challenges, which are also times for trust challenges, a global approach is required. The commitment of all of us within the structures we have set up is required. And for sure, adapting these structures to meet today's challenges is a must and not in a homogeneous but rather in a harmonic way, I might say.

\*Full version page 121



# Patrick Achi

Prime Minister of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire



The African that I am will speak to you today with his head, but perhaps even more with his heart, so great are the historical, acute and striking challenges the continent faces as the pandemic draws to a close. The world's future must be written with Africa:

- 1) For the common good of the planet we share;
- 2) For its economic and social prosperity, to which African youth will make a crucial contribution;
- 3) For its migratory stability, by experiencing the fastest demographic growth ever recorded in such a short period of time, thanks to a sustainable socio-economic integration on the continent;
- 4) For its essential natural resources, indispensable for the world's progress, and having over 60% of the world's undeveloped arable land;
- 5) Lastly, for our protection of primary forests, which are crucial to the ecological balance and to the primordial, vital balance of our planet and all our lives.

But while Africa is the continent of the future, it is also an emerging continent that must meet the towering challenges of a world beset by increasingly entangled crises.

\*Full version page 123



# Prince Faisal bin Farhan Al Saud

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia, message addressed by Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia and Engineer **Waleed A. Elkhareiji**



Joining the world in achieving a sustainable recovery also means working together to find creative ways to tackle climate change while maintaining energy security and efficiency. In addition to the Kingdom's adherence to the international climate accords, such as the Paris Agreement, and supporting the success of COP 26, we believe we can do more. Based on this conviction, His Royal Highness the Crown Prince has launched ambitious projects such as the Saudi and the Middle East Green Initiatives. Within the Kingdom, we aim to reduce emissions, significantly raise our dependence on renewables and plant more than 10 billion trees. We also plan on hosting a Green Initiative Forum at the end of this month, inviting our friends and partners to participate. With our regional partners, we are embarking on the largest forestation project with the aim to plant over 40 billion trees across the Middle East. This is part of the larger commitment to cater for the needs of the planet as we support innovation in renewable and green energy, as well as pioneering innovation in marine and land conservation in the Red Sea, Neom and across the Kingdom.

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PLENARY SESSIONS





WORLD  
POLICY  
CONFERENCE

14<sup>th</sup> EDITION  
GLOBAL GOVERNANCE  
October 1<sup>st</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2021 • Abu Dhabi



## How Will Globalization Mutate?



CHAIR:

**Jean-Claude Trichet**

European Chairman of the Trilateral Commission, former President of the ECB



**Masood Ahmed**

President of the Center for Global Development, former Director of the Middle East and Central Asia Department of the IMF



**Bertrand Badré**

Managing Partner and Founder of Blue like an Orange Sustainable Capital, former Managing Director and Chief Financial Officer of the World Bank Group

We have seen a formidable acceleration of globalization over the last 30 years but at the same time there has been a deglobalization trend. Of course, that was also amplified and accelerated by the successive crises we have had to cope with, but it started before that. Many critics are coming from the left, in particular the criticism of the negative externalities of market economies when they are generalized in terms of climate and inequality, a very powerful criticism. On the other hand, there are also critics coming from what I would say right-wing sensitivities, nationalism and protectionism, populism, which has also been significantly amplified in recent times. In the face of criticism coming from these two opposite sides, what can we say about globalization? First, can we address the negative externalities of globalization, on climate, health, economic and financial instabilities during the last years, and inequality, without losing the benefits of the division of labor at a global level and all the benefits to developing countries of catching up to become first emerging countries and, then, as wealthy as the present advanced economies in the future? Of course, this complicated question has to take into account the fact that the ideal global governance has to cope with major trends including digitalization and the green transition I mentioned. In addition, it must take into account that the world today is made up of market economies, so called "capitalist economies", but with very different ideologies behind them, at least in the social and political dimensions. The existence of Social Democrat market economies, pure liberal market economies or more liberal market economies, state capitalism, authoritarian societies, makes the response of the panelists formidably complicated.

The process of globalization and its management are going to become more complicated in the years to come. We can think of this in terms of five different forces that are going to work in different directions and must be balanced and managed. The first one is the economics: the law of comparative advantage has not gone away. Huge investments have been made in global supply chains, it would be difficult to unwind them, even if political forces want to do that. The second force is changing demographics. A shrinking and aging population in Europe, a growing, younger population in Africa, and migration from conflict and environmental degradation will cause a significant movement of people that our systems are not prepared for. Third, global public goods are creating political will to globalize further. There is growing recognition we are impacted by issues that can only be managed through global rules and coordination, including pandemics, climate change, artificial intelligence, and more. Fourth, rising backlash from across the political spectrum has resulted from growing inequality and dissatisfaction from institutional inertia. People feel the rules do not benefit everyone as well as lack of control of one's own destiny. This rhetoric of taking back control matters. Finally, the growing rivalry between the United States and China presents serious challenges to cooperation. How can we find ways to coordinate and cooperate effectively on shared global challenges when these tensions are likely to spillover into the multilateral system? Management of globalization will not simply be a matter of economic and financial forces. It must integrate into domestic and international considerations of political reality and security.

The question is, who is going to decide the rules for the world? I am talking about a textbook for finance for the next 20 or 30 years and it is a difficult question because it will basically say what is good and what is bad. For example, people talk a lot about diversity and inclusion, and I can tell you that it means something different in every country. When you are in the United States, people say it is about ethnic diversity, but in France, you are prevented from talking about ethnic diversity. When it comes to the emerging and developing economies, which are dear to the hearts of those onstage, the big issue is what type of norms we will set. I have had this conversation with many leaders in the past few months and basically if the rich of the world say that they want a cleaner, more social world and these are the rules, then they effectively set the bar too high for a number of countries. In that case, people tell me it is like the Washington consensus 2.0, instead of having the textbook of the eighties and nineties, it is a textbook on finance that basically says you have to do this and that and this is not doable and so people will say no. However, in today's world there is an alternative to the Washington consensus, such as China. Therefore, you will have the real thing, no master of the world, so who will decide, and will the competition be there? Are we capable of being inclusive with all the world and channeling the money necessary to go the sustainable route and climate? Or will the OECD countries be too comfortable and say, yes, no, we know the rules and we will protect ourselves? The alternative is as bad, which is really to say that emerging and developing economies are incapable of reaching our standards so we will have a two tier system, a premium impact, a premium green in advanced economies and low-cost green and low-cost impact in developing economies.





**Bark Tae-ho**  
President of Lee&Ko Global Commerce Institute, former  
Minister for Trade of Korea

In order to see globalization evolve in a desirable direction in the future, it would be crucial to provide the right business environment with transparent and fair multilateral rules in various fields. However, we do not have proper multilateral trade rules for important issues which may significantly impact globalization in the future such as industrial subsidies, measures related to environment like carbon border adjustment taxes, and digital trade. As we are all aware, the multilateral trading system of the WTO does not properly function these days. It faces the most serious crisis since its launch in 1995. Although the 12th WTO Ministerial Conference will be held in Geneva at the end of November, experts do not expect much about the results. Furthermore, we do not find any leadership among major countries in strengthening the multilateral trading system. So the world trade order will remain unstable at least in the near future and the WTO will not play a constructive role in future globalization. As is well known, agreeing on something at the WTO is almost impossible. At the moment, the some WTO members are arguing that instead of doing nothing, maybe plurilateral agreements among like-minded countries should be allowed. However, other members oppose this approach arguing that it would undermine the multilateral trading system of the WTO. Recently, there has been some debate at the WTO on a question, "if you are given a choice, which should you choose, fragmentation with plurilateral agreements or irrelevance of the system?" This simplifies the situation at the WTO right now and I think we should choose fragmentation, although it may not be the best, rather than irrelevance for the future of the WTO.

# How Will Globalization Mutate?



**Thomas Gomart**  
Director of Ifri

There are three observations to be made in trying to describe the transformation underway. The first is a reshuffling of power and a return to the strategic in the hard sense of the term. The second is that this convergence creates overlapping sovereignties and jurisdictions that are tricky to navigate. Lastly, as it has been mentioned several times since the beginning of our discussion, inequality is rising both between and within countries. So, what are the three broad outlines taking shape – this is my third point – if we try to forecast what will happen by 2049? First, I think a phenomenon is emerging, the phenomenon of cognitive confrontation, which became quite clear during the lockdowns, when bodies were stuck at home, but bodies with brains that had never been so digitally interconnected. The second outline shaping up is the emergence of what is called "civilitarianism", i.e., an increasing overlap between civilian and military activities in the areas of innovation and research, and a blurring of the lines between the economy and security. This is increasing, especially with the two main powers, China and the United States. The other players are in a thorny situation with regard to the merger between civilian and military activities, which immediately raises the issue of technology transfers in relation to military alliances in the future. The third outline taking shape is the goal, notably in China, of becoming carbon neutral by 2060, an objective President Xi announced in September 2020 that compels us to think about the modalities of decarbonized power. What does "being a decarbonized power" mean in relation to a power model based mainly on fossil fuels, which has been the model of the United States since the First World War?



**Yuichi Hosoya**  
Professor of International Politics at Keio University

The important point is that we are now seeing the evolution of compartmentalized globalization. Now China is trying to realign supply chains and realign the economic space in Asia because both the United States and Europe have become much more hostile to Chinese activities. That is why I think China is trying to get closer to ASEAN which today, is China's biggest trading partner. In the current coronavirus situation, China is trying to create a very deep and strong Asian economic space. The question is how the United States, Europe and Japan will try to face the current difficulties. The United States government under President Joe Biden is trying to create much stronger cooperation among democracies. At the US-Japan summit meeting in April this year and in last week's Quad summit meeting in Washington DC, I think that the United States government is focusing on the importance of emerging technologies and cooperation among democracies or the core democracies, the United States, Japan, India, and Australia in the areas of emerging technologies. We need to realize that globalization is now much more divided and compartmentalized. The question we are now facing is whether we try to end this compartmentalization or try to focus on the importance of cooperation among democracies.



**Mari Kiviniemi**  
Managing Director of the Finnish Commerce Federation,  
former OECD Deputy Secretary-General, former Prime  
Minister of Finland

A question I would actually like to answer is, did Covid-19 change something? It underlined the essence of international cooperation and multilateralism. It put the need for global action very high on the agenda, like cooperation in vaccine production and delivery, as well as joint measures preventing the virus from spreading. It showed how dependent we are on each other and in that sense, it also made us see how important it also is to make sure that in the future we can ensure that global value chains continue to function. It made visible the importance of having very good international cooperation. It actually did not trigger increased willingness to implement unnecessary trade and trade-related protectionist measures in the area of goods. [...] It is still a bit disappointing that although we have seen the importance of deep global cooperation also during this pandemic we still face protectionist and populist threats that could unravel the decades of international cooperation and openness. I think that we really have to put people at the center, and this is the real political question, as Masood said earlier in his intervention. We have to look at the national level and national policies. [...] Spreading information and tackling misinformation are the tools we should be using to help show everyone the benefits of globalization. In many countries we have not been able to make sure that the benefits of globalization are shared equally, and everyone has the opportunity to participate in society. We really need to pay attention to that and make sure that everyone has access to education, that there are active labor market policies, social protection, etc.





# World Political-Economic Outlook After the Pandemic



CHAIR:  
**Lionel Zinsou**  
Co-Chair of SouthBridge, Chairman of Terra Nova think tank,  
former Prime Minister of Benin



**Nicolas Véron**  
Senior Fellow at Bruegel, Senior Fellow at the Peterson  
Institute for International Economics



**Qiao Yide**  
Vice Chairman and Secretary-General of Shanghai  
Development Research Foundation

I think unprecedented crises are piling up. The current crisis is unprecedented. It has exceptional characteristics, but the previous one, in 2008, was also unprecedented because of its suddenness and the depth of the recession it caused, although now we have broken recession records. The prior crises, whether the bursting of the technology bubble, strictly financial crises or strictly real estate crises, each had their own particular features, but they have all shared one thing in common: profound political, social and geopolitical consequences. [...] We have seldom seen a post-crisis recovery as robust as this one. We have rarely had such wild swings between quarters. Take France: there was a 13% contraction in the second quarter and 18.5% growth in the third. Generally speaking, in many countries, the 2021 forecasts are being upwardly revised. [...] To everyone's surprise, Africa's recession was weaker than expected. It was limited to certain countries reliant on mineral raw materials prices or tourism, which were hard hit. However, 30 of Africa's 55 countries did not go into recession. [...] It is really an exceptional, quite odd recovery creating shortages and scarcity. Do macro-economists think there is a real risk of long-term inflation or is inflation being caused by disruption, scarcity and Gregory King's law, which says "a shortage leads to very important price effects"? Or are we heading for substantial shifts in prices, systems and general price levels with significant distortions?

I do not want to make it sound that everything is all right in the world, because it is not, and I started with the number of deaths and the misery created by the pandemic. Let me just mention a few uncertainties about the outlook. The first comes from the virus itself because it is still with us massively and it keeps mutating, and we are not confident that we will not get a variant that completely changes the equation. As has been the case continuously for the past 18 months of more, the virus is the number one driver of the outlook. As it has been the case continuously for the last 18 months, it is a moment of very high uncertainty. The response to the virus, in terms of vaccines and vaccination, is the second uncertainty factor. We have seen reasonably good take up of the vaccine in a number of countries, but we have also seen it plateauing in some, particularly the US. It started early but it now has very low rates of vaccination compared to the potential and at this point it is clear that it is not due to supply problems but to low acceptance by the population. It is not only the US; there are many countries, including poor ones, where people are very reluctant to accept the vaccine because they do not trust the authorities. This is a major risk for the economic outlook because we need people to get vaccinated if we want to return to normal economic functioning. The third uncertainty is that we do not understand supply chains that react to the current stress in a way that nobody could have precisely foreseen. We will have more problems with scarcity and difficulties of adjustment, with read-across in terms of inflation, which frankly I do not think any economist can predict with certainty at this point.

Relative to other economies, the Chinese economy has been doing better since the outbreak of the pandemic. Last year, GDP grew at 2.3% in China. The fundamental reason behind the economic growth is that the Chinese government is taking a zero-Covid approach. The success of the approach in China is due to several reasons. One is probably due to a special social structure and cultural habit. Also, the approach itself is not without costs. Actually, consumption in China left behind its exports which became a major driving force, although I do not think this is sustainable. China also faces some uncertainties and challenges. First, it will have to move from a zero-Covid approach to a more tolerant one. Second, it will have to reach a balance between reasonable economic growth and the prevention of financial risks. Another big issue of uncertainty is the relationship with the United States. Of course, the competition between the United States and China will last for many years in the future. I think that in the future the political and economic outlook of the world will largely depend on the relationship between the United States and China and whether they can handle their relationship successfully.





## World Political-Economic Outlook After the Pandemic



**Aminata Touré**  
Senegalese politician, former Prime Minister



**Serge Ekué**  
President of the West African Development Bank



**Pierre Jacquet**  
President of the Global Development Network, former Chief Economist of the French Development Agency, former Deputy Director of Ifri

From an African point of view, I think we have to move forward in terms of having collective projects. Commerce between ourselves only represents up to 12% and in the rest of the world, in Europe, it is 60%, and I think a bit less than 60% in Asia. That means that there is space to grow but we have to go beyond the boundaries and see how we are going to put together this major project, the first being as I said, medical and pharmaceutical independence. The last thing we want to see happen is Covid becoming a permanent public health issue, hovering around 1%, 2%, 3% forever and that is what will happen without the right course of action. We know who will suffer most, as in all pandemics it will be the most vulnerable in rural areas, most of the time women and young people. Making the link between what happened and even the stability of the continent and the need to have internal responses to the challenges seems very important to me. That opens up the question about industrialization and that is the same. Since, we only have 12% of commerce between ourselves, we import most of the goods we consume. We realize that we have to produce simple goods and that is also an opportunity for the rest of the world to invest in Africa. In view of the pandemic and the lessons learnt from it, I do not think we can postpone any longer our industrialization prospects. I think the pharmaceutical sector might be a good sector, but also in all sectors because we also face the whole issue around procurement of simple things, such as syringes. That is the lesson that we really want to learn. It also opens up the possibility of creating jobs on a continent where 70% of the population is below the age of 35.

On the question of how in this context, public debt can be paid down without slowing down economic growth and provoking a crisis of confidence, the debt write off can be a very seductive. We do not believe that it is the ultimate situation. Other solutions should be explored: 1/alleviating the debt service; 2/ providing concessional funding; 3/Special Drawing Rights granted by the IMF as a way to support emerging countries post pandemic; 4/setting up budget consolidation policies; 5/debt reprofiling; 6/debt restructuring. If there are difficulties, we should avoid repayment defaults at any point. [...] To convince investor we recall that our region's economic growth is very vivid, even in 2020 despite the pandemic, the economic growth in our region was positive at 0.9% one of the few regions in the world where that was the case. The median age in the region is 20 years old, which is a huge opportunity to sustain this growth but also a challenge. Our job as development banks is precisely to capture this energy and to wrap it up and offer it to investors in the market. We basically work on four criteria that the market expects from us. First, yield. Second, rating and the BOAD is one of the best-rated organizations in the region or in Africa. Third, process and use of proceeds: which is why we launched the first sustainability bond in Africa earlier this year. Transparency and traceability of the fund are paramount. Last, which is a bit technical, format: we have to provide a Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) to investors who are seeking to invest in an SPV, loans or bonds, structured deposits, swaps, etc., to others willing to go through those formats. This is about our flexibility and our capacity to adapt to the market.

We should not underestimate the virtue of scientific and technical cooperation across countries and that cooperation continued throughout the pandemic. We have with Covid-19 an example of this tension between very powerful forces of globalization – and indeed, the digital economy is one of them and global public good is another very powerful globalization necessity – and mainly politically driven attempts at deglobalization. We cannot solve these questions through narrow national perspectives, as we need a global response to climate change, protecting biodiversity, security issues and to the movement of persons, which is indeed the weak frontier of this open economic world we want to create. I believe globalization is here to stay, and the debate is more on how to manage it. This is a deeply political challenge, which involves what used to be called "high politics", on which the post-war institutional system was agreed on and shaped. High politics requires shared global values, and the ones that underpinned the global post-WWII order, do not provide any cement any longer. There are many reasons from that, from technology to the end of the Cold War to the problems created by China's emergence to name but a few. More than a crisis of globalization, I believe we have a crisis in the governance of globalization. An important aspect of it is in fact domestically anchored, and related to the decline in the perceived legitimacy of liberal democracy as an organizing principle. This is worrying because the need to find ways or a path towards a higher political debate about shared values in the world to anchor the future governance of globalization, also requires to find shared values within countries and this seems to have become a political issue in many industrial societies.



# Transatlantic Relations, Russia and China



CHAIR:

**Karl Kaiser**

Senior Associate of the Project on Europe and the Transatlantic Relationship, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University



**Jean-Claude Gruffat**

Chairman of the Competitive Enterprise Institute, member of the Leadership Council of United Way Worldwide

We have to look beyond the tumultuous events of contemporary international politics and try to identify how the key actors and regions are affected by the ongoing tectonic shifts of geopolitics. That also applies to the NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan and the AUKUS agreement. What new power balance is emerging between China and Western countries and where do France and the EU place themselves in this development? What does European autonomy mean in this context? The most difficult task for both the US and Europe consists of reconciling reconciliation and conflict with China on the one hand with the need for cooperation on global issues such as climate and health. How can transatlantic coordination be achieved in this venture? Can the Trade and Technology Council between the US and the EU play the role of reshaping the rules of a liberal world order, the two regions still being the most important economic power blocs on the globe? What is Russia's role in this context as neither the West nor Russia itself can want a long-term position as a satellite of a rising China? Will the emerging conflict with China dominate world politics in the same way as the Cold War between the US and the Soviet Union once did and follow its example of preventing a major war? Europe should prepare itself for an uncertain and challenging future including a disruptive return of Trump or Trumpism.

Three main themes:

1. The transatlantic relationship since the end of WWII has been driven exclusively by the US, with 3 consecutive periods: a/ The Cold War with the Soviet Union leading the Eastern Block, vs NATO directed by the US. Deterrence and balance of nuclear threat, pure military confrontation without any form of commercial or other business interaction; b/ War on Terror after 9/11, which went beyond and under the influence of the Neo Conservatives led to attempts, mostly unsuccessful of regime changes in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Egypt; c/America First, unilateral and transactional. Out of the Paris agreement on climate change, JCPOA, and a new Mexico, Canada US trade agreement.
2. In spite of different personalities, and styles, there has been in transatlantic relationship, a continuity of policies, largely with a bipartisan consensus, in DC. Some elements of protectionism, more so with the Democrats. Trump changed effectively the focus from Russia to China, Biden is now attempting to dissociate climate change, from trade, human rights, and investment, without much success so far. Frustration on contributions to NATO defense budget, unilateral initiatives from both sides on many issues, not just China.
3. A new Cold War? Very different dynamics, how to manage a complex relationship between 2 superpowers, strategically competing, military adversaries, yet depending on each other on many trade flows and supply chains?





## Transatlantic Relations, Russia and China



**Elisabeth Guigou**

Founding President of Europartenaires, President of the Anna Lindh Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures, former President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French National Assembly



**Bogdan Klich**

Senator in the Polish Parliament, Chairman of the Foreign and EU Affairs Committee in the Polish Senate



**Zaki Laïdi**

Senior Advisor to the High Representative and Vice President of the European Commission, Professor at Sciences Po

I would like to recall that France is and will remain a staunch NATO ally, even if the transatlantic relationship is no longer what it was. There has been remarkable continuity in the French policy toward the United States and NATO. Its policy has never been wholly aligned with that of our partner across the Atlantic. From the French perspective, France and Europe's interests mostly converge with those of the United States. We share common values, naturally, as well as the desire to maintain a multilateral system that works. But France and Europe also have their own interests, and they do not always coincide with those of the United States of America. France advocates sharing roles in a positive spirit of mutual respect, unlike what has just happened with AUKUS, because we can see that going back on the deal has fewer consequences on the industrial level than it has on the geo-strategic one. What I personally note with regret—and I am not alone on this—is that since the early 2000s, we have seen France and Europe drifting away from the United States—not a divorce, more like a distancing. Fortunately, this does not call the basics into question, but it does strengthen non-alignment with the United States, despite increasing pressure from the latter. [...] In any case, we, Europeans and Americans, must stand together to meet global challenges. I hope there will not be a new Cold War, for I fail to see how the climate crisis can be solved if we are in the middle of a Cold War with China, the world's leading CO<sub>2</sub> emitter. Europeans must refocus on their priorities, which are, naturally, security in the East. [...] Security in the East cannot be achieved without Putin, even if it is very difficult. And then there is Africa. No strategic issues matter more to Europe than Africa.

Without doubt, Russia remains an aggressive and disruptive power that has challenged the international order in Ukraine. It has shown that it is ready to use force overseas, then in Syria, now in Libya and also in the Sahel, where we should emphasize the presence of Wagner units. Russia is trying to re-integrate as big part as possible of the post-Soviet space and we are witnessing the soft annexation of Belarus, which is not recent, it began before the Freedom Revolution there but accelerated recently. Russia will undoubtedly interfere with the political processes of the West, mainly with elections as it did in 2016 in the US and 2015 in my country, trying to deepen divisions in the West both in NATO and the European Union. I am convinced that Russia will try to establish a dominant military position in the Arctic, and we should take that into serious consideration, although this rivalry between powers and various actors is not so clear at the moment. We will also continue to set up new relationships in Africa, playing in the Middle East an important and influential role. On the other hand, one should be aware of Russia's disadvantages, in particular the small size of its economy which creates only around 2% of the global GDP and its dependence on energy prices. Let us also take into account its advantages which include large conventional forces, modernized weapons of mass destruction, energy resources and aggressive foreign policy, as we can see especially over the last decade. While China is a big challenge for Europe, Russia creates a threat for Europe and especially for Central Europe.

In my view, there are two main trends in the international system. One is the rise of the Sino American competition in the world, which is certainly going to be the dominant feature of the international system in this century and there is no doubt about that. In comparison to the Cold War, there is a difference which is that the competition between the United States and China is much wider. Indeed, it includes an economic and technological component that did not exist during the Cold War, so in a sense the challenges of the Sino-American rivalry or competition are much wider. It is not going to be like the Cold War because at the same time, in the international system, you have a second dynamic taking place that is created by the rise of a multipolar world. In other words, what characterizes the international system today, which makes it quite complex and unstable, is the articulation between this bipolar structure and a multipolar structure. We have a combination of both in the international system, so when we start thinking about it, we have to keep both dynamics in mind. The important question is to understand how international actors are reacting to those main dynamics. In my view, this new organization of the international system is creating three kinds of actors that I call the followers, the bystanders, and the hedgers. The followers are those who decided for national reasons to take a side in the Sino-American competition, and they think they will increase their national leverage by being part of that competition.





# Transatlantic Relations, Russia and China



**Ana Palacio**

International Lawyer, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain, former Senior Vice President and General Counsel of the World Bank Group



**Wang Jisi**

President of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies at Peking University



**Igor Yurgens**

Chairman of the Management Board of the Institute of Contemporary Development, Vice President of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs

This post-World War II order is not adapted to the new reality of shifts in powers, of private actors or a plethora of actors, of a change in instruments. Law is not what it used to be; it is not just treaties, but soft law. But what is very striking today is how it is contested. [...] We have the actors vis-à-vis the rules-based order. We have the Europeans. They are no doubt the "standard bearers" of the rules-based order. [...] We have the "ambivalent" actor: the United States, which has been historically ambivalent. [...] We then have the "smooth operator", which is China. [...] We have Russia with a clear strategy, which is disruptive, but a strategy nevertheless. Last but not least – and this is hopeful – is the intervention by India. Indian Prime Minister Modi does something extremely interesting: he disassociates democracy from the heritage of colonialism. [...] We Europeans have a role to play by convincing the United States that it is in their interest to update the international rules-based order and to keep what is important – and there many important components – but to adapt it. In this adaptation, we have to give a voice to other visions of what democracy means. We need to be open to other cultures, to other formulations that do not weaken the basic pillars, but instead adapt this rules-based order to the world of today.

Three international events—the US withdrawal from Afghanistan, Western countries' quarrel over AUKUS, and the release of Ms. Meng Wanzhou, the CFO of Huawei—have boosted China's national pride and stimulated Chinese nationalistic feelings. As for China's reaction to the changes in Afghanistan, Beijing regards it as a failure of Western-type democracy in a poor country, as well as a reflection of the "East rising, West declining" tide in global politics in general and the waning of US power in the greater Middle East in particular. China's comparative advantages in Afghanistan and the Middle East are two-fold. First, China can use economic and technological capacities to engage with the Taliban regime when the West is reluctant to do so. Besides, China's diplomatic standing does not offend many governments and groups in the Middle East and Central Asia, underscoring its policy differences with the West. However, China also has its weaknesses in the region. Beijing has few allies and limited social and humanitarian connections with regional states. It also lacks forceful means to protect its enterprises and citizens when they are at risk. This sense of insecurity and uncertainty explains why China is cautious about moving into Afghanistan for economic benefits. Additionally, China is unwilling to see that less US presence in the Middle East causes more US presence in the Asia Pacific region.

As one of the previous speakers said in Russia we also have followers and hedgers. The former want to strengthen the state and its anti-western position, and the later want more freedom and reset with the West. In 2003 President Putin signed the Strategic Partnership and Cooperation Agreement with the European Union, we started building common economic and security space. Today we arrived to the strategic confrontation. With the People's Republic of China it is the other way around – from the war on Damansky island 50 years ago to new solid strategic partnership today. However, the decoupling of the USA and China currently is a hard test for Russia. It will create more volatility on the financial markets, the breakdown of the supply chains and much more of the problems for Russian economy and foreign policy. That brings me to AUKUS. It is the creation of the military block which is a new danger for Russia. NATO is an opponent but it has been known and understood for the last 50 years. AUKUS is created outside of the known perimeter. This is the precedent, and if tomorrow Poland wants the US to create a similar block with the Baltic States to confront Russia, the tension would raise considerably. AUKUS is also an additional problem for the Russian Navy, since new submarines will reach its shores in the Pacific. The new dangerous situation is in Afghanistan. I will not analyse Biden's decision to withdraw, but it is a smart move from the point of view of US-Russia confrontation, because it puts Taliban problems on the Russian border. Of course, China and Pakistan are also involved, but the most serious situation is on the border of Tajikistan – Uzbekistan. They are Russian allies and partners, supported by the Russian military installations.





### Josep Borrell Fontelles

High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Vice President of the European Commission

War, military intervention, is not a very viable tool for settling post-Cold War conflicts. Military intervention is necessary, even as a deterrent, but in practice its effectiveness has been very limited. Until now, the Americans have faced the dangers of Islamist terrorism. They were obviously shocked by 9/11 and have been fighting terrorism for 20 years. They have radically changed and now their problem is China. That is normal. They have changed their script or let us say their opponent has changed. There is a movement to encircle China and build a new alliance, not in the Atlantic this time, but in the Pacific. If it is in the Pacific, it is with the countries of the Pacific, just as the alliance to face Russia was forged with the countries that faced Russia, i.e., us. The war against Islamic terror is over. Now they have to face China with allies that face China geographically and economically. This is leading us to a second Cold War, to bipolarity that will be in a multipolar context this time. I do not think this is in Europe's interest. [...] If Europe wants to be a pole in a multipolar world, we must fight against the force that is pushing us to shrink, i.e., to remain in our own immediate environment. We must have an Indo-Pacific strategy, just as we must have a Gulf strategy. We need to be present everywhere in the world, especially in the Pacific. But we must have the willpower to do so.





# The Digital World After the Pandemic



CHAIR:  
**François Barrault**  
Founder and Chairman of FDB Partners, Chairman of IDATE DigiWorld



**Benoît Cœuré**  
Head of the BIS Innovation Hub, former member of the ECB's Executive Board



**Kazuto Suzuki**  
Professor of Science and Technology Policy at the Graduate School of Public Policy at the University of Tokyo

We are going to talk about something all of us care about: the digital world after the pandemic. I think we all remember what happened on September 11, 2001, and I think most of us will remember what happened in March 2020. Humans adapt, but this new situation is very chaotic. Meanwhile, an unprecedented technological revolution has been taking place for the past few years. For those who know a bit about computers, a few years ago we had Moore's laws, i.e. computing power doubled every 18 months. Today the power multiplication rate is 10,000 to 1 million over 10 years, including in the technology field: microchips – if they can be found at all – sensors, cameras with embedded electronics and intelligence, edge computing, and the cloud will boom. The second thing is transmissions, 5G will cut latency times by 100 or 500 and reach speeds of several GigaB per second. Lastly, computer software will be able to correlate data and make them relevant. When you add the impact of the pandemic to the technological revolution, there is a culture shock and the virtuous circle of innovation is quite easy to understand. Technology changes uses, uses change business models and business models change investments in technology. This process was relatively slow but now it is speeding up. So a whole section of the economy has flatlined, while other parts, like entertainment or e-commerce, have absolutely boomed.

There are many ways in which Covid-19 has changed the world and more specifically how Covid-19 has accelerated the digital transformation. Finance is one of the areas and I think that what is now going in finance has useful lessons if you want to think about the future world. I think it is fair to say that the pandemic has started the third stage in a transformation of money and payments. The first stage of this transformation was about the consumer experience, or what technicians would call the front end of payment systems. [...] In the second stage we saw emerging what I would call closed loop payment systems. This started with cryptocurrency, of course, but then cryptocurrency turned out to be a disappointment as payment instruments because it proved to be so volatile. [...] What is going to happen now and what should be the mission brief for public authorities for the third stage after the pandemic? [...] There are different, complementary answers to what is going on now. One first answer will be through regulation, and it is very clear that there are large parts of decentralized finance as we know it, that will need tighter regulation. [...] Then public authorities will also see good reasons to issue their own digital assets that they want to put at the heart of the system to deliver the key public policy functions that are currently delivered by central bank money. [...] My last point, which I think matters for this conference, is about international cooperation. There are good reasons why international cooperation is needed around this discussion. One reason is that the financial system is global, and we want to keep it that way. [...] We should not fool ourselves: there are powerful forces acting against international cooperation in this field.

Let me just give you a perspective on data policy and data transfer in the world from a Japanese perspective. At the World Economic Forum in 2019, Japan proposed an idea called DFFT, the Data Free Flow with Trust and again at the G20 Osaka summit. This concept is designed to facilitate cross-border activities and to encourage e-commerce and digital payment across borders. However, there are no rules at the moment because there are different ways for handling data. The United States focuses on the company and the company does all the collection, maintenance and management of the data. Whereas in China, data is collected and controlled by the state and in Europe, the EU model focuses more on the ownership by the individual. There are different modes and rules and there are always the problems of managing this cross-border transfer of data. [...] I think the pandemic has re-emphasized the necessity of the international flow of data. What Japan is now trying to do is to build up the trust base, which is to make sure that each state authority is handling and managing data responsibly. Also, to make sure that we understand each other, so accreditation and mutual recognition of the rules and regulations are important. I think one of the big agendas here is that today it is all about the size of data. When you try to do machine learning and develop artificial intelligence, you need big data. China alone has as a population of 1.4 billion and they have very concentrated and centralized data collection systems. In order to compete with the datasets that China has we need the combined data flow of the US, Japan, India and Europe to have a comparative advantage against Chinese developments in artificial intelligence systems.





# The Digital World After the Pandemic



**Agnès Touraine**  
Chief Executive Officer of Act III Consultants, McKinsey  
Senior Advisor, former Chairwoman of the French Institute of Directors (IFA)

It has also had a really big impact on vulnerability, first and foremost economic vulnerability. Allow me to remind you of the definition of economic sovereignty. Economic sovereignty means that an economy has control of its own strategic supplies. We are clearly facing a shortage of chips and many raw materials. Will it last? Optimists say it will not and that it will have no impact on inflation. Others say that we have entered a new cycle. In any case, being dependent on foreign supplies of chips is fundamentally strategic for a country or a region. The chip shortage has brought the automotive industry to a standstill, or almost. I remind you that every strategic industry guzzles up staggering amounts of chips. We must be very careful about knowing whether economic sovereignty is at stake or not. It obviously is. [...] There is the issue of the quasi-monopoly of platforms and networks. We can return to the impact of social media that evade many controls. If I slander any of my neighbors in the press, I am sued within 48 hours and have to answer for it in front of a judge. There is nothing like this on social media, which we all know, but to a point where the manipulation of content is still extremely worrying, especially during election campaigns, which happens in a number of countries. Can we let the situation last? Can we let anonymity continue? This is a real issue that, once again, touches on economic sovereignty, when it comes to cyber, etc., political and obviously social sovereignty, since we also know that some social movements are strongly swayed by social media content which itself is strongly oriented by some countries.



**Patrick Nicolet**  
Founder and Managing Partner of Line Break Capital Ltd.,  
former Capgemini's Group Chief Technology Officer

The emergence of what is now referred to as the *token economy* is comprised of three distinctive categories: 1) cryptocurrencies, which include all digital currencies; 2) non-fungible tokens or NFTs, which are the digital securitization of assets and 3) the blockchain, which represents the underlying infrastructure upon which both cryptocurrencies and NFTs can be created and traded. The blockchain is a closed system limited to its participants, as well as a distributed database. Transactions on the blockchain are fully automated, making the outcome predictable and immutable. The inherent speed limitation associated with *proof of work* architecture is now being addressed through the *proof of stake* approach, which consumes less energy and proceeds faster. Blockchain can drive a positive impact for society, as the technology infrastructure upon which it is built allows for new circular business models to thrive on. It is also a way to address corruption in poorer countries. The token economy can also be considered a sustainable development if we ensure there is a proper business market for it. As with all things pertaining to money, authorities are often reluctant to allow parallel systems to emerge, for it has always been considered sovereign. Creating proper and regularized digital exchange platforms on which securitizations and tokenization can be traded could have tremendous positive impacts and yield huge profits in areas such as e-commerce, the music, fashion and arts' industries, real estate, banking and much more.



**Carlos Moreira**  
Founder, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of WISeKey,  
former UN Expert on cybersecurity

Now, everybody talks about acceleration but what is the brake. Acceleration is a USD 10 trillion economy with Facebook, Apple, Google, Amazon, which had zero value a few years ago and now they are sitting in a monopolistic position and expanding 40% to 50% a year. What is their product? What do they sell? They sell us and that is because they do not treat us as humans, they treat us as consumers. We are consumers for them, and consumers do not have feelings, or care whether you have family or not. Consumers are something you dispose off the minute they stop consuming. This enormous platform that has been created is actually growing exponentially. Humans are linear so for me to go from here to there I have to go step by step. I cannot just jump and get somewhere. Technology is exponential, 12, 24, 64, 128, and this exponentiality is accelerated by the fact that technologies are converging for the first time. It is similar to where we were in the Renaissance, where you had geometry, architecture, etc., converging. Now we are in that process of converging, with blockchain, artificial intelligence, and IoT now connecting one trillion devices a year and expanding to something 30 trillion devices; everything will connect. The question is where those things are connecting and what role humans have in that interconnection. [...] This morning, everyone was talking about the Cold War and we are actually no longer in that, we are in an invisible war. The invisible war between countries that want to control the metaverse. Imagine the metaverse is like a massive Cloud, if your country is not there and that Cloud does not have a space for it, you are colonized by others, you do not exist.



**Jean-Louis Gergorin**  
Senior lecturer at Sciences Po Paris, owner of the cyber and aerospace consultancy JLG Strategy

How can we ensure peace, stability and security in a digital space that is somewhat misshapen by this weaponization? I think we need to distinguish between two things. First, I think international regulation of social media is impossible. On the other hand, governments can do this, especially in countries where they directly supervise them – I am thinking of the United States –, or it is up to social media themselves to do this through self-regulation to fight fake news. Second, hacking can escalate to the point where it gets out of control one day, unleashing digital pandemics, so to speak. It is essential to stop this. But I do not think discussions limited strictly to digital technology are enough to do that. [...] What is needed is to integrate discussions of the underlying geopolitics of conflicts with talks on moderating and limiting the weaponization of cyberspace. A forum is needed for that, and I think the most legitimate one is the United Nations Security Council. President Macron's idea of a UN Security Council members' summit fell flat. It could be revived by focusing on improving security in cyberspace. For this to happen, heads of state obviously need to start conversations among their digital experts. But at the same time, there needs to be a discussion about the geopolitical and strategic underpinnings, i.e., conflicts.





CHAIR:  
Thomas  
Gomart  
Director of Ifri

# Asia and the Sino-American Rivalry



Hiroyuki Akita  
Commentator of *Nikkei*, Japan



Renaud Girard  
Senior reporter and war correspondent at *Le Figaro*



Lee Hye Min  
Senior Advisor of KIM & CHANG, former G20 Sherpa, former Deputy Minister for Trade of Korea, former Chief Negotiator for the Korea-EU FTA

The United States and China are escalating into more intense and deeper competition. Before this pandemic, two powers competed over the high-tech hegemony and the geopolitical primacy, mainly on the maritime domain. But, now, a main arena of the US and China competitions are about the supremacy of their political system. The US believe that the nature of China's Communist Party (CCP) regime is partly responsible to this pandemic situation. Washington assumes if CCP were to allow freedom of speech and press, Beijing could have detected and responded to an initial outbreak of Covid in Wuhan more quickly. Instead, allegedly, there was covered up of the outbreak at the initial stage, and CCP could not prevented Covid infections to spread to the world. On the other hand, China believes CCP system is superior to US democracy, and it thinks current Covid situations both in China and the US are proving it. China also suspects the US aims to weaken or even overthrow CCP regime eventually. This two powers' rivalry over their political systems is much more intense than a competition over the high-tech or the geopolitics. In short term, it looks like China is in more favorable position than the US. Military balance of power in the Indo-Pacific has been shifting toward Beijing's side gradually. In the economic domain, Asian countries increasingly rely on China than they do on the US. China is major player of new economic framework in the Asian Pacific, RCEP. China also applied to join CPTPP, while the US is reluctant to come back. In order to sustain current global order, it is crucial for US allies and likeminded countries to come up with common Indo-Pacific strategy and collaborate to realize the free and open Indo-Pacific region.

I think main goal of Xi Jinping – his legacy to China from his time in power – is getting back Taiwan. I even think his attitude towards this borders on obsession. However, I do not think that China wants to fight in this conflict. Since Sun Tzu, China has wanted to win wars without fighting. So I cannot imagine a Battle of the Coral Sea or a Battle of the Midway for control of Taiwan. Instead, I see a strategy with two focal points. The first of these is obviously a "fifth column" inside Taiwan thanks to the Kuomintang party, which is weakening against Ms. Tsai's party but nevertheless highly present – I believe Mainland China has a genuine policy towards the Kuomintang party in Taiwan. The second is a policy of patience. [...] I think that the Chinese tactic is simply to show some strategic patience and wait for the Americans to withdraw for one reason or another, which may be related to American domestic politics. The Taiwanese will then understand that they have no option but to join China and negotiate as much independence as they can. China has built an extremely strong navy, whose aim is to intimidate. And its cyber warfare is ongoing: the Chinese are engaged in a permanent cyber war, not only against Australia at the moment but also to spy on France and the United States. However, this is a strategy concerned with the balance of power. And I do not think that we are heading towards a "hot war" – the type of naval warfare that we saw during the first Pacific war. This second Pacific war, which has already begun, is a war of the balance of power; a war of intimidation that uses cyber warfare and whose goal is for the Taiwanese to hand themselves over to China, simply due to this balance of power.

The intensifying and expanding tension between the US and China is much more serious issue to Korea because of history and geographical vicinity. The military alliance with the US is the backbone of Korea's foreign policy but we need to note that more than 30% of its total export goes to China and Hong Kong, and Korea is the largest source of China's import. In addition, the US and China are two indispensable partners for Korea to manage the threat from North Korea, maintaining the peace and stability of the Korean peninsula. It is almost impossible for Korea to segregate economic and geopolitical concerns and the idea of economic decoupling with China is a non-starter for Korea. As an ally of the US, Korea will follow the US strategic trends, and it was reconfirmed at the face-to-face Summit meeting of the two countries in May at the White House. However, it would be difficult for Korea to join the initiative explicitly targeting China. The international political order we want to see is non-exclusive and we highly value cooperation with all countries as more than 90% of Korea's GDP is generated from the external trade. How to remain a good and reliable partner of the US without confronting and provoking China is the most serious challenge for Korea in the coming years.





## Asia and the Sino-American Rivalry



**Mayankote Kelath Narayanan**

Executive Chairman of CyQureX Systems Pvt. Ltd., former Senior Advisor and National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister of India



**Marcus Noland**

Executive Vice President and Director of Studies at the Peterson Institute for International Economics



**Wang Jisi**

President of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies at Peking University

The Asian continent has possibly the largest number of rivalries between nations today. Sino-American rivalry has far reaching consequences for an Asia already plagued by tensions between India and China over a disputed several-kilometer-long border in the Himalayas. A flare up in June last year following China's unprovoked aggression in the Galwan heights in Ladakh (India) has worsened that situation. Checkmating China's expansionist ambitions is crucial, but Asia, by itself, may not be able to withstand China. Meanwhile, China's influence is increasing across Asia, thanks to its Belt Road Initiative which, though portrayed as an economic and development initiative, conceals a strategic dimension. The question that arises among Asian countries is whether the US is indeed keen to checkmate China's expansionist ambitions. Talk of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (the US, India, Japan and Australia), and the AUKUS (Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States), alongside the other QUAD in West Asia (the US, the UAE, Israel and India), is interesting, but they need to prove that they can, or are willing, to checkmate China. Governments across the Free World need to come together to prevent Chinese expansionism. Under Xi Jinping, China seems in many ways to mirror China under Mao during the 1958-59, and there are certain inner tensions today that plague the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). These could be exploited by democratic nations to widen the fault lines within the CCP, which may prove more effective in containing China than engaging in an open conflict.

American attitudes toward China across the political spectrum have been hardening at both the elite and mass level. That consensus appears to be largely attributable to the assumption that the government of China is engaged in increasingly oppressive behavior internally as well as aggressive external behavior. [...] The Biden administration has criticized China over its refusal to cooperate on a rigorous independent investigation into the origins of the Covid-19 virus and it has reaffirmed the Trump administration's characterization of the situation in Xinjiang as genocide. With the revival of the Quad and the recent AUKUS submarine deal, the US is trying to come to a military alliance to balance China in the Indo-Pacific region. The problem with this strategy is that China is the leading trade partner for most countries in the region and the US moves are not being accompanied by a robust economic policy component. [...] In terms of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from coal-fired powerplants in train, China accounts for 54 %, India 11 %, Indonesia 7 %. Together, these three Asian countries account for 71 % of the projected increase of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from coal-fired powerplants, so any solution to climate change must include China. The outstanding issue is whether the US and China can cooperate on issues such as climate change while continuing to work together on more problematic issues, such as North Korea where their interests do not entirely align, while disagreeing on other matters, including sensitive domestic policy issues such as genocide in Xinjiang. The Biden administration wants to pursue this kind of multifaceted approach, but the evidence is thin as to whether such an approach can be successful.

The external environment is not favorable to China. First, many media reports indicate that public opinion in Western countries, Japan, South Korea and India is increasingly unfavorable to China. Besides, QUAD countries intend to stop China from becoming Asia's undisputed hegemon. However, these developments unfavorable to China are hardly reported in China or known to the general public. Chinese media is full of "China triumphalism", making it difficult for Beijing to show any conciliation towards whoever is hostile to China. In this circumstance, China will not back down on major foreign policy issues or become less assertive, at least in terms of rhetoric. However, although China has been engaging in a protracted strategic competition that may last for decades, both Beijing and Washington are preoccupied with their respective domestic imperatives at this moment. On the other hand, it is not easy for the two countries to remarkably improve their relationship, as China is concerned with the US tracing the origins of Covid-19, boycotting Winter Olympic Games, and inviting Taiwan to the "Democratic Summit". In the future, instead of an unlikely military crisis in Taiwan Strait, the "technological decoupling" and the danger of a cyberwar are greater issues to worry about. Essentially, the China-US competition is a game between China's domestic order maintained by the Communist Party of China and the international order advocated by the US. Therefore, China's international behavior is mostly defensive in nature. The recent intensification of China's propaganda campaign against the US is more directed at domestic audiences rather than international ones.





CHAIR:  
**Thierry de Montbrial**  
Founder and Chairman  
of Ifri and the WPC



**Kevin Rudd**  
President of the Asia Society Policy Institute, former Prime Minister of Australia

On Chinese domestic politics, I think it is fair to say that Xi Jinping has moved the center of gravity of the Chinese Communist Party further to the left during his nine years in office. If you look at the combined impact of the measures he has taken over the last nine years, it is quite a different set of Chinese politics now than we had very much at the end of the Hu Jintao period in November 2012. [...] Xi Jinping wants to see the reassertion of the Party-state. He does not like Chinese billionaires becoming the role models for China's youth for the future. He also believes that to hold onto power he must see bigger wealth redistribution to China's working classes and lower-middle classes. He also believes that this is all necessary in order to deliver the long-term realization of his national ambition for China to become a global superpower by 2049. He believes that that can only happen as a consequence of the state driving this. [...] Xi Jinping realizes that domestic nationalism provides another pillar for domestic political legitimacy for the Chinese Communist Party as well. [...] This is becoming more important as a pillar for legitimacy as a question mark begins to rise over China's slowing economic growth rate, the actions taken against the Chinese entrepreneurial class and whether in fact the economic miracle of the last 35 years may begin to slow down and deliver less in the future than it has in the past. That makes nationalism more important. What does it mean in practice? It means that in the next decade, assuming that Xi Jinping is reappointed, we will see a progressively more assertive China over Taiwan, the South China Sea, the East China Sea, over its policies with its 14 neighboring countries. You will also see a more assertive Chinese international economic policy, a more assertive position by China in the international rules-based order and China seeking to enhance its position within the UN system, within the Bretton-Woods machinery, and also with new multilateral institutions that China itself creates. Where will that land us by the end of the decade? I think we should not anticipate any early move by China against Taiwan. That is not because China has eschewed the use of force but because China believes that the balance of power will be more to its advantage against the United States by the end of the decade rather than at the beginning.





# Health as a Global Governance Issue: Lessons from Covid-19 Pandemic



CHAIR:  
**Michel Kazatchkine**  
Former Executive Director of the Global Fund to fight AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria, Senior Fellow at the Global Health Centre of the Graduate Institute for International and Development Studies, Geneva



**Christian Bréchet**  
President of the Global Virus Network



**Juliette Tuakli**  
Chief Executive Officer of CHILDAccra Medical, Chair of the Board of Trustees of United Way Worldwide

My introduction to the session emphasized the four following points: First, the pandemic is not yet over. The pandemic remains a global emergency and that the future remains uncertain. Second, the world was not prepared. Although public health officials, experts, and previous international reviews had warned of potential pandemics since the first outbreak of SARS, Covid-19 took large parts of the world by surprise. National pandemic preparedness has been vastly underfunded, despite the clear evidence that its cost is a fraction of the cost of responses and losses incurred when an epidemic occurs. Third, we must work together to end this pandemic. Equitable delivery of Covid-19 vaccines under the current system, remains painfully slow. Global solidarity to address the pandemic is far away today from where we would like it to be. Fourth, as we work together to end this pandemic, we must act urgently to avert the next. At the time of the WPC, we were looking forward to the Rome G20, the World health Assembly (WHA) and the UN GA to take decisions on funding preparedness and response to pandemics and on reforming global health governance. The positive move since the WPC has been the decision by the WHA to launch negotiations for a future pandemic treaty or agreement.

We should also never forget the pending issue of the long-term medical consequences and the real impact of, for example, what we call long Covid. I believe that this is something where there is still uncertainty. [...] Will we have new variants? Yes, as long as the virus is circulating. Will they be sensitive to vaccines? So far, yes, but we do not really know about the future. A very important point is that we have the tools for real-time genomic investigation of infectious disease, and it is about organizing the onsite capacities worldwide for sequencing, as well as sharing the data, for this pandemic and for the future. This is a really very important issue. I do not want to discuss all the vaccines, obviously the RNA vaccines are the leaders, and the overall efficacy has been just remarkable. They prevent hospitalization and death, with less than 0.01% of vaccinated people being hospitalized in the US and death from Covid-19 is mostly in unvaccinated people. [...] Vaccine inequality is a key point, and it has already been discussed. I just want to mention a very recent paper in *Science*, which is based on mathematical modeling that really demonstrates the impact of vaccine nationalism on the dynamics and controls of SARS-CoV-2 and the return on investment we can get from a global strategy. [...] The diagnostics have been seriously underestimated and will be key for future pandemics; indeed we now have in hand rapid tests based on salivary samples, molecular tests, low-cost and very easy to develop in low-income countries. We need other organizational schemes. I am the President of the Global Virus Network and there are obviously others, but we really need to merge the centers all over the world to provide real expertise rather than individual-based expertise.

The pandemic highlighted health inequities that had been ongoing, also other systemic weaknesses such as insufficiencies, ineffective and unequal national health systems. In addition, there were weak regional and domestic financing arrangements with which to procure appropriate medicines and vaccines along with the presence of highly asynchronous health regulatory policies throughout the African continent. [...] The role of philanthropists and civic societies in the health arena was also enormously important. United Way Worldwide, which I chair, raised over a USD 1 billion during the course of the past one and a half years, helping over 27 million people who were affected by the pandemic. [...] It was now time for we Africans to engage in manufacturing our own medical pharmaceuticals and start developing medical programs and policies that work for us specifically. In addition, looking at the global stage, it is important that it is not just that we partner with other groups and agencies, but that we have an equal status within such relationships. There has to be some equity in the partnerships hereon in terms of health and health governance, for us to be able to effectively be part of the solution, not just part of the problem within Africa regarding global health. [...] Africa has received one-fifth of the vaccines that were originally pledged. While people may slight us for not having vaccinated sufficient numbers of people on the continent, one must remember that we have not received anywhere near as many vaccines as were promised nor anticipated.





## Health as a Global Governance Issue: Lessons from Covid-19 Pandemic



**Jean Kramarz**

Director of the Healthcare activities of the AXA Partners Group



**Robert Sigal**

Chief Executive Officer of the American Hospital of Paris



**Haruka Sakamoto**

Assistant Professor at the School of Medicine, Department of Health Policy and Management, Keio University

Health is a strategic issue and as such, governments should invest in Health massively before a crisis occurs, not after. Stocks of medical goods should be looked after with the same focus as military assets. The supply chain of medical goods should be also secured which implies relocation of the pharmaceutical industry closer to the consumers. Medical professions should be staffed and paid at the necessary level to have them available for peak needs. This will have a cost and it is reasonable to anticipate that Health will be even more expensive in the future than it is today. The other area to invest in is Trust. Public health strategies can be severely impaired by the lack of trust. Trust in public health policies should be built with a long-term vision through 21st century communication tools, this is social networks.

What makes the fight effective is coordination between general practitioners and hospitals, and less obviously, between the private and public sector. Most important, was the coordination orchestrated by public agencies. In France, in the Paris region, which has approximately 10 million people, you have the Regional Healthcare Agency. It played a key role in distributing drugs and masks when there were shortages, directing patients to the appropriate hospitals [...] Second is anticipation: by the law, each hospital must prepare an emergency plan, so we need to know how to deal with an influx of wounded or dead. [...] The second element of anticipation is of course equipment, respirators and drugs, and personal protection equipment. [...] Even more important is infrastructure anticipation. In 2020, when it came to intensive care beds per 100,000 of population, Germany had 34, France 16 and Italy 8.6. Of course, whether or not to increase the number of beds is essential. Added to that and even more important in terms of anticipation are skills. You can have respirators and beds, but you need the properly trained nurses, intensivists or doctors working in reanimation. Number three is technology. Today, hospitals are completely digitized, and we share images and data, and this was a really very important move that was a clear benefit from the war. [...] I would like to add a final comment that of course, what we have learned over the last year and a half is that states have reinforced their role and certainly rightly so. However, in the future, we should not fight the previous battle. The GAFA are now emerging very rapidly and although they are not prominent healthcare players today, they will be in the next five to 10 years and they will play a very important role. We should not forget things like that and just fight past battles, we also need to fight the battles of the future.

Global health governance is often discussed in negative terms, such as the weakening of the World Health Organization, the absence of leadership and the structure of the US-China conflict being brought into global health. All of them are true this time during Covid-19, so the WHO still faces numerous challenges, and it is also true that global health governance has not functioned sufficiently well with pandemic. On the other hand, it should also be noted that the WHO is steadily cooperating with every member state, especially at country level and lessons learned from past pandemics have played a major role in Covid-19, such as CEPI. International solidarity frameworks, such as Covax, though incomplete, have also been helpful. We also need to consider the importance of bilateral cooperation as well as China's presence is also increasing in global health, and how to confront it is also important. While G7 and G20 has been long playing important role in articulate global health governance, several other platforms are newly emerging such as QUAD. It is quite tough to answer the question of which country, organization, or platform should play leadership role in the post-Covid-19 era, but it is urgently needed to reconsider about the better global health governance to response to the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic as well as for the future pandemics.





# Global Health: Technology, Economics and Ethics



CHAIR:  
**Patrick Nicolet**  
Founder and Managing Partner of Line Break Capital Ltd.,  
former Capgemini's Group Chief Technology Officer



**Jacques Biot**  
Board member and Advisor to companies in the field of  
digital transformation and artificial intelligence, former  
President of the École Polytechnique in Paris

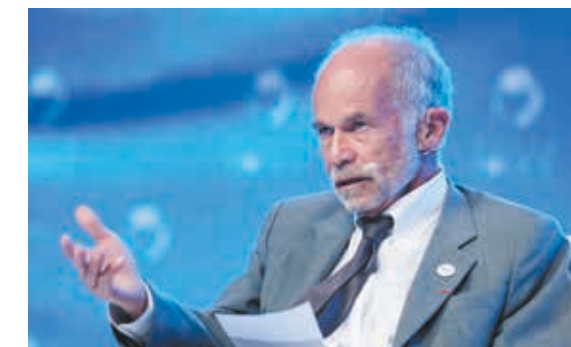
Innovation must be socially acceptable, economically viable, and technologically feasible. In the field of healthcare, too often have we considered the later with little to no consideration to the other two criteria, partly because it has proven quite challenging to measure such social and economic criteria in the context of public health. However, a growing trend in the design of technology illustrates a recent shift towards a more holistic approach. It is referred to as planet-centric design and it ambitions to account for all external negativities. It is particularly interesting as it considers the environment people live as a key factor of their well-being. It differs from the traditional product-centric approach which only focused on the technological feasibility, as well as the people-centric approach which, despite honorable intention, limited the humans to their role as consumers. These debates between different approaches to the design of technology are far from anecdotic. They have a direct impact on the trust people and societies place in science and technology. The public is increasingly aware of the negative impact of technology companies which serve themselves at the expense of the population they are supposed to help. If we refer to past technology cycles, this is usually the sign that the uncontrolled growth phase of the current information technology cycle that impacts the healthcare system, among others, is coming to an end, and that this crisis that we are facing is only the beginning of a golden age where technology is used for the benefits of the many.

My presentation addresses the difficulty of reconciling supply and demand in the ever-burgeoning field of healthcare services and products, and proposes to introduce some strategic drive to maximize the benefit for society in this domain which to-date is guided by no invisible hand. The International Classification of Diseases established by WHO lists a total of 55,000 codes for as many disease definitions. In the quest to find remedies to these ailments, more than 280,000 'interventional' trials are on course in the world. While this huge R&D effort does and will provide more effective treatments, the funding of innovation, mostly from public sources, is facing limits. While some metrics exist to gauge the relative burden of diseases, and to assess the effect of interventions, the evaluation process, although unavoidable and scientifically undisputable, does not provide any clue, nor intends to provide any, on the preferability of addressing disease A rather than disease B, if resources are restricted and do not allow to treat both. Hence, when it comes to curbing healthcare expenses, payers are left without much clue as to how to do this in a strategic way. This is a reason why more and more voices call for a more rationale, data-based, socially acceptable strategy to be concerted amongst healthcare stakeholders, including patients. The time has come to reinforce research and education in epidemiology and health economics. The fast improvement of data collection and management, using high performance communication and augmented intelligence gear, should allow for a more informed, consensus-seeking, definition of public preferences in terms of health-policy, which would serve as a basis for the allocation of public resources to all healthcare players.





# Global Health: Technology, Economics and Ethics



**Daniel Andler**  
Emeritus Professor at Sorbonne University, member of the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences



**Kim Sung-Woo**  
Chief Executive Officer of MiCo BioMed Co. Ltd.



**Carlos Moreira**  
Founder, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of WISeKey, former UN Expert on cybersecurity

Ethics is important in healthcare. Not because people have a human right to health, and it is our individual and social duty to provide it, but because discharging this duty is no simple matter. In the words of the philosopher Joseph Raz "Ethics seeks to give substance to the general category of the good". Specifically, why is ethics central to healthcare? It is because on the receiving end are people who singly and collectively have a lot at stake, are a captive market and are vulnerable; because all along the chain that provides healthcare are workers and stakeholders who have ethical exigencies of their own; and because providing healthcare is just one among competing demands on individuals, communities, and society at large. One difficulty raised by the ethics of healthcare is conceptual. Health is a highly contentious good, subject to variable interpretations. Health and healthcare depend on economic, political, social and, most crucially, cultural factors. Another problem, common to all domains of human practice, is the lack of a direct route from principles to practices on the ground. And of course, as always, the ethical demands of the different stakeholders are not always aligned; ethics is a lot about dilemmas. Technology brings about a sea change in healthcare, as direct benefits for people but also, as tools for democratic participation and ethical debate. Technology also opens the door to entirely new practices that raise equally novel ethical issues. The more powerful the technology, the more areas it can penetrate, the more outlandish and possibly transgressive the practices.

The National Institute of Health (NIH) in the USA invested huge amounts of money for drug development over 50 years. However, they found that they could not make significant progress. They made a decision to change their policy to focus on prevention rather than treatment. The prevention of diseases through efficient diagnosis is expected to be more effective. At the beginning of last year, the WHO announced that Covid-19 became pandemic rapidly over the world. Many diagnostic companies instantly generated efficient accurate PCR diagnostic kits to detect Covid-19 for massive screening. However, there was a critical problem in sampling and transportation of human samples. It is possible that samples may be mistakenly leaked or mixed up, resulting in wrong reports. Therefore, rapid accurate detection using POCT system is requested to reduce these kinds of risks by handling the fresh samples on site. We and other companies currently developed efficient diagnostic systems that are subsequently improved to more reliable forms of compact, accurate and inexpensive system. This kind of POCT system can be used at home or in field for monitoring, screening, supervising and controlling the epidemic and pandemic infectious diseases at different seasons and at different locations. Individuals can check their health condition using handheld or wearable detection system, transfer the results to artificial intelligence (AI) program linked to big data and receive confirmative report from the doctor's office or governmental control tower. Thus we will enter the ubiquitous healthcare era with the innovative tele-diagnostic system in the near future. Wide applications can be adapted to the many global institutes such as WHO, USA CDC and Institut Pasteur.

The good news is that, in the 4th Industrial Revolution, the power of better health will increasingly be placed into the hands of the individual. As this power is transferred, groups of individuals will be both inspired and empowered to share the benefits. But will we? And if so, how? Will progress be hampered as siloed drug companies drive up the costs of necessary medicines, medical conglomerates drive up the costs of hospital services, and insurance providers drive up premiums? As we still battle a global pandemic, the solutions to better global health are not as simple as better tools. The key challenge, and therefore the key action necessary, is in the area of digital collaboration and cooperation. While individual control can keep costs down, the remedies we need most (like a vaccine) are still in the hands of conglomerates who, in many cases, are not obligated to place human values above fiscal values. For pandemic-like occurrences to be remedied far more rapidly than the current one we still face, that prioritization needs to shift on a global scale. And if companies will not self-adjust how they operate in the digital realm, there are other collective ways to reach this critical result. For decades, technological ambition on the health sector has frequently outpaced human ambition. On one hand, it seems technology has always ridden ahead, as a way to introduce the masses to elemental improvements to our lives: fire, electricity, penicillin, and the steam engine. The list goes on. The real question is: Are the aspirations that are being rewritten today actually improving our lives, or eroding them? It is always the question humanity must ask, but never more critically than today. Now we must ask the question with the knowledge that answering incorrectly will have bigger consequences than, for instance, losing the money we had invested in leech farms or horse-drawn wagons. The nature of innovation has never changed. Ideas come from everywhere.





CHAIR:  
**Ali Aslan**  
International TV  
Presenter and journalist



**Didier Reynders**  
Commissioner for Justice in charge of Rule of Law and Consumer  
Protection at the European Commission

For many years we have paid attention in Europe to the budgetary situation, the economic and social conversion, but not so much the values. After the accession to the European Union, we said it was done and they fulfilled all the political criteria, so there was no need to verify that. For a number of years, maybe since 2016, I was in the Council at that time and we started discussing a possible verification of the values and respect for the values, like we have for the budgetary situation. Since the banking crisis and sovereign debt crisis 10 years ago, we have enhanced controls on the budget. Now maybe with the evolution in some member states to authoritarian regimes, we are also paying more attention to values and that is very new. However, it is not just about paying attention to that in the EU, it is also so that we are more credible when we discuss it with other countries. We want to have common standards in Europe, sharing the same values, but we also want to have an influence on the rest of the world. Let me just give you some examples. I listened to the previous discussions about health and when you try to protect privacy and personal data you need to put regulations in place, which in Europe is the GDPR. In the three years since its implementation, we have seen that privacy laws and the same kind of regulations have been implemented in many parts of the world, not just California or South Korea, but also Kenya. We are increasingly moving to standardization on the basis of the same values with some likeminded partners. [...] When you speak about rule of law and fundamental rights, it is important to deliver at home in the European Union and to take care of it in different fields, so that we can have an influence with likeminded partners on standardization at a global level. That is very important and the GDPR was a good example. I am hoping that we will have the same impact with sustainable governance as the Paris Agreement has had on climate.





CHAIR:  
**Thierry de Montbrial**  
Founder and Chairman  
of Ifri and the WPC



**Anwar Mohammed Gargash**  
Diplomatic Advisor to the President, United Arab Emirates

After the fall of the Soviet Union, the international system witnessed a very brief American moment. Although the United States remains dominant and most important, the international system is clearly not unipolar. What we have very clearly today is the presence of China and I think that Chinese economic, political and technological presence in many regions in the world will stay with us. I think we are all very worried by a looming cold war and I think for countries, like for all of us present in this hall, that is bad news because the idea of choosing is problematic in the international system. This is not going to be an easy ride but clearly, China will continue to become extremely important. It is sometimes easier to understand America's direction than China's direction because of the nature and openness of the debate. While America's direction is something that you can glean from various readings, conferences and discussions, I think understanding China's direction is more opaque. However, fundamentally, I think this is going to be a big challenge for all of us. For us here in the UAE, the United States is our predominant strategic partner, but China with India is our number one or two economic partner. I also do not think that the issue is only about America and China. If you look at our country, the UAE has what I would call core economic and strategic relations with India, Korea, Japan and all these countries have their own rivalry and problems with China. It is not just about recalibrating Chinese American relations or American-Chinese relations, I think it is also recalibrating many others. For example, India is our closest large neighbor, or largest neighbor, and it is in competition with China on how much trade we do and also, India is on the ascendancy at the same time. I think for a country our size, we are very concerned about this looming cold war, and I hope it does not come to that, although realistically, all the signals are not very encouraging.





## Geopolitical Dimensions of the Future Supply of Critical Raw Materials



CHAIR:

**Holger Bingmann**

President of the German Section of the International Chamber of Commerce, Honorary Chairman of the German Emirati Joint Council for Industry and Commerce

This brings me to the topic of this session, and part of our lifestyle may be the access and the ongoing supply of critical raw materials. They are omnipresent in our daily lives. [...] They help us to create the society of today and they are the key to the society we live in and without them, the society of tomorrow in particular will be impossible to create. This society of tomorrow that we aspire to live in is a society of climate neutrality, sustainability, ongoing technological achievements in health, mobility, communications, etc., is constantly driven by critical raw materials. As we aim to achieve the climate target goals of the Paris Agreement, we need critical raw materials, like vanadium, for renewable energies, for battery technologies. The European Green Deal will be the guiding principle of European politics for decades to come. Climate focused politics are here to stay in Europe, so the economy and the industry need a constant and secure supply of necessary resources in order to comply with the Green Deal. Beyond energy, an ever-growing global population demands access to the critical raw materials required for the production of fertilizers like phosphate. Advances in communications and mobility demand critical raw materials, as do artificial intelligence, digitalization and whatever; it is always critical raw materials. This brings us to the question of demand and supply. It will be and is already a geopolitical question for the future. [...] How will the Europeans, the United States and other countries and regions handle the existing and future question of these global supply materials? What are the risks from a security or economic standpoint associated with US and European efforts to build their own value chains and form the strategic partnerships we need for the future?



**Ingvil Smines Tybring-Gjedde**

Non-Executive Director at Norge Mining

Going back to Norway's deposits of the three EU critical raw materials. Vanadium is likely to become more pivotal because vanadium redox flow batteries are scalable and safe, do not degrade and have infinite lifecycles. That makes them perfect powerhouses to store vast amounts of renewable energy. Titanium is already an essential component in several renewable energy system applications. Lightweight with extraordinary strength and anti-corrosive, these characteristics will gain in importance as offshore wind installations increase, as I have already mentioned. Then there is phosphate, a fertilizer ingredient that helps feed our expanding population and, if used properly, is a more environmental-friendly solution than nitrogen-based fertilizers. It is no secret, but it is important to remind ourselves of the realities of EU and US raw material supply and demand. China currently dominates the global market, and the EU currently obtains 62% of its raw materials from China, 8% from Russia and most of the rest from African countries. Europe is a large producer of wind turbines and batteries, but the EU produces no more than 1% of the minerals needed for this production. Is this a huge problem? I think so. As a former Minister for Public Security, I will say that it is at least a huge challenge because 30 million jobs in the EU are directly dependent on access to raw materials.



**Peter Handley**

Head of the Energy-Intensive Industries and Raw Materials Unit in the European Commission's Directorate-General for Growth

When the then Chinese President said, "The Middle East has oil, but China has rare earths" that was the starting signal for China to build a strong position in the metals and minerals value chain. We got a first idea of what that meant in geopolitical terms in 2010 when there were tensions between Japan and China after China shut off the supply of rare earths. [...] The first decision taken by the von der Leyen Commission in December 2019 was the European Green Deal. In that Green Deal, there is a statement that says, "There is no Green Deal without access to a sustainable supply of critical raw materials. Raw materials have become a security issue for the European Union". [...] In 2020, we revisited our assessment of criticality and we came up with an action plan. One action was to set up an industrial alliance for raw materials. In its first year, this alliance has delivered an investment pipeline of EUR 10.7 billion from mining through to recycling and everything in-between, in most countries of the European Union. Just two days ago, it delivered an action plan on rare earths and permanent magnets. [...] I see four challenges. The first is that there is a race for resources and the challenge will be if we can manage this in a civilized way in a world that is becoming increasingly uncivilized. The second challenge is a deficit of investment. Third, you need a new social contract. There is a lot of opposition to mining and expectations that it cleans up its act, and that there are more transparent supply chains. The final challenge is a deficit in global governance on how we manage the world's metals and minerals.



**David Wurmser**

Founder and Executive member of the Delphi Global Analysis Group, former Senior Advisor to the US Vice President on Middle East

We are discarding essential current knowledge and human capital. The lowering of value creation and outsourcing, especially in fields like mining, by Western countries, has led to a rise in the atrophy in key talent. The Department of Defense's fiscal year 2020 Industrial Capabilities report said this, "The entire US critical material supply chain faces workforce challenges, including aging, retiring personnel and faculty, public perceptions about the nature of mining and mineral processing, and foreign competition for US talent. Unless these challenges are addressed, there may not be enough qualified US workers to meet domestic production needs across the entire critical materials supply chain". In 1995, the US defunded the Bureau of Mines, which issued educational grants and assisted university programs. In contrast, China has 39 universities granting mineral processing and metallurgy degrees with thousands of graduate and undergraduate students. The EU Commission report on raw materials identifies and extrapolates current existing technologies into yet underappreciated directions that will revolutionize industry. Some of the biggest strategically important changes may come from beyond existing technologies and the EU Commission, let alone the Americans and honestly, we are out to lunch, does not really extrapolate cutting-edge research that will radically alter current concepts, so we need to widen the aperture. As I said, the US is no better and DARPA, which does this, is going away in the United States. [...] We need to monitor these key centers of innovation, incubation and education to extrapolate preemptively, to proactively secure, explore and protect those raw materials before others place a stranglehold on their production and export.





CHAIR:  
**Thierry de Montbrial**  
Founder and Chairman  
of Ifri and the WPC



**Nabil Fahmy**  
Founding Dean of the School of Global Affairs and Public Policy at the  
American University in Cairo, former Foreign Minister of Egypt

We are all in search of identity, from America right through the super-powers into our region, but frankly that also applies in Europe. We look at Europe, traditionally our closest friends, and we just do not feel that you are giving us a clear message and that is obvious. We are actually engaging with Europe quite strongly economically but the debate on general policy issues is more formal than intense. I would love to see a stronger European engagement on how we work on the Mediterranean and also on all the waterways because as the discussions over the last few days have shown, for example, the difficulties with supply chains, etc. I emphasize again the point we have heard throughout this conference; we are all in this game together. Nobody can say they are going to stay out and then reap the benefits or isolate themselves from the negative implications. As Europeans, you are strong, healthy countries with good economies. I grant you have your own priorities and I do not want you to embrace ours, but there has to be a much stronger level of engagement than there is today. I would argue here that I do not want to make you Egyptian, and you should not try to make me French, but we should try to manage the optimum advantages we get from the relationship and then manage our differences so that they are not detrimental to either of us. In all candor and leaving aside my diplomatic experience, Europe needs to be a stronger player than it is today.





CHAIR:  
**Fareed Yasseen**  
Ambassador of Iraq to the United States



**Khalifa Shaheen Almarar**  
Minister of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Arab Emirates

The Middle East and our region, especially over the last decade or so, has gone through a lot of crises and conflicts that have taken a lot of efforts and resources and shook the foundation of national state institutions. Now, there is a consensus among Arab countries that any malicious intervention in the crises in the region only exacerbates these crises and conflicts and makes an already very complex situation even more so. We think what is needed is to promote stability, security and peaceful resolution of conflicts and that is what we in the United Arab Emirates are focusing on. We have always promoted stability in the region and working for it and promoting the stability that could lead to prosperity and the long-term security of the region. In quest of that, we have promoted building bridges with all the countries and nations of the region to work for the peaceful settlement of conflicts for prosperity and long-term stability and security for the region. Now, we think that world powers as well as regional ones need to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Arab countries, assisting them in finding peaceful solutions to conflicts and in building or rebuilding the region. With all the challenges we face in the region, more connections are needed to bring all the countries together for dialogue and to promote peace, security and the peaceful settlement of conflicts. The Abraham Accords is one example of that, and I must emphasize here that when we signed them, we were showing an example of how problems and conflicts could be solved, rather than just managed. We want to work on a world peace that reflects and provides tangible results to the population, where the region would see the benefits of peace.

# The Middle East and External Powers



**Vitaly Naumkin**  
President of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Senior Political Advisor to the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General of the UN for Syria

One example of how Russia is trying to help its different partners or different players I should say, even those who are not very friendly to Russia, is our dialogue with the Taliban. This is despite the fact that the Taliban is on the list of terrorist organizations and still are and now nobody is going to take them out of this place, and we will see what is going to happen. I also think that given our relationships with other outside powers, we have very difficult and complicated relationships with the West in general and especially with the United States, but we still have some limited calculation when it is necessary. There was some preparation with the United States and exchanges of information about terrorists. Russia's proposals regarding the establishment of a new regional security system which enjoys support from not all but some partners who are thinking seriously about that. I can also say that some regional conflicts that are often neglected now by many global and international operators, like the Palestinian-Israel conflict, are a focus of Russian diplomacy. Russia believes that without a solution to the Palestinian problem, no peace can be achieved in the Middle East. Coming back to the recent developments of Russia's relations with Middle East partners, I can blame oil and gas calculation with states like Saudi Arabia, our deep calculation in the oil market. We have a very good relationship with the United Arab Emirates, which is a reliable and very good partner for Russia in many fields.



**Stuart Eizenstat**  
Senior Counsel at Covington & Burling LLP, former Chief White House Domestic Policy Advisor to President Jimmy Carter

Let me give a forecast that may or may not turn out to be correct, but it is the best assumption I can make. [...] Where Secretary of State Blinken has called for a longer and stronger accord to replace the 2015 JCPOA, which runs to 2030, the Iranian Foreign Minister directly rejected what he called the so-called longer and stronger deal and he said that they expect greater sanctions relief than they got under the JCPOA. Given this confrontation, I still believe that both the US and Iran see it as their national interests to get back into an accord. My friend Rob Malley is negotiating that for the US, and I believe that the best we will be able to see will be an interim accord that will get Iran back into a slightly stronger basic POA with perhaps slightly more sanctions relief, but nothing more. I know that many of our colleagues in the region rightly want Iran constrained, not just in this dimension, but in terms of their building missiles, their support for terrorist groups and for their violation of rights and intervention in countries like Lebanon and Syria. Unfortunately, that will not happen, more weight than the nuclear agreement can bear, but I do want to mention to my colleagues from the Arab states that even if there is a re-entrance of the US and Iran into the JCPOA or a slightly expanded JCPOA, the US continues to maintain separate sanctions on Iran for its nuclear missile program and its support for terrorism. It has shown by the recent military attack, that I mentioned, on Iranian-backed militias operating in Iraq, it will not hesitate to take such actions.



**Memduh Karakullukçu**  
Founding Board member of the Global Relations Forum, Founding Partner of Kanunum, Chairman of Kroton Consulting

The whole region unfortunately rests on centuries old rifts, fault lines, ethnic, sectarian, religious and it is all over the place. At the sub-state level, state level, subregional level, regional, region-wide, it is just a fragmented, ethnically sectarian fragmented geography. I will not go into the details but, when you start with that premise, my basic conclusion is that these rifts open the region to external power politics. Outside players can easily play sides across these rifts based on their interests, and stability in the region becomes very fragile. Domestically, it paves the way for sectarian politics, sectarian governments and that creates state capture and that in turn creates ineffective governments. When you put external meddling plus ineffective governments, then international capital does not feel comfortable enough to flow to the region, so you do not get much economic progress. What you end up with is economics, domestic politics and international politics creating a vicious deadlock and the region is stuck in a bad equilibrium. It is such a difficult puzzle that you have to solve all three strands at the same time because it is not a linear problem. It is a complex non linear problem and there is no way of saying if I start at one end I can just follow the steps across the whole problem and the region will all move to a better state. Of course, this is a very discouraging, upsetting and downbeat analysis. On top of it, because of all the grievances the populations have lived through there was and probably still is public impatience about policy solutions.





CHAIR:  
Ali Aslan  
International TV  
Presenter and journalist

## Afghanistan



Salem Mohammed Al Zaabi  
Director of the Department of International Security  
Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and  
International Cooperation, United Arab Emirates



Jim Bittermann  
CNN's Senior European Correspondent in Paris



Renaud Girard  
Senior reporter and war correspondent at *Le Figaro*

We have also tried to engage with the government for the last two decades. Not the government of Afghanistan, I cannot really consider it as such, it was the government of Kabul, the government of the capital of Afghanistan. They do not have that authority, really, to extend it to all of Afghanistan. I think we now have to find a way and it is what we call engagement, but it has to be a comprehensive engagement with parallel approaches, political and financial, as well as preventive measures. I will just give you an example. We are talking about terrorism and extremism and now we really have a lot of fears and concerns that Afghanistan is becoming a safe haven for terrorists from different areas. However, do we have a preventive policy? We use a preventive strategy in Afghanistan. The United Arab Emirates really educates nearly 2,000 religious clerks on moderate Islam. That program was extended for nearly 10 years, with the support of the Kabul government at that time. We realized that it has a lot of benefits for the new generations. We are talking about the new generation so we are looking ahead. Yes, as I mentioned before, Afghanistan has not been excellent history in the last three decades, but it is our responsibility – and also the Taliban's and the Afghans' – to rebuild it.

You do not rebuild societies, you do not reconstruct governments, you do not do nation building from the top down, you do it from the bottom up. Unless the people of Afghanistan really want to create a democratic government – or whatever government they want to create and they now have that opportunity – you cannot impose something western on them and you have to watch out for mission creep, which is what happened. We could have gotten out of Afghanistan at any point along the line of those 20 years, including once Osama bin Laden had been killed in 2011. Barack Obama said in 2014 that we had finished our military mission and he almost declared an end to the war at that point. So, there were a number of stages along the line where the troops could have been withdrawn and probably in a much better fashion than what we saw. [...] A lot of people would say, "Well, there is the Marshall Plan after World War II". Germany and France and the other victims of World War II were rebuilt, but it was a question of rebuilding a nation that already existed; as opposed to what we saw in Afghanistan, which was essentially trying to build some kind of a nation that did not exist before.

The Americans could very easily have rested on their laurels after the first Afghan war, when they destroyed all the internationalist Arab elements in Afghanistan and all the Al-Qaeda cells operating in the country. They took this option of "nation building" – military intervention in Afghanistan – and they gave the task of rebuilding the country to NATO soldiers. This was the unbelievable strategic mistake that the Americans made: tasking soldiers with setting up provincial reconstruction teams, without understanding that the average Afghan farmer may not enjoy having foreign, armed men on his land and in his home. The writing was on the wall from that moment onwards. [...] Today, I think we have to speak with the Taliban. This is a policy that we did not employ in the time of Mullah Omar – and which we ought to have employed, because we could have worked with Mullah Omar. You will recall that the United Nations asked him to stamp out poppies – heroin – in Afghanistan. Mullah Omar did this, as observed by a UNODC mission in 2000. He got rid of 95% of Afghanistan's poppies. In exchange, he asked that the other UN agencies helped the Afghan farmers – i.e. the FAO and the other organizations that deal with agriculture. But for bureaucratic reasons, the United Nations did not give him this. [...] The Taliban have several dispositions. There is a tough streak, and another that is more open. But if we want to empower the more moderate factions, we will not do this by isolating them or refusing to reopen our embassy. We need to have relations with the countries. And the fact of having diplomatic relations with a country in no way signifies approval of its political regime.





# Afghanistan



**Marc Hecker**

Director of research and communications at Ifri,  
Editor-in-Chief of *Politique étrangère*



**Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean**

Head of Russia-NIS Center of Ifri



**Mayankote Kelath Narayanan**

Executive Chairman of CyQureX Systems Pvt. Ltd., former  
Senior Advisor and National Security Advisor to the Prime  
Minister of India

What we witnessed this summer was not just the withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan. It was the end of a strategic cycle that started 20 years ago with 9/11, and ended in a failure, a dramatic failure. So, I agree with Renaud Girard's comment – it is a very important event that we witnessed this summer. The objectives of this war on terror were defined by George W. Bush in 2001 and there were three goals. The first one was to eradicate Al-Qaeda. It was not achieved. Al-Qaeda still exists; it is in Afghanistan with Al-Qaeda Central and the regional branch called Al-Qaeda in the Indian subcontinent. The second objective was to get rid of all terrorist groups of global reach. This is a pretty blurred expression and the fact is that, 20 years ago, ISIS did not exist. Today, we not only have Al-Qaeda, but we also have ISIS, which obviously is a terrorist group of global reach. Then the third objective was to neutralize or to eradicate the actors – whether groups or states – that hosted international terrorist groups. Obviously here, we are speaking about the Taliban and not only were the Taliban not defeated, but they are now in power in Kabul. So, that is a major failure for the US; but also for US allies, who were very much involved in Afghanistan, and France was part of the game.

The Russian's stance towards the Taliban has an element of duality. On one hand, memories of the ten-year Soviet era war in Afghanistan (1979-1989) weigh extremely heavily – the war left a strong impression on both Russian elites and society at large. Then, in the Post-Soviet era, under the first period of Taliban rule, Afghanistan was the only country in the world to recognize Chechen independence. To this day, the Taliban are officially classed as a banned terrorist organization in Russia. On the other hand, despite this negative legacy, Russia began negotiations with the Taliban several years ago. Since 2016, Russia has been one of their largest sources of financing and arms sales. The Taliban were welcomed in Moscow and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sergei Lavrov, stated his support for their actions in the fight against the Islamic State. The same duality can likewise be seen with regard to the American's retreat from Afghanistan. On one hand, it is viewed as a type of geopolitical opportunity that leaves Russia more room for maneuver, and which makes it look like a credible security provider. And at the same time, there are fears in Moscow that these security risks could create a new situation.

Asia today resembles 18th Century Europe with nations working at cross purposes. A lesson to be learnt from the tragedy of Afghanistan is how important it is to take into account the views of other nations in the region, and not impose a solution from outside. Afghanistan is hardly a country, for it is a construct of several Pashtun tribes who have never acknowledged a strong central authority. It was, hence, a serious mistake on the part of the US to believe that they could impose democracy on Afghanistan. One should not again make a mistake of rebuilding a nation without a deeper understanding of problems that exist there. As of today, no one knows the ground reality – you have, no doubt, the Taliban in control, with some referring to them as Taliban 2.0, but to talk of an Interim Government when there are several internationally identified terrorists among their list of Ministers, is a travesty. The situation is already highly complicated, but if the US additionally stipulates that it would not deal with Pakistan, it is unclear how they will handle the Taliban, as the latter is a creature of Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence Directorate. Another fallout of the collapse in Afghanistan is the sharp increase in the Opium trade, and it is imperative to check the export of Opium from Afghanistan to other parts of the world. Yet another omnipresent threat is that the Taliban's success has electrified Jihadists across the world, with groups like the Al Qaeda and the ISIS becoming even more active. The geo-political fallout of the developments in Afghanistan also will have an impact on the rest of the world and will need careful monitoring. Consequently, there may, perhaps, be no escape from establishing a Global Concert of Nations, in which not only the countries of Europe and the US, but key countries of Asia such as the UAE and India, will need to find a place to deal with the developing situation in the region.





## The Middle East in 2030: Geopolitical and Economic Aspects



CHAIR:

**John Andrews**Contributing Editor to *The Economist* and *Project Syndicate***Ebtesam Al-Ketbi**

President and Founder of the Emirates Policy Center

**Itamar Rabinovich**

Vice Chairman of the Institute for National Security Studies in Tel Aviv, former Israeli Ambassador to the US, former Chief Negotiator with Syria

If the past is any kind of prologue, I think we are actually in for a tough decade because, if you look at the past decade, you really have the 10 years from the so-called Arab Spring. You now have Kais Saied taking powers that disappoint those who thought that Tunisia was becoming a fully-fledged democracy. In 1975, Juan Pablo Pérez Alfonso, Venezuelan Oil Minister said, "I call petroleum the devil's excrement". It is a very colorful phrase but of course, it has quite a lot of force because, if you think of outsiders' influence and interventions in the Arab world and Iran, an awful lot of it has been because of oil and gas and the struggle to control them. The past has been quite complicated but perhaps we are moving towards a post-oil era. [...] The EU has been promising a Mediterranean strategy for at least three decades now, the idea being that the North would help the South develop, etc. To me, that does not really seem to have worked. Egypt is the most populous Arab country, but one could argue that in some ways Saudi Arabia is now the most activist, I suppose it is a good way to put it, under Mohammed bin Salman. If, for example, Saudi Arabia were to join up to the Abraham Accords, that would be a huge gamechanger. [...] If you take the Gulf states other than Saudi Arabia the population is largely immigrant. For example, I think that in the United Arab Emirates the citizen population is probably about 10%.

In general, the geopolitical and economic characteristics of the Middle East during the ongoing decade 2021 – 2030 are likely to be significantly governed by the following realities. First, the post-Covid scenarios and its economic and security fallout. Second, the dynamics arising from the declining presence and involvement of the US in the Middle East leading to questions over the possible emergence of collective security structures in the Gulf region and beyond. [...] Third, the preparation for the post-oil era, which includes prioritizing the agenda of combatting climate change challenges that also raises questions related to the shifts in the social contract in Gulf countries and the post-oil rentier policies. [...] Fourth, the extent of impact of growing Sino American trade and geopolitical competition on the Middle East and regional countries with the new Cold War, would also be an important development. [...] The entanglement of security, economy and politics with history, religion and questions of identity are highly likely to continue and both societal agreement on the legal system and the management of public sphere, the system of rights and freedom, are all linked to a single question. Will Middle Eastern countries become more stable or prone to conflict and have lessons been learned from the past two decades? If the decline of political Islam continues, what domestic alternatives will replace it? Will these alternatives be able to tackle the multiple structural problems in running public affairs in the region? These are the questions.

The dominant trends in the current Middle Eastern arena are the continuing unrest in the Arab World, the rise of Iran and Turkey as two major regional powers, the pivoting away of the United States, and the dramatic improvement in Israel's relationship with part of the Arab world mitigated by the lingering effect of the Palestinian issue. Where I think the trends could be broken is that there could definitely be a collapse of one of the recent Arab regimes. There could be another round of Palestinian-Israeli fighting and the conflict between Israel and Iran over the nuclear issue and what Iran is building in Syria, could lead to another serious armed collision. That collision would not be limited to just one country, a war on the northern front of Israel would include Lebanon, Syria and Iran. It would be a massive event if it happened. It is not necessarily a very optimistic outlook but who in the Middle East can afford to be optimistic?

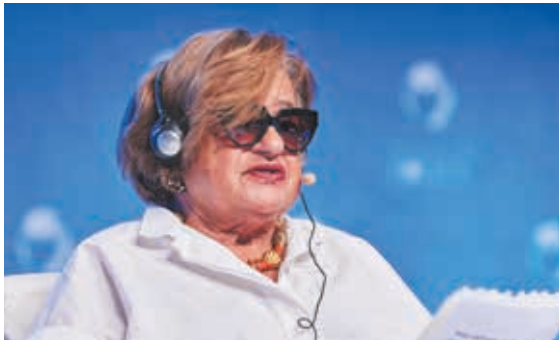




# The Middle East in 2030: Geopolitical and Economic Aspects



**Bernardino León Gross**  
Director General of the Anwar Gargash Diplomatic Academy



**Mona Makram Ebeid**  
Egyptian Senator, Advisor to the UN High Representative for the Alliance of Civilizations



**Volker Perthes**  
Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Sudan and Head of the UN Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in Sudan

Demography is going to be a huge factor and I would say the main one in the coming decade, affecting and influencing at the same time economic and political issues. The subfactor that is important to bear in mind here is migration. This will produce huge migration waves, which first of all is a loss of talent for the region but also an element that will impact what others may do, for example the European Union. [...] Local powers in the region will be more active. We have the US leaving, the Russians will not have the same capacity as the United States and the Chinese even less. In this region, if you are not a power ready to send an army, forget about it. Drones and technology will not replace an army. Who is ready to send an army to the Middle East today? No one, except local powers. Turkey and Israel are playing a role in the region, together with countries like Saudi Arabia, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, etc. We will see more local engineering in the region, and I think they will all be more pragmatic in the future. Iran has a foreign policy that is about regime survival. [...] We will see the paradigm of oil dominating energy around the world changing. It is not easy to predict what technology will do. I remember 10 years ago, people were saying that digital would going to transform the region because these young kids with their phones would organize revolutions. What we see today is that digital is the tool that authoritarian regimes are using to control their populations, so it is not easy to predict. However, I think that when we see countries in the region going into space and being very important actors in renewable energies, technology can provide solutions for many of the problems.

I will focus on energy and the chances of Egypt being a regional gas hub in the Eastern Mediterranean by 2030. I would say that the access to energy resources has unquestionably long been a driver for foreign policy. Therefore, the challenge for any state is working out how to use energy as a geo-economic asset and to successfully turn it into both a source of income and of state power. This is exactly what Egypt's leadership is doing. Egypt faces many challenges, both internal and external, including soaring inflation, a current currency crash, subsidy cuts and more expensive water. However, now there is a ray of hope emerging and it comes in the form of a windfall natural gas discovery with the potential to boost Egypt's limping economy and build a new commercial alliance with Eastern Mediterranean countries and Israel. Egypt struck the jackpot in 2015 with the discovery of a giant reservoir known as Zohr, which has developed into one of the largest single gas fields in the Middle East. In 2018, Egypt, Greece, Cyprus and Israel, agreed to establish an East Mediterranean gas forum with headquarters in Cairo. [...] The main challenge for Egypt is overpopulation, which further fuels energy demand. The country's population has reached 104 million and is expected to reach 128 million by 2030. [...] Last month, Egypt saw the launch of the new national strategy of human rights, stipulating a set of government commitments to improve elements of social, economic, cultural and political rights. We hope this strategy will give access to job opportunities, education, healthcare and religious freedoms.

The main difficult part but also the most interesting dimension of this transition for this region, the Middle East and North Africa, is the political transition. This is the most difficult because power sharing between the military and the civilians is rather exceptional in this part of the world. In addition, this arrangement is not a marriage of love, nor even a marriage of convenience, at best it is a marriage of reason built from the reasonable realization that one part cannot do without the other or do away with the other without risking the entire country and risking domestic peace. [...] The question for me, which is probably an academic one to an extent, is whether this concept of Middle East, North Africa will still be relevant in 2030. Is it not rather that we will have different subregions with different orientations and different levels of integration? Indeed, I think the answer to the question of which geographical concepts, geopolitical concepts apply in 2030 lies in the patterns of integration and connectivity. [...] Political influence will come through connectivity and linkages rather than the traditional ways of buying off your clients in a neighboring country and subverting the neighbor if possible. By not only investing in port infrastructure, but also the linkages between the ports and the deeper inner side of Africa as it were through rail and road, for example, to Sudan's landlocked neighbors, Chad, Central African Republic, South Sudan and Ethiopia. That would make Sudan not only a center of integration but also a pillar of stability and regional development.





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14<sup>th</sup> EDITION  
GLOBAL GOVERNANCE  
October 1<sup>st</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2021 • Abu Dhabi



CHAIR:  
Thierry de Montbrial  
Founder and Chairman  
of Ifri and the WPC

## Stakes of Space Competition



**Sarah Al Amiri**  
Minister of State for Advanced Technology, President of the  
UAE Space Agency



**Philippe Baptiste**  
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the French Centre  
for Space Studies (CNES)

When we first advanced into the space sector, it had been an historic development for the UAE over the course of the last 24 years. We were users of space technology and then in 2006 we transitioned into developers of such technologies, the purpose of the shift was to use space as a means to diversify our economy. Without a solid base in science and technology, diversifying any economy today will be challenging. What better and more challenging sector can you use to expedite the development of your technological capabilities in a short amount of time? That is why the space sector was used from the start. We are talking about 24 years of development in the space sector where we went from users of space technologies to developers of small satellite systems and planetary exploration missions. As we progress forward, we now look at the important factors that the space sector will play in our country's future and that is the development of a private sector in space that adds on to our economy and plays an amazing ripple effect into other sectors that utilize technologies. Today, we sit at a turning point where we have engineering capabilities to design and develop complex engineering systems. For example, you require complex engineering systems to upgrade your existing industries. You require some skillsets that are available in the space sector not only to develop your own space and technology capabilities in the private sector, but you are also able to deploy it across other strategic sectors that require those technological advancements. [...] You change and transform an entire mechanism of thinking by using the space sector where we have increased our appetite for risk.

In recent years, the space sector has undergone fast and far-reaching changes that have reshaped the international space landscape. In 2021, no fewer than three missions – led respectively by the United Arab Emirates, China and the United States – reached the Red planet. This surge of interest in space is not only to be seen in the field of Mars exploration but touches on all areas of space activities. While space traffic in low Earth orbit has been doubling every two years, we observe new space players from both the public and private spheres arriving with new ambitions. This increased appetite for space is rooted in at least three reasons. From the beginning of the space age to the present day, space has always been seen as an element of sovereignty and power, pushing nations to develop strategic capabilities. Another reason is that space can be a fabulous instrument for public policies across a wide range of domains such as transport, security, health and agriculture, and help tackle one of the greatest challenges of our time: climate change. Indeed, satellites are the most effective tool for observing climate change as the majority of the essential climate variables (or ECVs) can only be measured from space. One last reason, and maybe the most significant, is the potential of space to drive technological innovation and foster new business opportunities, especially with the development of new applications based on space data. In the meantime, the technological and digital revolution has ramped up space competition. Disruptive technologies such as miniaturization or 3D printing are bringing big reductions in the cost of developing satellites and launchers, enabling an increasing number of newcomers to access space.





CHAIR:  
**Lucia Sinapi-Thomas**  
Executive Director of Capgemini Ventures

There is a clear acceleration in the pace of innovation with technology driving change and data-driven digital calling for transformation. That is not only related to IT systems but also to processes, organizations and governance, and applicable to private and also public bodies. This is an important issue, and we have to consider several aspects. First, this acceleration is creating a tension on the talent market and in the global economic context also in terms of access to intellectual property. Second, no sector is immune from this transformation and some sort of disruption. [...] The European VC industry has really improved, and I would say it has been catching up over the last five to seven years. Of course, the US is still in the lead, but it is not only about money. The US ecosystem is very rich starting from business angel networks and teams of experts who coach startuppers. I can see that improving in Europe with a lot of mobilization, but we have not yet reached that level and I would say that the US remains essential for access to markets, deeper funding as well as time to market. Funding is a guarantee of quicker time to market and if you get that then you can expand your market share compared to your competition. We can and need to improve.

# Young Leaders : GovTech



**Clément Tonon**  
Member of the French Council of State

If you look at the picture now, GovTech today can be divided into several sectors, such as health, education, defense, security, etc. The market is booming with a growth rate of 15% per year and an estimated value in 2025 of one trillion dollars, so it is massive. In that sense, I do not think the Covid-19 crisis has been a gamechanger, but it has been a catalyst for a previously existing trend. I think the trend will continue, especially in three sectors, health, education, because during the pandemic millions of students had to attend online classes, and obviously smart cities. There is one point where the pandemic has been a major gamechanger and that is today GovTech is part of ideological and political narratives in some countries and I am thinking of China, and in some ways Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea. They developed narratives around their handling of the crisis based on a massive use of new technologies, drones, facial recognition, etc., and that it is to do with the superiority of their political models. I think that the use of technology by state actors will become a core aspect of the competition between political models in the years to come. [...] I think values matter when it comes to technology. Technology is never value neutral and I will take the example of smart cities because China has been developing smart cities since the SARS epidemic in 2003. More and more defense and security companies in China are investing in smart city solutions and China is selling more and more of them to countries in Central Asia, Africa and the Middle East and it has become a soft power tool. In the official language in China, a smart city is called a safe city, so it is very different from our conception. When it comes to GovTech I think values matter and we will have to dig into that in the years to come.



**Faruk Tuncer**  
Co-Founder and Chief Executive Officer of Polyteia

If you ask me what I have taken from the experience, I would say that it is the fundamental problem that government lacks and is around 15 years behind the private sector in digitization. At the same time, at least in Germany but maybe this is true of France as well, 30% of all the public servants in Germany are going to retire in the next eight years. We have climate change, disasters happening and the reorganization of our economy to become green and all this needs to be done with fewer people and so we need to digitize, and I think it is already urgent. [...] The monopolies are somewhere else, they are in China or the US. I think that government technology is somewhere the battle is not yet over and Europe's governments are very rich and very extensive, and they provide a lot of services. If you manage to provide good solutions there and also scale them across Europe, the bottom line there is that it is a chance to save our sovereignty. You talked about Azure and the German government postponed the decision to update that from legislative period to period because no one wants to face that decision, but it will have to be made and it is becoming urgent. The bottom line say for digital sovereignty in the best case is to export this to other countries with privacy by design that we can include in our products. To make that happen, first we have to stop saying French cities, French products, German cities, German products, Spanish cities, etc., because we need this large European market. For that we need data sharing standards, VCs that understand this and governments that actually see the benefit for us of European products, but also in startups in general.



**Mehdi Benchoufi**  
Co-Founder and Chief Executive Officer of EchOpen

The data is critical because it brings in AI which brings a more powerful tool to make diagnoses and empower people and maybe one day everybody will be using ultrasound because it is non-invasive and safe. I know that there are some startups in Israel going in this direction. Definitely data is very important. When it comes to our situation, I think that the health space has giants of data, which are the hospitals. The GAFAs are the giants of overall data but for the health space hospitals really have something to say. We also have something special with this community and we brought a startup out of it and in the startup we have the APHP, which is the *Assistance Publique des Hôpitaux de Paris*, which is actually the largest hospital group in Europe and one of the largest in the world. They had a lot of data flowing and we are about to build up an ecosystem where the data entering the hospital can be brought to the ultrasound space and we can use it to build powerful algorithms. I think this is a good example of how public and private sectors can work together. [...] We release a lot of technology on open-source and the idea is not to make that technology the property of a company, government, etc. The idea is to make these technology bricks available to anybody and they can build lectures for universities or startups out of it. Maybe from a more political standpoint, I think a lot of countries are experiencing the same thing, where they have all these micro communities advocating for themselves. When you think about the common ground for everyone, in this kind of innovative space you can have an idea that we are all engaged as citizens on special topics, but we can also bring together comments. For me, that is a key for the future.





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14<sup>th</sup> EDITION  
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WORKSHOP 2  
ENERGY, CLIMATE  
& ENVIRONMENT





# 1. Money and Finance



CHAIR  
**Jean-Claude Trichet**  
European Chairman of the Trilateral Commission, former President of the ECB

The main problem over the last 10 years was abnormally low inflation. This has been the case since the last big economic crisis of Lehman Brothers and it has created a risk of materialization of deflation in the US, Japan, Europe and all advanced economies, without exception. It was a very abnormal situation seen in all advanced economies, a situation that was not customary at all, and a situation not observed since World War II, except in Japan, which was ahead of the curve in this respect. The accommodating policies of all advanced economies' central banks were due to this abnormal situation. We avoided deflation in all countries, but we had 10 years of very accommodating policy through all possible means, conventional and nonconventional. We now see that we are probably getting out of this very abnormal period, and I would say, from my standpoint, it is good. It is exactly what was expected from monetary policies, that were decided upon by the central banks over the last 10 years. I do not therefore consider at all that it is a catastrophe that we have inflation! I consider first that it is exactly what the central banks were aiming at. It is positive from that standpoint. That being said, it is positive if inflation is getting out of levels that were too low, but only if inflation expectations are anchored at the appropriate level in the medium and long term. As you know, we have now, after the GFC, a unique definition of price stability or goal as regards inflation in the major advanced economies. Very often, I realize that I am practically the only one to say that, but all central banks of the advanced economies – Japan, the US, the UK and the ECB, not to speak of others – have the same definition of price stability, the same goal, namely 2% in the medium and long term.



**Abdul Aziz Al Ghurair**  
Chairman of the Board of Directors of Mashreq

We are seeing a huge disruption here and the game changer is really digital innovation and the transformation of consumer behavior and expectations, which are affecting the sector in the way ahead. The consumer is now really our regulator forcing us to change the way we do business. [...] Financial players will need to massively set up their technology, their partners, their relationships with developers and to think strategically on how to survive, and we must never forget that the heart of the future of finance is data, and data and artificial intelligence will grow exponentially. The expectation is that by 2025 only this will be increase by a factor of 20. In no uncertain terms therefore, the message is loud and clear that data becomes the most strategic asset. That means artificial intelligence will become a core differentiator. With that much data there is so much potential for analytics. It is a clear value proposition driven by increased revenue through specialization of service and reducing costs through efficiency generated by higher automation, reduced error rates and better resource utilization, and also potentially playing a role in avoiding the future financial crises by flagging events early and reducing dependency. This could also be true in spotting potential climate change on the global economies. As we increasingly understand the link between the fragility of our planet and economic cost, data will be key in understanding the link between weather and trade, between climate protest and consumer choice, between ESG rating and the company valuation. Now is the time for the financial industry to truly embrace the change and be bold in doing so because money and finance tomorrow will look nothing like today.



**Raed Charafeddine**  
Central and Commercial Banker, former First Vice Governor of the Central Bank of Lebanon

The initiatives launched by BDL, the central bank of Lebanon, through its circulars to address the economic financial crisis in Lebanon, need to be combined with a set of key performance indicators to be able to assess their economic, financial and monetary repercussions and measure the quantitative results, along with the extent of compliance. Monetary policy measures would remain of limited impact in terms of timeframe and macroeconomic factors if they are not accompanied by and integrated with the development of a comprehensive and integrated economic financial plan in the short, medium and long term. Such a plan would include structural reform, measures aiming at, first, treating the underlying imbalances in public institutions, especially those related to governance, public services and sources of production; second, implementing a fiscal strategy that addresses the inherent inequity in the tax systems and its mechanisms, the deficit in the public finances, the rescheduling and restructuring of the public debt and the expansion of the social safety net; third, correcting the shortages in the balance of payments, especially resulting from the deficit in the trade balance, in addition to the weaknesses in the mechanisms of the competitive economy and integration of the market forces; fourth and last, pursuing a comprehensive restructuring of the financial sector and establishing a credible exchange rate system. The ultimate objective remains to transfer the Lebanese economy from a rentier state to a productive reality.





# 1. Money and Finance



**Serge Ekué**  
President of the West African Development Bank

Emerging countries in Africa, with vaccination rates of between 2% and 4%, face an additional hurdle with a risk of being marginalized from international trade flows. This could have major consequences on their capacity to have access to new funding sources. It is a threat, this liquidity being so crucial, not only for the necessary expansionary policies, but also to fund the gap of the budget slippage from 3% to 7%, which is significant for our WAEMU region. This sanitary crisis occurred two years ago and is now gaining a financial nature. [...] In this context, we have noted a tremendous increase of the public debt in a historically low yield environment, and a worldwide economy put on a drip. We believe at the West African Development Bank that one way through now is climate and sustainability. The "Build Back Better" motto should not only be a concept but a true reality. That is why we definitely support the Special Drawing Rights (SDR) initiative of the IMF: it will help the governments to reduce their indebtedness and the private sector to create jobs and sustain growth. [...] Two lessons were learned from our past experience and from the last crisis. The first one was that the financial system could have been better regulated. The second one was that financial institutions back then were under capitalized. Today that is no longer the case, and this has been a powerful shield in this crisis. We should extend this to emerging countries, where institutions are way too under capitalized. To face this new situation, BFIs need to underwrite more. More commitment for the populations, sustainability and sustainable growth. We need financial institutions that are way better capitalized.



**Jean-Claude Meyer**  
Vice Chairman International of Rothschild & Cie

We are at a crossroads with a lot of uncertainty. Overheating and inflation are threatening as the Federal Reserve has shifted its stance to give more leeway to inflation and greater priority to employment. There is a risk of overheating. If this transitory inflation remains under control, interest rates will remain low and thus stock markets could remain healthy. Inflation, worrying in June, is not so important compared to a year before, which was depressed because of a crisis and is just rising because the economy is emerging from the deep freeze. Financial markets, as we all know, are a consequence of growth, inflation, the employment level and interest rates, which have led to a certain bubble of assets, shares, real estate and art. All depends on the prospects for corporate earnings, inflation and interest rates. If corporate profits remain strong and interest rates low, stock prices look reasonable. The big question is whether interest rates will jump, how soon and how much. However, I am rather confident, above all, as high interest rates should regularly but slowly increase in the future in a moderate way; as buybacks are now increasing, with USD 500 billion expected during the second half of this year, favoring shareholders over debt holders; as mergers and acquisitions are booming thanks to cheap long term financing; as the level of employment is still lower than before the crisis and, as we know, for the time being at least, as investors buy the dip. Thanks to robust growth, moderate inflation and interest rates rising slowly and thanks to the continuous good fine tuning of the central banks, I expect no boom and no crash, but bumpy markets with ups and downs every day as it has been the case. In brief, next year I believe there will be a slow increase of the markets, or plateauing gently, but we are at a crossroad and we should remain careful.



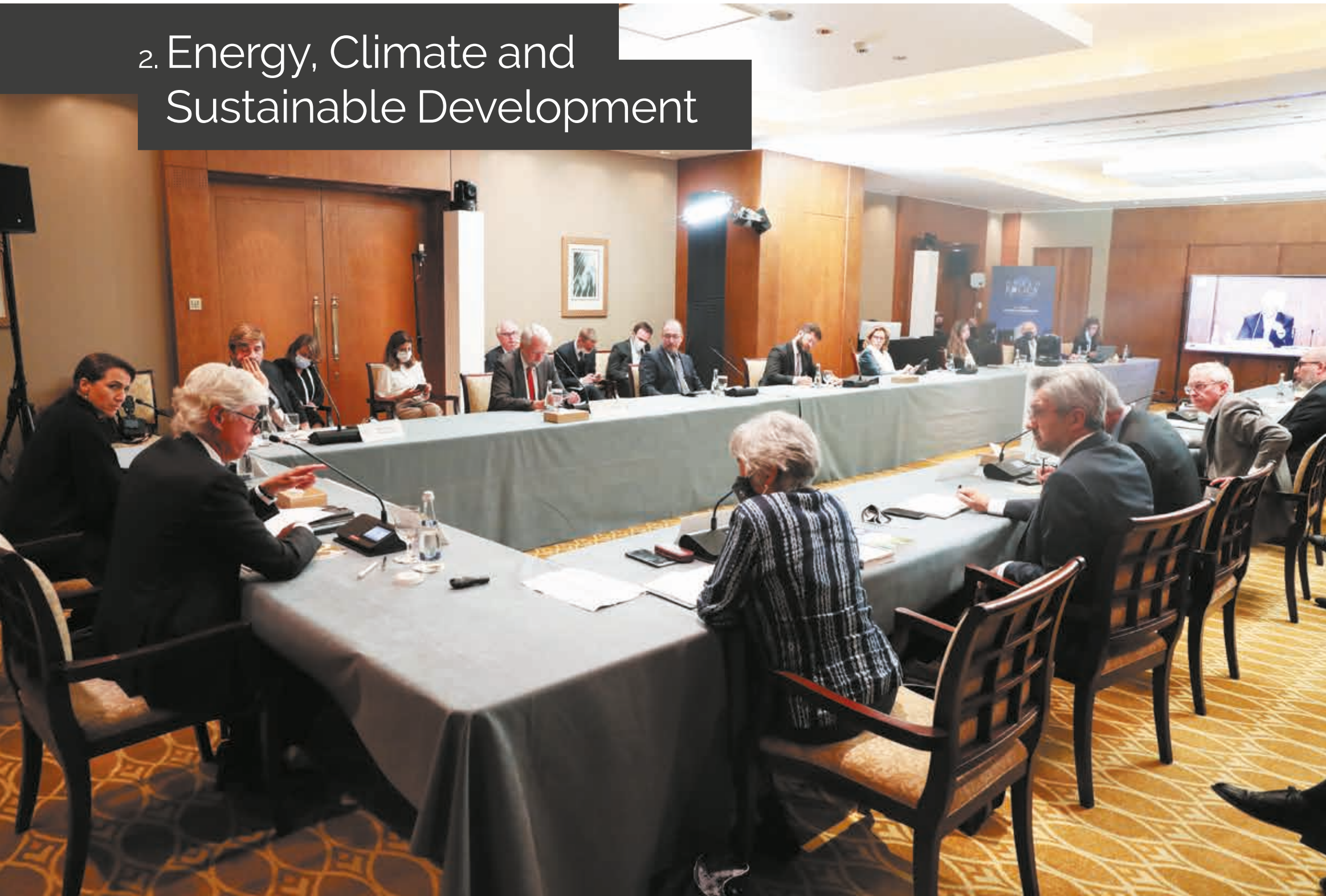
**Jacques Michel**  
Chairman of BNP Paribas Middle East and Africa for  
Corporate and Institutional Banking

I would like to also highlight the amount of debt raised by the Gulf countries, which is something new. In fact, we have been in a new paradigm since 2015 when oil prices dropped by more than 50% and the Gulf countries came to take loans on the bond market. I will focus on the bond market. Between 2015 and today, the Gulf countries, the six GCC countries, raised USD 390 billion in debt on the bond market. 2020 has been a record year with USD 107 billion in bonds. In 2021, so far, USD 77 billion in bonds have been raised for the six GCC countries, which makes the GCC the most vibrant segment in the emerging space, and due to massive liquidity, all the transactions, mainly for the sovereign, in a strong grade or not in a strong grade, no pricing differentiation, and I am afraid that the party might be over soon. This will be my first message to you. So far, the Gulf countries have benefitted from a very conducive environment and could successfully tap the bond market and borrow money at a very low cost of funding. Another characteristic that is still under control is indebtedness. Debt to GDP has increased. In the case of Saudi Arabia, it started from nil in 2014 to 31% of their GDP and, with the weaker economy in Oman and Bahrain, they are above 75% or 100% of debt compared to GDP. There is this new trend which has been amplified by the pandemic since the countries had to finance their Covid relief packages and their capex. What are the prospects and the challenges ahead? Oil markets constitute the main uncertainty and these economies have been and continue to be very dependent on the oil market. Even though the estimates for 2021 are quite positive at 75 and above, observers and experts anticipate a decline in 2022 in the oil market.





## 2. Energy, Climate and Sustainable Development



CHAIR

**Arnaud Breuillac**

Senior Advisor to the Chairman & Chief Executive Officer of TotalEnergies

We need to acknowledge the fact that in all scenarios more energy will be needed in the future. We also see that oil demand will plateau sometime after 2030 and then will decline. Gas is an enabler of the energy transition, both in power and in industry. Development of greener liquid and gas as fuel is going to be an important contributor, as will radical electrification with storage capabilities. Renewable decarbonizing of the power sector will be important, namely massive generation of electricity using wind and solar power. Hydrogen is increasingly penetrating industry and transportation. Last but not least, are carbon sinks. This is what we call carbon capture and storage, including natural based solutions. Carbon sinks will help to mitigate the carbon emissions that cannot be avoided. In a simplistic way, that is our vision of the pathway to the energy transition. [...] However, the key takeaways are that, first, energy transition implies a major shift in the energy mix and the use of energy; second, fossil fuels are still required, as is nuclear; and third, there are underlying cost implications in terms of the cost of energy for this transition, which we want to be a just transition. How do we share the cost of this decarbonized energy? TotalEnergies, as one of the major actors of course in the field of energy, has the ambition to be the company of responsible energy. [...] By 2030, we shall be producing 4 million barrels of oil equivalent per day, so that is a 30% increase, responding to the growing energy demand, but with a different mix, because 50% will come from green gases, 35% will come from oil and liquid biofuels and 15% will come from electricity, mostly from renewables.



**Mariam Al Mheiri**

Minister of Climate Change and Environment, United Arab Emirates

Going back to our food crisis, we faced it and the leadership took many steps. One of them was to appoint a Minister of State for Food Security, which was me. This was also the first time for the UAE. With that, the first steps I took was making sure we had a plan so that the country knew where it is that we were going, because food security as a subject itself is about food trade, nutrition, food loss and food waste, food safety and ensuring you have national reserves, especially for a country that does not have the typical agricultural lands. We are not an agricultural country in itself, so you have the national storages as well. Thinking of all those things, I had to speak with all the stakeholders and bring them together and say, "Let us create a national plan to ensure that in the future we are also ready and we are more resilient". We therefore launched the National Food Security Strategy 2051 in 2018, and of course for every strategy you must have a vehicle to move this forward, so we then created the governance model for the UAE and put it forward. Then 2020 came, Covid came, and this was a big learning lesson for us. Believe me, there was a lot happening in the background, but for those who lived here, for a country that brings in more than 90% of its food, we did not face a single minute where some shelves were empty of certain food commodities. I think this really shows that as a country we have a really robust food system and that the plans we had in place, the programs, the partnerships and the political leadership, were in place. The political will was there. I think these were all really important elements to showcase that the only way you can move forward in the future is to ensure that you have these elements in place.



**Isabelle Tsakok**

Economist, Consultant on Agriculture and Rural Development, Senior Fellow at the Policy Center for the New South

The UN Food Systems Summit rightly emphasized the urgent need to transform our food systems in order to achieve the 17 SDGs by 2030. Ending chronic hunger and malnutrition for millions certainly requires the transformation of agri-food but achieving food security for all requires much more. C. Peter Timmer's 2015 book: *Food Security and Scarcity: Why Ending Hunger Is So Hard* explains what it takes. An entire economic system is required to address (I) short term challenges of food price crises and other shocks at macro and micro levels; and (II) long term challenges of building a growing and inclusive economy within a stable politico-economic framework. Governments and markets must work together – not a laissez-faire approach. This holistic approach can also be looked at in terms of the Development Trilog of growth, equity and stability, an approach widespread among Asian governments, which seek to promote the mutually reinforcing processes of agricultural transformation and equitable growth with stability. My research on agricultural transformation shows that there is a robust pattern of five conditions which exists in all cases of successful transformation. As set out in my (2011) book: *Success in Agricultural Transformation: What it Takes and What Makes it Happen*, these are: (I) macro and political stability; (II) an effective technology transfer system; (III) access to lucrative markets; (IV) an ownership system including a system of usufruct rights, that rewards individual initiative and toil; and (V) employment-creating non-agricultural sectors. These five conditions must be sustained for decades, not just for a short election cycle. Furthermore, "No country has succeeded in its industrial revolution without a prior (or at least simultaneous) agricultural revolution" (Timmer, 2015). No wonder then that only relatively few industrialized economies have achieved food security for all.





## 2. Energy, Climate and Sustainable Development



**Olivier Appert**  
Chairman of France Brevets, Scientific Advisor of the Energy Center of Ifri, former President of the French Energy Council

The security of supply of electricity is becoming a highly topical issue. [...] In fact, the power system has to balance supply and demand in real time everywhere around the network, taking into account the fact that electricity storage is difficult and very expensive, especially on a large scale. [...] However, the electric power system has been subject to considerable changes over the last 20 years following a major shift in policy in terms of economics and regulations. The electricity mix is developing fast with the move towards renewable energy; but renewable energy is by nature intermittent and does not have the inertia of thermal and nuclear power stations. [...] The European electricity sector will experience a structural decline of the flexibility of the network due to the growth of the market share of wind and solar, which are intermittent, as I have said, and do not bring the inertia of the thermal power plant which contributes to the stability of the grid. On top of that, the decommissioning of many dispatchable power plants will happen in the next few years. [...] In fact, huge investments will be required to develop the flexibility of the electricity system. There are different solutions, but there is no silver bullet. Adjustment of conventional production is still the basic response. Interconnection is another solution for flexibility. In Europe, renewable energy fluctuation may be partly compensated by load balancing. [...] Storage technologies are characterized by different parameters in energy capacity in the charge and discharge time. The potentials of technologies are at different stages of maturity. [...] In a nutshell, in the context of a growing share of electricity in the energy mix, security of supply will become an increasing challenge and coping with this challenge will require a huge investment, but for the time being there is no clear price signal to develop these investments.



**Peter Handley**  
Head of the Energy-Intensive Industries and Raw Materials Unit in the European Commission's Directorate-General for Growth

We have very high energy prices in Europe at the moment. Gas prices have gone up threefold and the electricity system is based on marginal pricing of the most expensive thing in the system, which is usually fossil fuels. [...] This is having real effects on households and on industry, for example large parts of the fertilizer sector are shutting production due to high gas prices. [...] It is happening in China as well. Coal prices have gone up 56% this year in China and the governmental authorities have just turned off the switch to about 40% of the country's energy intensive industry to avoid shortages. One of the industries they shut down with no notice is the magnesium industry. [...] Everyone here knows that we have a European climate law which locks us into the targets for 2030 and 2050, we have tabled the legislative proposals and the funding programs to accompany that. Europe has the capacity to lead the transformation of its industrial sector. Just two weeks from now, Volvo will roll off its production line the first vehicle made from green steel. This comes from a pilot plant using hydrogen from renewables in the north of Sweden. It is the HYBRIT project, a collaboration between LKAB, Vattenfall and SSAB, with end consumers like Volvo on board: you need a market for these clean products. Most of the steel sector and the energy intensives have a project pipeline ready to go. My team manages the European Clean Hydrogen Alliance, which has the task of developing robust pipeline of hydrogen projects throughout the value chain. We are also sitting down and talking to the European Investment Bank to see how we can finance these things and where European funds like InvestEU can be deployed.



**Marc-Antoine Eyl-Mazzega**  
Director of Ifri's Center for Energy & Climate

The world is heading towards record greenhouse gas emissions in 2021. Coal is in high demand and COP 26 will probably not manage to galvanize efforts to be on track in limiting the rise in temperatures to 1.5°C. Despite the latest commitments by the United States, Japan and Canada, efforts will fall short and temperatures are still expected to rise >2.5°C. To give substance to his climate leadership aspirations, Joe Biden must compel Australia to present a higher Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC) and show swift, concrete progress in decarbonizing the US power industry. Gas is being singled out in Europe, but the real enemy is coal. European countries (especially Germany) are not doing enough to phase out coal, and the G7 should mobilize to help South Africa, Vietnam, Indonesia and India gradually do without it. In Africa, funding is needed to build low-carbon steel and cement value chains to support economic growth and urbanization and avoid locking in new emissions. Stepping up efforts to reduce pollution in megacities in emerging countries is also essential. The EU-US initiative on fugitive methane emissions must be expanded to Russia, Australia, Central Asia and the Middle East because methane's warming power is very high. Meanwhile, developed countries need to cut their beef consumption.





# 3. Africa



DISCUSSANT:  
**Alain Antil**  
Director of the Ifri  
Sub-Saharan  
Africa Center



CHAIR  
**Robert Dossou**  
President of the African Association of International Law,  
former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Benin, former President  
of the Constitutional Court of Benin

First, there is Covid-19. We have seen – and we have heard many talks about this in the plenary sessions – that Covid was less severe than feared in Africa, but it raised the issues of training, health unity and on-site vaccine production. In recent months, we have seen expired or poorly stored vaccines in some countries. What is the answer? Funding. Additional funding is required for African economies. Second, there is climate change, which threatens food supplies in some parts of Africa. Agriculture is undergoing an upheaval in Africa. This had led some countries to want to change their breeding methods. How can livestock be bred and raised? Today, herdsman take their animals from pasture to pasture, wherever the grass is green. When it is dry in one place, they take them 100 or 150 kilometers away. This fuels conflicts between herdsman and farmers, to the point where some countries are thinking of introducing sedentary breeding. Climate change, combined with other phenomena, speeds up urbanization, which leads to a host of problems involving rubbish and other issues. Lastly, I will ask some questions about terrorism. Why cannot African countries get organized so that their own armies can fight this scourge?



**Sheikh Shakhbut bin Nahyan Al Nahyan**  
Minister of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International  
Cooperation, United Arab Emirates

There is no doubt that the UAE is wholeheartedly invested in the future of Africa and its people and of course we continue to hopefully play a proactive and valuable role in Africa, coming from our ethics and our standards and our values in providing and reflecting peace, security, prosperity, fraternity and coexistence. I think it is very relevant to say that the UAE was founded in 1971 without one drop of blood spilled, nor one bullet fired. We have been built with coexistence, peace, warmth and love to one another and this is what we want to export and showcase to our partners and our trusted allies internationally. We are excited to enter a new era of post Covid-19 when we will be able to build stronger partnerships across Africa and across the world with the hopes of creating a better future for our countries and regions, a future built on stability, security and sustainability. We understand that the only way to achieve this is through dialogue, open channels of communication, exchange of knowledge and, above all, the development of strategic partnerships that are mutually beneficial. The UAE is proud of its longstanding relations with the African continent and the rest of the world. We share a vision of boosting prosperity for our peoples and creating opportunities for coming generations. We will explore all available opportunities to incorporate and advance our relations, proactively engaging across different fields and sectors. We will join efforts to address global issues that influence our stability to grow as partners. We will continue to work together on pressing global challenges, including counterterrorism and extremism, combating climate change, improving food security and more.



**Nathalie Delapalme**  
Executive Director of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation

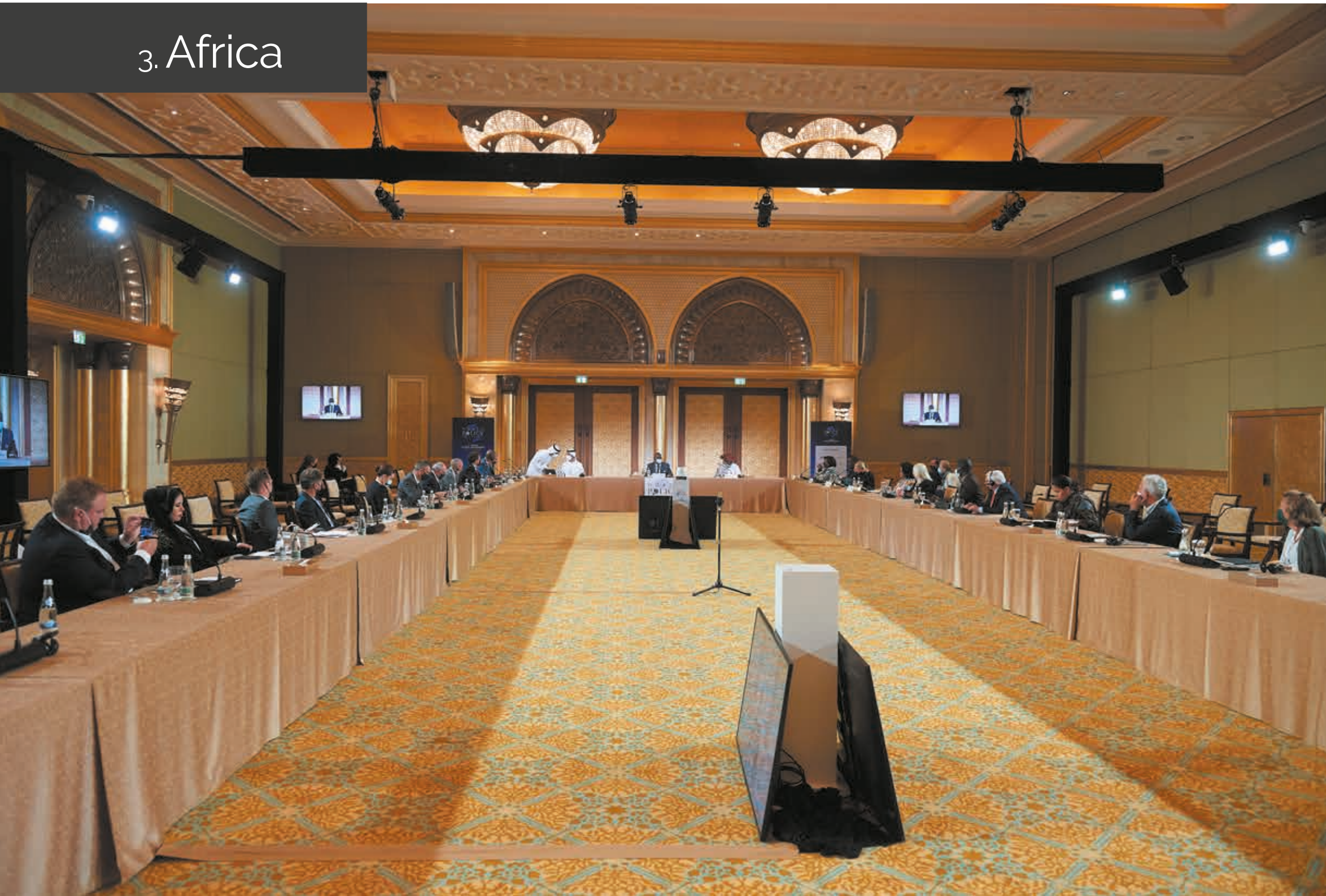
The very low vaccination rate and the apparition of new variants raise concerns. At economic and social levels, impact is far worse than in other regions, and, if not properly attended, might well trigger further instability and conflicts. Impact at health level appeared later, mainly thanks to an impressive and immediate action by African governments and institutions. But registered cases and deaths may well remain far below reality, given the weakness of civil registration systems in Africa. Moreover, the pandemic has further exposed the vulnerability of African health systems, still overly dependent on external aid, and lacking sufficient domestic investment. Most concerning looking ahead is the vaccine inequity, which puts at less than 7% the vaccination rate of almost 20% of the global population. On a continent whose economic growth is heavily dependent on external demand and supply, the economic and social impact has been worse than in any other region. Africa has hit recession for the first time in 25 years, with a current loss through to 2024 estimated at \$850 billion by IMF, and growing inequalities between and within countries. Mitigation measures were limited by a narrow fiscal space and a complex debt burden. Africa's weight at global level needs to be accounted for. If Africa continues to remain at this vaccination level it will become an incubator for other variants. If the economic recovery does not pick up, there is no way the continent will have the means for any climate-friendly growth. If Africa's youth prospects continue to shrink, we will see more uncontrolled migration, a growing attractiveness of terrorist and criminal networks, more social unrest, and more conflict.







## 3. Africa



### Cheikh Tidiane Gadio

Vice President of the National Assembly of Senegal,  
President of the Pan-African Institute for Strategies, Peace-  
Security-Governance

Dr. Cheikh Tidiane Gadio spoke about three main themes at the Africa workshop. He recalled, as he often does, that Africa has three main problems: leadership, leadership, leadership. According to him, it is in a profound leadership crisis that has led us to where we are now. We refuse to change Africa's development paradigm based on its division into 54 non-viable states. Yet for decades, the paradigm has proved to be erroneous and a dead end. Then he mentioned the huge waste caused by African leaders' mistreatment of their youth, raising the crucial question: has Africa decided to betray its young people? They account for 70% of the population. It is time to make way for them, but especially to understand their dismay. They have no prospects. When a continent does not offer its young people prospects, it betrays them and their future. In the last part of his talk, he focused on security and terrorism issues. For him, the profound leadership crisis is especially visible in security management because terrorism is the main threat to the African continent.



### Elisabeth Guigou

Founding President of Europartenaires, President of the Anna  
Lindh Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures, former  
President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French  
National Assembly

I am going to give a European perspective on the present and future relations between Africa and Europe, which, I think, need to reset not only ideas, but above all means and instruments. I think we must now get to the heart of the matter. [...] I would like to emphasize youth. We all know that there will be twice as many young people entering Africa's labor market as there are jobs being created. I think that is the main problem. The question, it seems to me, is figuring out how to create more jobs and under what conditions, and how Europe can help Africa with the idea of sharing the benefits of this common development, of course. Everything depends on Africa's industrialization. It is also vital for promoting and attracting private investment to develop industrialization. A new tool that, it seems to me, may attract private investment to Africa to create local jobs and ensure that the sharing of added value and the processing of Africa's bounteous raw materials benefits Africans and African youth. Special and secure economic zones draw private investors, who find the logistics and services they need there. [...] An extremely thorough study of special industrial zones across Africa reveals that the most successful ones use labor and favor structural transformations that benefit Africans. Those that fail are content with producing on site and reexporting without ever benefiting the local population. [...] If you're interested in the study, you can find it on the website of the Institut de prospective euro-méditerranéenne.



### Aminata Touré

Senegalese politician, former Prime Minister

Africa is talked about as though we speak the same language, dance to the same music and have the same funeral rites. We do not. Africa is a diverse place. It has diverse cultures and paths. For example, Senegal has never had a coup. But when people talk about Africa, it sounds as if the whole continent is plagued by turmoil. Clearly, we share challenges, including the challenge of development, of which, incidentally, some countries have higher levels than others: Botswana, Cape Verde and many others. [...] It must also be said that 50 or 60 years after its countries became independent, Africa is still poorly known. This is not normal. It is our own responsibility. We have the world's worst public relations policy. We do not blow our own horn. We maintain our Afro-pessimism, which puts Africa in its darkest light without mentioning all the challenges we face. [...] In addition to boasting bountiful resources, Africa is young. I see that as a great advantage over ageing places. Obviously, there is plenty of training to do. [...] One challenge is figuring out how to strengthen our institutions. Senegal, for example, is 61 years old. That is a short time in the life of a people. But our life, culture and history did not start there. I am not talking about Africa being the cradle of humanity. I would not go that far back. Senegal has seen brilliant civilizations. Some were led by women. Some women even led armies. All this history must be better documented. We must create a narrative that captures our youth's imagination, not just, 'They do not have jobs, they are crossing the ocean, they are going to die, etc.' We also need to develop a narrative that people care about.





## 3. Africa



**Juliette Tuakli**

Chief Executive Officer of CHILDAccra Medical, Chair of the Board of Trustees of United Way Worldwide

I shall address the Covid pandemic from a different direction. I noted at the onset of Covid-19, it struck me how in Africa we seemed to have terrific strategy with an enormous lack of capacity. In the West, there was an abysmal strategy with enormous capacity. There were certainly very different patterns of the pandemic evolving between Africa, Europe and the US. Even now, with an increasing Delta and other variants in South Africa, morbidity levels remain low with mortality levels even lower; presenting in a somewhat different manner than in the West. [...] I observed how people were coping with Covid infection, in Ghana especially, by consuming certain foods more. People were engaging in certain antique nutritional practices that they had used when living in more rural villages and ate more in groups, but now we are engaging with such within households. I noted how consistently there were certain foods, especially vegetables, consumed in the diets. Some had discovered their nutritional strengths and possible impact on the whole Covid situation. [...] I had a very exciting, albeit brief, conversation this morning with one of my esteemed co-panelists about the importance of nutrition in Covid and keeping Covid at bay, using the theory of microbiomes, in which I have also been very interested in for many years. I jokingly reminded him of the old saying, "The more things change, the more they stay the same", because it appeared that our trajectory, even in the Western world, of looking at diet and its protective role, returns to very basic home truths about what one eats or what one should eat to create the right intestinal microbes within one's body to protect oneself and to facilitate and enhance one's immune system against various illnesses and even parasites.



**Lionel Zinsou**

Co-Chair of SouthBridge, Chairman of Terra Nova think tank, former Prime Minister of Benin

Once again, we have to lament the fact that we had to go into debt during Covid, albeit much less than Europe and infinitely less than North America. But still, we had to go into debt like everyone else to meet emergency expenses and deal with the effects of the lockdown. Is the takeaway not the issue of governance? Now we are negotiating debt issues within the African Union's 55 member states, with four special envoys who are great professionals with extensive experience in the public and private sectors. [...] There is collective governance. We talked about the number of countries that had ventilators. In May, an online platform was very quickly set up with automatic funding from Afreximbank, a pan-African multilateral institution, to ensure the supply of ventilators, protective gear, masks, etc. It worked. [...] Everything changed at a speed of governance that lets us see how solar, biomass, water, wind and, in East Africa, geothermal powers are transforming the continent. East Africa is becoming a cashless society and West Africa is moving full speed ahead. However, for fintechs to proliferate across our continent, we need people to govern these countries. Our central banks, accused of immaturity and immobility, must have allowed these changes. [...] It is good to say that Africa is a continent of start-ups where women are more enterprising than anywhere else in the world. That is true, but governance makes it possible. So, we must be very careful not to talk about the Africa of 10 years ago. I advise you to look at the Africa of the last 10 months and the acceleration that has taken place.



**Nardos Bekele-Thomas**

UN Resident Coordinator in South Africa

The demographic dividend and the GDP are not negligible when we talk about all of our countries, the 54 countries. With a population of 1.2 billion consumers, producers and innovators it is really possible to be the powerhouse of the 21st century. However, we also need to reflect on how to co create our systems to be adaptable and relevant to the society of the future. [...] First of all, the first thing we have to re- imagine is really our political system. We really need to reflect deeper, go deeper and analyze. The second thing I should say is that we are abandoning more and more, because of the media etc., our value system. How do we go back to our own African value system and have a moral regeneration? The third thing is how we also re imagine giving a system a structure that enables us to work together in a coordinated and collaborative manner. Africa has now the capacity to produce its own policy and homegrown strategies, but implementation will be critically important. We cannot implement something that is really a problem of one sector without bringing in all the various sectors in a holistic manner, and therefore an integrated approach is critical and very important, and so is a whole society approach. We have to bring our youth into the center and at the front, we have to bring our learning institutions, research institutions and technology centers in the planning and implementation of our programs. Finally, there are the partnership and resource mobilization. In terms of a partnership, it has to be equitable. A partner comes because they have an interest, but we have to have our strategy in engaging with that partner and discuss at an equal power. Resource mobilization and funding are very critical and very important. Our domestic resources could be used efficiently and effectively. The illicit financing should be stopped. Debts should be managed properly.



LUNCH & DINNER DEBATES







### Louise Mushikiwabo

Secretary-General of the International Organisation of La Francophonie

More and more I think that the concept of linked sovereign countries, the traditional grouping of countries, will not be a function of language. [...] Country groupings will increasingly be by mutual interest or by theme, rather than by geographical location or even the geopolitical groupings we see presently, as with the G7 or the United Nations itself. Increasingly, we will see nations joining forces over a specific issue. I was going to say over terrorism; but this is a global phenomenon. It also seems to me that countries will increasingly take a short-term stance on a single issue, then switch alliance, move onto another issue, and perhaps also change the members of these groups. [...] If we look at the Arab world, not even three years ago, we could not have imagined the alliances, the misalliances, and the changes currently taking place in the world concerning relations with Israel, for example. [...] For me, the countries in that region, just through observation and with no particular expertise, are focused on security – and security concerns will dictate their relations. Security will dictate new alliances which, sometimes, may even be short-lived. [...] There is a type of strategic disorder, if I can say it this way, which we should make the most of to push forward our ideas and beliefs. This may be the environment, young people, gender equality – it can be anything we want. But it is a very interesting world because we can change the way we do things; we can go a bit further than we would at home. At the same time, we have seen with this health crisis that sovereign states are no longer capable of handling certain global challenges alone. It is impossible. Multiple players need to be involved. But that does not mean that things will stay this way for twenty years. It may only be for two years. This is a highly fluid world.







Paul Kagame  
President of the Republic of Rwanda

Another area where good partnerships can produce results is in the fight against insecurity, terrorism, extremist ideologies, including genocide ideology. There are cross-border challenges that require close cooperation. Rwanda's engagement in peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions in Africa falls under this rubric. Islamist insurgents are now on the run in northern Mozambique in the province of Cabo Delgado, because of a good program of cooperation between Rwanda's Defense Forces, and those of Mozambique and the region. Similarly, our commitment to the Central African Republic, which is both bilateral and multilateral, through the United Nations, aims to create the space for the country to chart its own path to political reconciliation, peacefully. The next step is to consolidate the gains and focus on providing services and guaranteeing rights for citizens. These are just two examples that might link to some of the themes under discussion at this event.

\*Full version page 126







**Khaldoon Khalifa Al Mubarak**  
Chairman of the Executive Affairs Authority, Group Chief Executive Officer and Managing Director of Mubadala

As a gateway between East and West, the UAE is deeply invested in strong diplomatic ties around the world, undoubtedly strengthened during the pandemic. Our bilateral relationships allowed us to share information, learn from others' experiences, and kick start mutually beneficial collaborations. In the early months of 2020, we were in constant touch, as an example, with our Korean counterparts to mine their knowledge in pandemic management. We have also been cooperating with our Chinese counterparts on three clinical trials of Covid-19 vaccines involving over 31,000 volunteers here in the UAE; and we are working with partners in Israel on breakthrough therapies and technologies for severe diseases – which include, of course, Covid-19. The 2021 Edelman Trust Barometer highlights that 80 % of UAE respondents say that government is the country's most trusted institution. Very compelling point – I was surprised when I saw that but it shows you the level of the population's trust and confidence in this government. Throughout the pandemic, we made sure to honor that social contract by communicating often and honestly with our citizens and residents and by being decisive, immediate and transparent about precautionary measures that are based on science, data and global best practice.

\*Full version page 126











NETWORKING















Patrick Achi

“At the conclusion of the 14th edition of the World Policy Conference, which took place from 1-3 October 2021 in Abu Dhabi, I would like to offer my sincere thanks on behalf of HE, Alassane OUATTARA, President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, for having associated me to this major event. I was delighted by the quality of the workshops and the opening ceremony speeches, in which I personally

took part.

Robert Dossou

“The World Policy Conference is an excellent meeting. The topics covered are comprehensive, and our discussions went a little deeper than in the previous edition. I would like to extend my thanks to the organizers. I would also like to thank the participants for their high-quality contributions.

Serge Ekué

“The WPC successfully rose to the challenge of organizing an international conference in the middle of a pandemic. Thanks to the forward-looking analysis of my fellow panelists, all the participants have gone away better informed and with a clearer idea about the middle powers. The quality of our bilateral discussions also strengthened my belief that a sustained dialog between Europe and Africa was necessary. This should be given fresh impetus in light of our current challenges including climate change, the fight against inequality, and the promotion of inclusive sustainable development.

Godefroy Galas

“In this climate of waning international relations, the WPC's great strength is to maintain a discussion space involving multiple points of view. As a non-aligned conference with no partisan influence from any world power, the WPC allows for a wide range of opinions to be expressed. This is the sine qua non condition for resolving the key challenges that will make today's globalized world a prosperous and fair one for us all.

Daniel Keller

“Clearly, this Abu Dhabi edition had all the necessary elements that make this meeting so successful. It is a unique opportunity to exchange ideas on a full range of issues with high-level figures and experts from all continents.

Jacques Michel

“The conference enjoys as rich pool of speakers and magnificent organization, with leading Emirati figures and fantastic planning. Thierry was right to stress in his opening remarks that this was something of a miracle.

Louise Mushikiwabo

“I think – and this is why I like the World Policy Conference so much – that there is a world on one side, and another world on another side, and a whole world in between these two. And I believe that the majority of us here belong to this 'middle' world.

Ana Palacio

“Thank you, Thierry. And thank you to the organizers of this conference that has always been a hallmark of the new academic year and of intellectual thought. But today, it marks an even more significant "return" – the return to a post-Covid world.

Robert Sigal

“Allow me first of all to thank Thierry de Montbrial and the staff of the World Policy Conference. It is a great pleasure to be physically present and to meet the colleagues, individuals and experts that I had the chance to meet in Marrakesh.

Fareed Yasseen

“The conference is in the image of Ifri and Thierry de Montbrial – that it, it has substantive depth and features rigorous analysis. We leave it intellectually enriched, and with ideas to implement to try and solve the problems that we face.

Masood Ahmed

“Thank you Thierry for organizing this miracle. I think for many of us this is the first in-person international event we have attended in close to two years, so thank you for that.

Marcus Noland

“I would like to join my predecessors in thanking Thierry and the WPC staff for putting on a wonderful program.

Khaldoon Khalifa Al Mubarak

“Thank you, Thierry, for your kind introduction – and congratulations on convening the 14th edition of the World Policy Conference. The depth of content over three days is, frankly, extraordinary and I am delighted to join you all this evening.

Sheikh Shakhbut bin Nahyan Al Nahyan

“I would also like to extend my appreciation to the organizers of this event and all the invitees who have joined us here in Abu Dhabi. It is evident that so much effort has been dedicated to this planning and execution and we expect great outcomes. Thanks to you all for your interventions.

Hend Al Otaiba

“We are very pleased to host such an important conference of this caliber here in Abu Dhabi. What it represents and the reflection of European and French critical thinking that has taken place in this conference is very important and interesting for us to engage with and listen to. I could not think of a more relevant place today to host this conference.

Ali Aslan

“In-person meetings are indispensable. This World Policy Conference here in Abu Dhabi makes that abundantly clear because it is not just about what happens on stage, and I say this as a professional TV presenter and moderator. The exchange on stage is important, but sometimes what happens off stage when people get together and exchange informal notes is just as important, if not more so. You meet people from all walks of life, from different cultures, from different countries, and you exchange notes, comparisons, and experiences.

Jacques Biot

“Many thanks to Thierry de Montbrial for organizing this beautiful conference. I am learning a lot with my numerous hats, so thank you a lot for that and congratulations.

Jim Bittermann

“That is one of the reasons I enjoy coming to a conference like this because it gives you a chance to stop and think. As journalists, we cover these events on a day-to-day basis, sometimes hour-by-hour basis, without looking at a longer-term perspective and without having some kind of expertise that you have gathered in one place. I think the conference has been very interesting from that point of view and it helps us keep our feet on the ground and sometimes spot some things down the line that maybe we should be redirecting our coverage in terms of what we are doing as journalists.

Nabil Fahmy

“It has been factual not theory. Everybody has come up with a case, given us the figures, told us the real facts and then built the policy orientation. I have been attending the overwhelming majority of the sessions and I gained insight and information from every one of them. I do not leave with a sense of euphoria that we have solutions for all our problems, that would be naive, but definitely with a sense that the world wants to work together, at least the thinkers in the world, and in that respect, I want to thank you for convening the event.

Yuichi Hosoya

“I am particularly pleased that the World Policy Conference has been quite kind to Asia or Asian participants. Thus far, I think we have two Asians, not just one. I fully understand that Korea is an important country, and it can represent the Asian voice, but two is better than one. That is why I think that World Policy Conference really reflects current international politics.

Pierre Jacquet

“Let me start by thanking Thierry and the WPC team for having me here and also organizing this miracle. It is also for me the first time I have taken part in an in-person meeting in the last two years, so it is quite moving.

Karl Kaiser

“As a veteran who was present at its creation in 2008, first of all I would like to congratulate Thierry de Montbrial and his extraordinary team for giving us the chance to see each other again in person. After this terrible crisis, it is wonderful to see each other again in person.

Memduh Karakullukçu

“Let me start like everyone else by thanking the organizers and Thierry de Montbrial for really being persistent about this conference and making it happen. It is a very personal thing, I had really missed being with friends and making new ones, the exchanges at dinners, so this was fabulous. Thank you from the bottom of my heart because this has been very much appreciated.

Lee Hye Min

“It is really remarkable to see that Thierry de Montbrial and Ifri have the courage and the capability to hold this offline conference in person. This conference may be the first in-person conference since the outbreak of the pandemic. Discussing online is different from discussing offline and in person, it gives a more friendly atmosphere created by a real meeting. I would like to congratulate Thierry de Montbrial and Ifri for this successful conference.

Mona Makram Ebeid

“I would like to thank and tell the WPC what a pleasure it is to be back at this meeting after the horrible two years of confinement. I must say that some things have not changed, most notably the seminal role of WPC as a forum for serious foreign and security policy thinking. I really want to heartily applaud President Thierry de Montbrial for providing a much-needed setting to discuss the most poignant political matters as we know. Thank you, Thierry and all the team.

Mayankote Kelath Narayanan

“In some ways, I would say this is one of some of the best conferences that I have ever attended internationally. When I was sitting in government, I used to be a regular attendee of the Munich Security Conference which, of course, is organized with serving officials. Even though I had a platform I could speak on, it is very stereotyped, and the questions were never difficult because everyone was on the same mind, so the WPC is something quite extraordinary.

Faruk Tuncer

“It is very interesting to get out of your own bubble, your own country, and discuss global policy issues on the stage with distinguished guests and speakers from different countries and listen to experts from the private, public and the third sectors. The location is well chosen, and it is also well organized in these difficult times of pandemic.

Ingvil Smines Tybring-Gjedde

“It is really lovely to be here, and I must say that it is extraordinary that the people behind the conference were able to put together such a conference with so many people from so many countries during a pandemic situation. I am really impressed with the logistics, arriving at the airport in a closed loop, etc. It is great to sit here and listen to all the other people who have contributed to the speeches and debates, I have learned a lot, at least the cultural way of thinking. I think more about the atmosphere and the positivity of cooperating and finding solutions together. It struck me as a very good thing after sitting at home and only talking on Teams. I really appreciated that.

Igor Yurgens

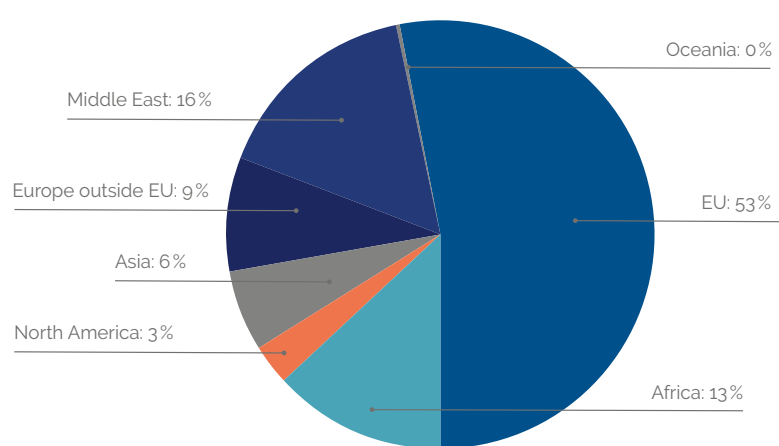
“Thank you very much for inviting me to take part in the 14th edition of the World Policy Conference. The conference was organized brilliantly! I have spent my time in Abu Dhabi not only with possibility to share ideas with the group of professionals but in a really friendly atmosphere. Hope to see you again soon!



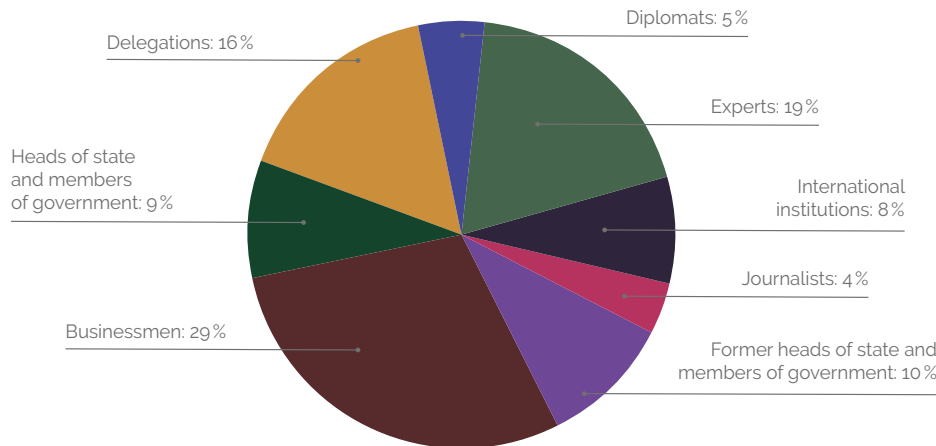




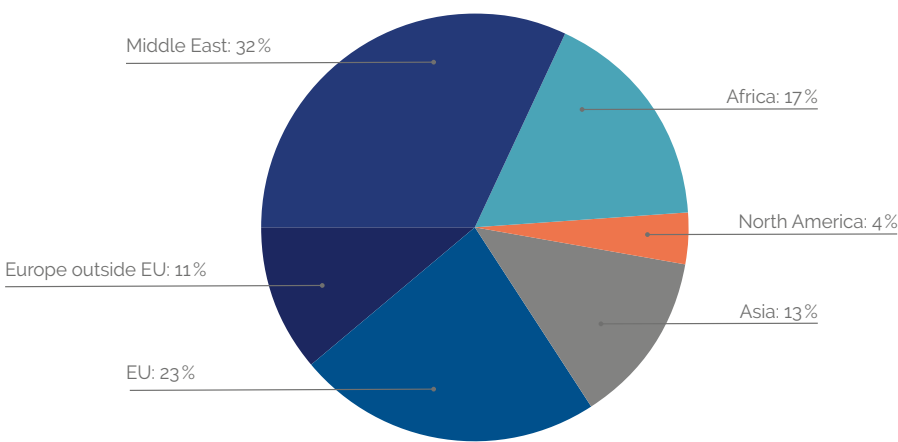
KEY DATA



Participants - Geographical breakdown  
(197 participants from 37 countries)



Participants - Breakdown by function  
(197 participants from 37 countries)



Geographical breakdown of main published articles  
(total: 92 articles)

INVITED GUESTS







Abdelatif, Soumeya

Medical doctor, director of companies. First Vice President of the Robert Schuman Institute for Europe, she is a member of the European Academy of the Great East region in France. She was an auditor of the Institute for Advanced Studies in National Defense (IHEDN).

Achi, Patrick

Prime Minister of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire. He previously served as Secretary-General of the Presidency and Minister of State. He was also Executive Secretary of the National Council for Economic Policy in charge of the 2030 Strategic Plan and the 5-year program "Côte d'Ivoire Solidaire 2021-2025".

Adamakis, Emmanuel

Elder Metropolitan of Chalcedon since February 2021. He served as Vice President and President of the Conference of European Churches. After being elected Metropolitan of France, he was Co-President of the Council of Christian Churches in France.

Ahmed, Masood

President of the Center for Global Development, former Director of the Middle East and Central Asia Department of the IMF. He has previously held important positions at major international institutions including the IMF, the World Bank, and the DFID.

Akita, Hiroyuki

Commentator of Nikkei, Japan. He writes commentaries, columns, and analysis on foreign and international security affairs. Former Beijing Correspondent and Washington Chief Correspondent, he was Senior and Editorial Staff Writer and worked for the Leader Writing Team of the Financial Times.

Al Ahmed, Ali

Former Ambassador of the United Arab Emirates to France and Germany. Prior to that, he was Director of the European Affairs Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in charge of bilateral relations. Before joining the Ministry, he held major positions in the field of Media and Communications.

Al Amiri, Sarah

Minister of State for Advanced Technology, President of the UAE Space Agency. Her Excellency was Director of Research and Development at MBRSC, where she established the Centre's Knowledge and Research Department. She was also involved in DubaiSat-1 and DubaiSat-2, and in the project development for KhalifaSat.

Al Busaidi, Ahmed bin Hilal

Ambassador of the Sultanate of Oman to the United Arab Emirates. Previously, he served as Ambassador to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Non-Resident Ambassador to the Republic of Djibouti and Permanent Representative of the Sultanate of Oman to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation.

Al Ghurair, Abdul Aziz

Chairman of the Board of Directors of Mashreq. His Excellency is a member of the Board of Directors of Abdullah Al Ghurair Group of Companies. Previously, His Excellency was the Chief Executive Officer of Mashreq for nearly 30 years.

Al Ketbi, Ebtesam

President and Founder of the Emirates Policy Center. She is a Professor of Political Science at the United Arab Emirates University. She was appointed in 2015 as a Member of the Consultative Commission of the Gulf Cooperation Council.

Al Mheiri, Mariam

Minister of Climate Change and Environment, United Arab Emirates. Her Excellency previously served as Minister of State for Food and Water Security and was responsible for monitoring national food stocks, investing in food technology, and following up international relations.

Al Mubarak, Khaldoon Khalifa

Chairman of the Executive Affairs Authority, Group Chief Executive Officer and Managing Director of Mubadala. His Excellency is also member of the Abu Dhabi Executive Council, Founding member of Abu Dhabi's Supreme Council for Financial and Economic Affairs and Presidential Special Envoy to China.

Al Nahayan, Nahayan Mabarak

Minister of Tolerance and Coexistence, United Arab Emirates. His Excellency joined the Federal Government in 1990 and has held several portfolios, including Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research, Minister of Education, and Minister of Culture and Knowledge Development.

Al Nahyan, Shakhbut bin Nahyan

Minister of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, United Arab Emirates. Previously, His Excellency was Ambassador to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. He played a vital role in fostering and developing mutual relations, and enhancing bilateral cooperation in various fields.

Al Nuaimi, Ali Rashid

Chairman of Hedayah. Leading international expert on Extremism and Education, he is a member of the UAE Federal National Council for the Emirate of Abu Dhabi and Chairman of the Defense Affairs, Interior and Foreign Affairs Committee at the Council.

Al Otaiba, Hend

Ambassador of the United Arab Emirates to France since July 2021. Prior to that, Her Excellency led the UAE Foreign Ministry's (MoFAIC) Strategic Communications Department. Her Excellency joined MoFAIC in April 2017 as an Advisor to the Foreign Minister.

Al Sayegh, Ahmed Ali

Minister of State to the United Arab Emirates Cabinet since September 2018. His Excellency holds a number of positions, including Chairman of Abu Dhabi Global Market, Board member of Abu Dhabi Development Fund, Board member of Etihad Aviation Group, and Deputy Chairman of Emirates Nature – WWF.

Al Zaabi, Salem Mohammed

Director of the Department of International Security Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, United Arab Emirates. He previously served as Executive Director for Policy and Cooperation in the Ministry of Defense.

Al-Oraibi, Mina

Editor in Chief of The National newspaper, a daily English language regional newspaper based in Abu Dhabi. As an Iraqi-British journalist, she covers Middle Eastern, European and American affairs. She was a Senior Fellow at the Institute for State Effectiveness, as well as a Yale World Fellow.

Alaux-Lorain, Jean

Civil servant within the Corps des mines, he joined the French Ministry of Economy and Finance in 2019. Before joining the public sector, he worked for Facebook AI Research and McKinsey in Paris.

Almarar, Khalifa Shaheen

Minister of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Arab Emirates. He previously served as Assistant Minister for Political Affairs and Director of the Department of International Organizations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation.

Andler, Daniel

Emeritus Professor at Sorbonne University, member of the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences. He is chiefly interested in cognitive science and artificial intelligence, and in their import for education, collective decision and public policy.

Andrews, John

Contributing Editor to The Economist and Project Syndicate. Author and journalist, he specializes in geopolitics. In 2021, he became head tutor for The Economist's first online course on global trends in geopolitics, with a particular focus on China and the United States.

Andries, Karen

Deputy Vice President Foreign Institutional Relations, TotalEnergies. She held several positions in the Gas, Renewables & Power and Exploration & Production divisions of TotalEnergies and in various countries such as Angola and Indonesia.

Antil, Alain

Director of the Ifri Sub-Saharan Africa Center. He works on Mauritania and security issues in the Sahel. He teaches at the Institut d'études politiques of Lille and Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University.

Appert, Olivier

Chairman of France Brevets, Scientific Advisor of the Energy Center of Ifri. Former President of the French Energy Council and General Delegate of the French Academy of Engineering, he previously was Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of IFP Energies Nouvelles.

Aslan, Ali

International TV Presenter and journalist. His career includes work for CNN in Washington DC, ABC News in New York and Deutsche Welle TV in Berlin. He has interviewed and shared the stage with many global leaders and public figures.

Bader, Kristian

Chief Operations Officer of Norge Mining. Founder of various companies, he has extensive experience as Operations Advisor. He is passionate about developments in the fields of technology, digitization and automation.

Badré, Bertrand

Managing Partner and Founder of Blue like an Orange Sustainable Capital, former Managing Director and Chief Financial Officer of the World Bank Group. Previously, he served as Group Chief Financial Officer of Crédit Agricole and Group Chief Financial Officer at Société Générale.

Baptiste, Philippe

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the French Centre for Space Studies (CNES). Previously, he was Advisor to Prime Minister Edouard Philippe. Scientist from the digital sphere, he specializes in algorithms, combinatorial optimization, operational research and artificial intelligence.

Bark, Taeho

President of Lee&Ko Global Commerce Institute, former Minister for Trade of Korea. He is Professor Emeritus at the Graduate School of International Studies of Seoul National University. He participates in the Task Force on Global Capitalism in Transition of the Trilateral Commission as an Asia-Pacific member.

Barrault, François

Founder and Chairman of FDB Partners, Chairman of IDATE DigiWorld, the leading European think tank and consultancy organization dedicated to Internet, telecommunications and media. He has had unique and diversified entrepreneurial and corporate experiences in the technology sector.

HH Bartholomew I<sup>st</sup>

Archbishop of Constantinople - New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch. Ordained to the Diaconate in 1961 and to the Priesthood in 1969, H.H. served as Assistant Dean at the Patriarchal Theological School of Halki and then as Director of the Private Patriarchal Office of Ecumenical Patriarch Dimitrios.

Bekele-Thomas, Nardos

United Nations Resident Coordinator in South Africa. She was previously Senior Director of the Office of the Secretary-General. She also served as the UN Resident Coordinator and UNDP Resident Representative in the Republic of Kenya and the Republic of Benin.

Bel Hadj Souлами, Amine

Head of Middle East and Africa of BNP Paribas. He joined the Middle East & Africa region with a 32-year career with the bank having held leadership positions in Paris, New York, London & Tokyo. He previously served as Senior Advisor to BNP Paribas Global Markets.

Beltran, Jacques

Vice President of Public Sector at Dassault Systèmes. He was Deputy Director General and Special Advisor to the President of the regional council of Paris Region, in charge of European affairs, international cooperation and tourism. He also worked for Airbus and Alstom.

Benchoufi, Mehdi

Co-Founder and Chief Executive Officer of EchOpen, a low-cost handheld ultrasound device connected to smartphones. PhD in Mathematics, he is a Public Health practitioner at Hôtel-Dieu Hospital in Paris and former Assistant Professor in Clinical Epidemiology.

Bingmann, Holger

President of the German Section of the International Chamber of Commerce, Honorary Chairman of the German Emirati Joint Council for Industry and Commerce. He is also Managing Partner at Bingmann Pflüger International. For many years, he has held leading positions in industry and associations.

Biot, Jacques

Board member and Advisor to companies in the field of digital transformation and artificial intelligence, former President of the École polytechnique in Paris. Trustee to several scientific academic institutions, he chairs the Board of Directors of Huawei Technologies France.

Bittermann, Jim

CNN's Senior European Correspondent in Paris. Previously, he was an ABC Paris correspondent and the NBC Paris and Rome correspondent. Member of the Board of Governors of the American Hospital of Paris, he is Co-President and Co-Founder of the European-American Press Club.

Borrell Fontelles, Josep

High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Vice President of the European Commission. Former Foreign Minister of Spain, he previously was Minister of Public Works and Environment, member of the European Parliament, and later its President.

Bréchet, Christian

President of the Global Virus Network. In addition to his past role as President of the Institut Pasteur, he has held senior positions at Institut Mérieux, Inserm, and Paris Descartes University. His research activities have focused on viral hepatitis, microbiomes, and viral infections.

Breuillac, Arnaud

Senior Advisor to the Chairman & Chief Executive Officer of TotalEnergies. He joined TotalEnergies in 1982 and has served in various positions in its Exploration & Production Division, including Abu Dhabi, the United Kingdom, Indonesia and Angola as well as the Refining Division in France.

Canal Forgues Alter, Eric

Dean of Academic Affairs at the Anwar Gargash Diplomatic Academy. Before assuming his current role, he has worked as an associate lecturer of international law for diplomats at the Academy. He previously served as Head of the Faculty of Law, Economics and Management at Sorbonne University Abu Dhabi.

Charafeddine, Raed

Central and Commercial Banker, former First Vice Governor of the Central Bank of Lebanon. High-level senior finance professional with profound expertise in public and private sectors in the Middle East and Africa, he is an international strategist in central banking, regulation and supervision, and financial markets.

Charbit, Stéphane

Managing Director in the Sovereign Advisory Department of Rothschild & Co. He advises a number of governments, sovereign wealth funds and state-owned companies on economic development, financial policy and debt management, across Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, Central and Latin America.







Chatel, Xavier

Ambassador of France to the United Arab Emirates. He was posted to the French Permanent Representation to the United Nations as a negotiator on nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. He served as Political Advisor at the French Embassy in London and as Diplomatic Advisor to the Minister for the Armed Forces.

Cœuré, Benoît

Head of the BIS Innovation Hub, former member of the ECB's Executive Board. Prior to joining the ECB, he served in various positions at the French Treasury including Chief Executive of the French Debt Management office.

Comănescu, Gabriel

Chief Executive Officer of Grup Servicii Petroliere, a top offshore construction and drilling holding in the Black Sea. He established Grup Servicii Petroliere in 2004 and has served as Chairman of the Board ever since.

Cotte, Basile

Engineering student of the Corps des mines. A graduate of École polytechnique, he is training to become a senior civil servant. He pursues a Master's degree in Economics at the Paris School of Economics. During his studies, he worked at Morgan Stanley in London before joining Neoen in Paris.

Coulibaly, Drissa

Ambassador of Côte d'Ivoire to Saudi Arabia. He previously served as Director of the Asia-Pacific Region at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Côte d'Ivoire.

Counsell, Benedict

Vice President of JOKR, a rapid grocery delivery startup. Prior to that, he worked as Vice President of SoftBank Group International. He has experience in the mobility sector, the last-mile delivery sector, and the not-for-profit sector in various senior management roles across various successful startups.

Delapalme, Nathalie

Executive Director of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation since 2010. She previously served as Inspecteur général des finances at the French Ministry of Economy and Finances and Africa Advisor to several French Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Ministers of Development.

Desouches, Christine

Honorary lecturer at the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, expert-consultant to international organizations and member of the strategic council of Ifri. Through various positions held in the International Organisation of La Francophonie, she has become a specialist in democratization, crisis and peace-building processes, especially in Africa.

Dossou, Robert

President of the African Association of International Law, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Benin, former President of the Constitutional Court of Benin. Former Chairman of the Bar, he is a lawyer at the Paris Bar and currently practicing at the Bar of Benin.

Dredha, Ermal

Ambassador of the Republic of Albania to the United Arab Emirates since 2016. He has carried out different positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including State Protocol Director and Consul General of the Republic of Albania to Bari, Italy.

Drouin, François

President of ETI FINANCE (SMEs and midcaps financing), GAGEO (asset-based lending) and IFIMM (real estate). He held numerous leading positions, including Chairman of Caisse d'Épargne de Midi-Pyrénées and Crédit Foncier de France, and Vice President of the French Public Investment Bank (Bpifrance).

Duçka, Dorian

Former Deputy Minister of Energy and Industry of Albania. He has served as External Advisor on Investments to the Prime Minister since 2016. He previously served as Director of the European Integration and International Projects at the Ministry of the Economy, Trade, and Energy.

Eizenstat, Stuart

Senior Counsel at Covington & Burling LLP, former Chief White House Domestic Policy Advisor to President Jimmy Carter. He has held key senior positions, including US Ambassador to the European Union, Under Secretary of Commerce for International Trade and Deputy Secretary of the Treasury.

Ekué, Serge

President of the West African Development Bank since August 2020. Prior to that, he was Head of Natixis' Corporate and Investment Banking activities for the United Kingdom. He combined this responsibility with that of Market Solutions for Europe, Middle East and Africa.

Elkhereiji, Waleed A.

Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia and Engineer. He has held various positions in the Saudi government, including Minister of Agriculture, as well as Ambassador of Saudi Arabia to the Netherlands and Turkey.

Etourneau, Matthieu

Co-Founder and Chief Executive Officer of Royal Technologies Ltd, a Dubai-based insurtech company that intends to redefine the insurance industry in the Middle East. He is also the representative in the United Arab Emirates of MEDEF International, the French business federation.

Eyl-Mazzega, Marc-Antoine

Director of Ifri's Center for Energy & Climate since 2017. Prior to joining Ifri, he worked at the International Energy Agency, notably as Russia & Sub-Saharan Africa Program Manager. He was also in charge of a Ukraine observatory at the Robert Schuman Foundation.

Fahmy, Nabil

Founding Dean of the School of Global Affairs and Public Policy at the American University in Cairo, former Foreign Minister of Egypt. A career diplomat, he served as Ambassador to the United States and Japan, as well as in numerous government and international positions.

Gadio, Cheikh Tidiane

Vice President of the National Assembly of Senegal, President of the Pan-African Institute for Strategies, Peace-Security-Governance. Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the African Union and Senegalese Abroad, he served as Minister of State, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Senegal.

Galas, Godefroy

Engineering student of the Corps des mines. A graduate of Télécom Paris, the Grande Ecole program of HEC Paris, and Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University, he is training to become a senior civil servant. He worked for General Electric, Alstom, TotalEnergies and Vesuvius, as well as for the investment fund Astorg.

Gargash, Anwar Mohammed

Diplomatic Advisor to the President, United Arab Emirates. He was Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Minister of State for National Council Affairs. He is a member of the Board of Trustees of the Anwar Gargash Diplomatic Academy.

Gergorin, Jean-Louis

Senior lecturer at Sciences Po Paris, owner of the cyber and aerospace consultancy JLG Strategy. He has held numerous executive positions such as Executive Vice President and member of the Executive Committee of Airbus, as well as Director of Policy Planning of the French Foreign Ministry.

Girard, Renaud

Senior reporter and war correspondent at Le Figaro. He has covered major worldwide political crises and armed conflicts for the past 30 years. He is also a Professor at the Institut d'études politiques de Paris and a member of the Editorial Board of Revue des deux Mondes.

Gomart, Thomas

Director of Ifri. He previously was its President for Strategic Development and Director of its Russia/NIS Center. As researcher, he is currently working on Russia, digital governance, country risk, and think tanks. He recently published *Guerres Invisibles. Nos prochains défis géopolitiques* (Editions Tallandier, 2021).

Gruffat, Jean-Claude

Chairman of the Competitive Enterprise Institute, member of the Leadership Council of United Way Worldwide. He is a Governor of the American Hospital of Paris and the President of its US based American Foundation. He also serves on the board of Atlas Network.

Guérin, Gilles

Managing Director of Bordier & Cie in Geneva, Treasurer of the WPC Foundation. Former Managing Partner of EFG Bank in Geneva, his area of expertise is private asset management. He previously worked as Treasurer for Europe at the National Bank of Abu Dhabi in Paris.

Guigou, Elisabeth

Founding President of Europartnaires, President of the Anna Lindh Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures, former President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French National Assembly. She also served as Minister Delegate for European Affairs, Minister of Justice, and Minister of Employment and Solidarity.

Halalai, Traian

Executive President of Banca de Export-Import a României EximBank SA since 2012. He has extensive experience in the banking sector as Deputy General Manager and member of the Board of Directors of Banca Romaneasca SA. He developed a teaching career at the Academy of Economic Studies in Bucharest.

Halferty Hardy, Kerry

Lecturer and consultant. Her varied career has spanned the public, private, and non-profit sectors in Europe and the Americas, with a particular emphasis on the policy, agriculture, and healthcare fields. Both as a consultant and as a Board member, she advises companies and international NGOs.

Handley, Peter

Head of the Energy-Intensive Industries and Raw Materials Unit in the European Commission's Directorate-General for Growth. He was Head of Policy Coordination for Energy Union, 2030 climate and energy package, low emission mobility strategy and circular economy at the Secretariat General.

Hecker, Marc

Director of research and communications at Ifri, Editor-in-Chief of *Politique étrangère*. PhD in Political Science, he taught for many years a course on terrorism at Sciences Po. He published several books including *La Guerre de vingt ans* (Robert Laffont, 2021 with Elie Tenenbaum).

Hosoya, Yuichi

Professor of International Politics at Keio University, Managing Director and Research Director at the Asia-Pacific Initiative in Tokyo, he is also Senior Researcher at the Nakasone Peace Institute, Senior Fellow at The Tokyo Foundation for Policy Research, and Senior Adjunct Fellow at the Japan Institute of International Affairs.

Jacquet, Pierre

President of the Global Development Network, former Chief Economist of the French Development Agency, former Deputy Director of Ifri. He is President of the Scientific Council of the FARM Foundation, member of the Scientific Committee of Credit Agricole S.A., and Non-Resident Fellow at the Center for Global Development.

Jansen, Sabine

Professor in International Relations at the Conservatoire national des arts et métiers. Research Fellow at the interdisciplinary research laboratory in action-oriented sciences (Lirsa), she is Vice President of the Committee for Parliamentary and Political History and Delegated President of the Society for the History of the 5th Republic.

Kagame, Paul

President of the Republic of Rwanda. Elected Chairperson of the East African Community, he has been leading the institutional reform of the African Union (AU) since 2016. He is Chairperson of the AU Development Agency New Partnership for Africa's Development and African Union Leader for Domestic Health Financing.

Kaiser, Karl

Senior Associate of the Project on Europe and the Transatlantic Relationship, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University. Adjunct Professor Emeritus at Harvard Kennedy School, he taught at major universities. He was Director of the German Council on Foreign Relations in Bonn and Berlin.

Karakullukçu, Memduh

Founding Board member of the Global Relations Forum, Founding Partner of Kanunum, Chairman of Kroton Consulting. Former President of the Global Relations Forum, his policy work includes technology and economic development, technology and security, global energy dynamics, and global economic and financial governance.

Kassis, Elias

President of Total E&P UAE and TotalEnergies Country Chair in the United Arab Emirates since May 2021. Previously, he held the position of Vice President Energy Transition in the MENA division of TotalEnergies Exploration & Production.

Kastouéva-Jean, Tatiana

Head of Russia-NIS Center of Ifri since 2014. Before joining Ifri in 2005, she taught international relations for the French-Russian Master at MGIMO University. She heads the trilingual electronic collection *Russie.NeiVisions*.

Kazatchkine, Michel

Former Executive Director of the Global Fund to fight AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria, Senior Fellow at the Global Health Centre of the Graduate Institute for International and Development Studies, Geneva. Special Advisor to UNAIDS for Eastern Europe and Central Asia, he is a leading physician, researcher, policymaker, and diplomat.

Keller, Daniel

President of the ENA Alumni Association since 2017. He is also Head of the pension support division at Malakoff-Humanis, a social protection group. He was a member of the Economic, Social and Environmental Council of France as a qualified person.

Kim, Sung-woo

Chief Executive Officer of MiCo BioMed Co. Ltd., an innovative LabChip-technology based diagnostic company in Korea that generates various biochemical, immunological and molecular diagnostic products including Covid-19 detection kits and systems. He has been working with international organizations such as the UN, the WHO and Pasteur Institute.

Kiviniemi, Mari

Managing Director of the Finnish Commerce Federation, former OECD Deputy Secretary-General. Former Prime Minister of Finland, she held various positions in the Finnish government, including Minister of Public Administration and Local Government, Minister for Foreign Trade and Development and Minister for European Affairs.

Klich, Bogdan

Senator in the Polish Parliament, Chairman of the Foreign and EU Affairs Committee in the Polish Senate. Former member of the European Parliament, he served as Minority Leader of the Polish Senate and Minister of Defense. He founded the Institute for Strategic Studies think tank in Krakow.

Koch, Christian

Director of Research for the Gulf Research Center, former Head of Strategic Studies at the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research. He leads the Tafahum Project on a Security Roadmap for West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula sponsored by the German Federal Foreign Office.

Koleilat-Khatib, Dania

Co-Founder and President of the Research Center for Cooperation and Peace Building. Affiliated Scholar at the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs at the American University of Beirut, she is an advocacy consultant for the ESCWA National Agenda for the Future of Syria program.







Kotti, Randy

Engineering student of the Corps des mines. A graduate of École polytechnique, he worked at the French Embassy's Defense Mission in Côte d'Ivoire, Goldman Sachs in London and San Francisco, and Neoen in Australia. He pursues a Master in Public Administration in International Development at the Harvard Kennedy School.

Kowal, Pawel

Professor at the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences. He is a political scientist, historian, columnist, and expert on Eastern policy. Member of the Polish Parliament, he also serves as Deputy Chairman in Foreign Affairs Committee.

Kramarz, Jean

Director of the Healthcare activities of the AXA Partners Group. He is a specialist in the development of healthcare services. He was Director of New Services for the Malakoff-Médéric Group, Director of Development for Europ Assistance, and Director of International Health Subsidiaries for the Gras Savoye Group.

Lablanchy, Jean-Pierre

Medical Doctor and Psychiatrist. He is a member of the Supervisory Board of Edeis. He is specialized in the management of conflict situations, and in particular in the management of post-traumatic syndromes. He has been practicing in Paris for 37 years, with an involvement in corporate work.

Laidi, Zaki

Senior Advisor to the High Representative and Vice President of the European Commission, Professor at Sciences Po. Author of numerous books, academic papers, articles and comments in the press, his fields of research are Europe as a global actor, trade and politics, and global politics.

Lazrak, Omar

Managing Director at BNP Paribas. He is Senior Banking Executive with a 20-year experience in leading coverage, structured finance and product platforms within top-tier international and regional Corporate and Investment Banks.

Lee, Hye Min

Senior Advisor of KIM & CHANG, Visiting Professor of Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Seoul. Former Deputy Minister for Trade of Korea, he also served as G20 Sherpa, Chief Negotiator for the Korea-EU FTA and Ambassador to the Philippines and France.

León Gross, Bernardino

Director General of the Anwar Gargash Diplomatic Academy. He served as UN Special Representative and Head of the UN Support Mission in Libya. His career has focused on mediation and negotiations, covering also intercultural dialogue, security, energy and migration.

Loridant, Eponine

Engineering student of the Corps des mines. She studied at a binational French-German high school and the French engineering school École polytechnique. As part of her education, she worked for a humanitarian organization in Côte d'Ivoire and at the French embassy in Switzerland.

Makram Ebeid, Mona

Egyptian Senator, Advisor to the UN High Representative for the Alliance of Civilizations. Former member of Parliament, she is Distinguished Lecturer in the Political Science Department at the American University in Cairo, as well as member of the National Council for Human Rights.

Mallikarjun, Manu

Social entrepreneur working in the fields of international relations and development. He works on the post-production of a film series that aims to explore various global issues concerning politics and economics. He is in the process of writing a book for the same purpose.

Mariton, Hervé

Mayor of Crest, France since 1995. He is also Chairman of the Franco-British Council and of the Federation of overseas companies (FEDOM). Former member of the French Parliament, he served as Minister for Overseas Territories.

Meyer, Jean-Claude

Vice Chairman International of Rothschild & Cie. Before joining Rothschild as General Partner, he was Advisor to DATAR, an office of the French Prime Minister, and later Managing Director of Lazard Frères & Cie. He is a member of the Board of Ifri.

Michel, Jacques

Chairman of BNP Paribas Middle East and Africa for Corporate and Institutional Banking. He serves on several BNP Paribas boards, including BNP Paribas MEA, BNP Paribas Investment Company in Saudi Arabia, and BNP Paribas Wealth Management subsidiary in Dubai.

Monteiller, Pierre

Engineering student of the Corps des mines. A graduate of École normale supérieure de Paris, he is training to become a senior civil servant. He contributed at MIT and Humboldt Universität to machine learning projects applied to industry. He worked for Guerbet's artificial intelligence division and the marketing agency M13h.

Moreira, Carlos

Founder, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of WiSeKey, former UN Expert on cybersecurity. He is recognized worldwide as an Internet pioneer and has a unique profile, which combines extensive high level international diplomacy experience and emerging technologies expertise. He co-wrote The transHuman Code.

Moulin, Jacques

Chief Executive Officer of IDATE DigiWorld since 2017. Prior to that, he was Chief Executive Officer of Sofrecom. He started his career at Thomson SA and then joined France Télécom-Orange Group. He held various managerial and operational posts within Orange Group.

Mourtada-Sabbah, Nada

Secretary-General of the University Leadership Council. She was appointed Founding Vice Chancellor for Development and Alumni Affairs of the American University of Sharjah in 2009. She has held visiting professorships at leading universities and research institutions, including the University of California and the Institut d'études politiques de Paris.

Mushikiwabo, Louise

Secretary-General of the International Organisation of La Francophonie since 2019. She served as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and the East African Community and Minister of Information of Rwanda. She previously worked in the communications directorate of the African Development Bank in Tunisia.

Narayanan, Mayankote Kelath

Executive Chairman of CyQureX Systems Pvt. Ltd., a UK-US Cyber Security joint venture. Former Senior Advisor and National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister of India, he has dealt with a wide range of issues concerning national and global security, including counter-terrorism, counter-intelligence and strategic analysis.

Nasr, Samir

President of ECE Consultants SAL since 1982. He is Chairman of Phoenician Funds Holding in Lebanon and Executive Director of the Mouflon Fund in Cyprus. He served as consultant at the OECD and Professor of Economics.

Naumkin, Vitaly

President of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Senior Political Advisor to the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General of the UN for Syria. He is a Goodwill Ambassador for the Alliance of Civilizations.

Nguyen Van Mai, Manon

Engineering student of the Corps des mines. A graduate of École polytechnique, she is training to become a senior civil servant. She completed a military service on a surveillance frigate in the French Southern and Antarctic Lands. She worked for the biotech startup Embleema and the groups Butagaz and EDF.

Nicolet, Patrick

Founder and Managing Partner of Line Break Capital Ltd. He worked at Capgemini, assuming a number of global leadership positions. In 2020, he concluded his last mandate as Group Chief Technology Officer during which he oversaw the Group's Technology, Innovation and Ventures agenda, global cybersecurity, and IT functions.

Noland, Marcus

Executive Vice President and Director of Studies at the Peterson Institute for International Economics. He is concurrently a Senior Fellow at the East-West Center. He was previously Senior Economist at the Council of Economic Advisers in the Executive Office of the President of the United States.

Oualalou, Fathallah

Senior Fellow at the Policy Center for the New South, former Minister of Economy and Finance of Morocco. He served as Mayor of Rabat, member of the Moroccan Parliament, and President of the National Union of Students of Morocco.

Palacio, Ana

International Lawyer specializing in international and EU law. Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain, she was a member of the European Parliament. She also served as Senior Vice President and General Counsel of the World Bank Group.

Pannier, Alice

Research Fellow and Head of Geopolitics of Technologies program at Ifri. Her research focuses on the geopolitical dimension of new technology, European technology policies, and transatlantic relations. She has also worked on European security and the foreign and defense policies of European countries, especially France and the United Kingdom.

Perthes, Volker

Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Sudan and Head of the UN Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in Sudan. He was Executive Chairman and Director of SWP, the German Institute for International and Security Affairs. He served as UN Assistant Secretary-General.

Ploquin, Xavier

Senior Associate and Chief of Staff to the Chief Executive Officer of Meridiam. Former Advisor for Energy, Industry and Innovation in the private office of the French Ministry for the Ecological and Inclusive Transition, he held various positions in the French Ministry of Economy and Finance.

Qiao, Yide

Vice Chairman and Secretary-General of Shanghai Development Research Foundation, a non-profit institution with the purpose of promoting research on the issues of development. He is also an Outside Expert for International Finance and Economy at the Ministry of Finance in China.

Rabinovich, Itamar

Vice Chairman of the Institute for National Security Studies in Tel Aviv, former Israeli Ambassador to the US, former Chief Negotiator with Syria. Distinguished Fellow at the Brookings Institution, he is Professor Emeritus of Middle Eastern History at Tel Aviv University and President Emeritus of the Israel Institute.

Rama, Edi

Prime Minister of the Republic of Albania. He entered politics in the capacity of Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports. Former Mayor of Tirana and Chair of the Socialist Party, he was first elected as Prime Minister in 2013.

Reynders, Didier

Commissioner for Justice in charge of Rule of Law and Consumer Protection at the European Commission. He held leading positions in the Belgian government, including Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Finance, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade and European Affairs, and Minister of Defense.

Richard, Philippe

International Affairs Executive Director of Abu Dhabi Global Market. Previously, he was International Affairs Director of the French Prudential and Resolution (ACPR), an institution integrated into Banque de France.

Robert, Virginie

Foreign Desk Editor of Les Echos, the French business newspaper. She was the daily newspaper's New York correspondent. Vice President of the European-American Press Club in Paris, she is also a member of the French Diplomatic Press Association.

Robin, Arnaud

Engineering student of the Corps des mines. A graduate of École polytechnique, he worked in finance at Jane Street and Google in the Chrome browser team. He also worked on crisis management at the SNCF group. He is an operations research Master student at the MIT, in partnership with Wayfair.

Romain, Benjamin

Founding Partner of Okan Partners, strategy and financial advisory boutique dedicated to Africa since 2012. Former McKinsey, PAI Partners and Ardian, he has developed an expertise in financial advisory and fundraising in Africa. At Okan, he mainly leads infrastructure, agriculture and mining sectors.

Rudd, Kevin

President of the Asia Society Policy Institute. He has been President and Chief Executive Officer of Asia Society since January 2021. He served as Australia's Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. He is Chair of the Board of the International Peace Institute.

Sakamoto, Haruka

Assistant Professor at the School of Medicine, Department of Health Policy and Management, Keio University. Project researcher at the Department of Global Health Policy, Graduate School of Medicine, University of Tokyo, she is also a consultant at the WHO Western Pacific Regional Office and Gates Foundation Tokyo Office.

Schweitzer, Louis

President of Initiative France, Special Representative of the French Foreign Minister for the Franco-Japanese partnership. Former General Commissioner for Investment, he served as Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Renault. He was also Chairman of the French Foreign Affairs Council.

Shek, Daniel

Former Ambassador of Israel to France. He has taken part in devising media strategies for the Foreign Ministry and is considered an expert on public diplomacy. Co-Founder of NEXUS Elite Task Force, he teaches Diplomacy at Tel Aviv University. He is among the leaders of the Israeli Regional Initiative.

Sigal, Robert

Chief Executive Officer of the American Hospital of Paris. He is leading the International Patients working group of French Healthcare. Former President and Chief Commercial Officer of InSightec, he also served as General Manager and President of General Electric Healthcare France.

Sinapi-Thomas, Lucia

Executive Director of Capgemini Ventures since 2019. She held various positions in Capgemini, including Deputy Chief Financial Officer and Executive Director Business Platforms of Capgemini Group. She is a member of the Board of Directors of Capgemini SE, Bureau Veritas and Dassault Aviation.

Stoian, Marius

President of Club România. Former Under Secretary of State for Foreign Trade, he also served as Personal Advisor for the Secretary of State for the Romanians Abroad and for the Minister of Tourism. He is a member of Chatham House and the Aspen Institute Romania.







Sulzberger, David A.

Art Dealer specializing in Islamic Art. His London-based company, Ahuan Islamic Art, has organized major Islamic exhibitions and supplied important Islamic works of art to numerous private collections. He was Advisor to the Arriyadh Development planning the Saudi Arabian National Museum.

Sur, Serge

Emeritus Professor of Public Law at the University of Paris Panthéon-Assas. Former Deputy Director of the UNIDIR, he also served as ad hoc Judge at the International Court of Justice in The Hague and Founding Director of the Thucydides Center-Analysis and Research in International Relations.

Suzuki, Kazuto

Professor of Science and Technology Policy at the Graduate School of Public Policy at the University of Tokyo. Senior Fellow of Asia Pacific Initiative, he is President of Japan Association of International Security and Trade. His research focuses on the conjunction of science, technology and international relations.

Tabet, Riad

President of Berit International Holding SA, President of Batiliban-France, Franco-Arab Consortium for development. Board member of the Executive Committee of the Franco-Arab Chamber of Commerce in Paris, he is a Board member and Founding member of the Lebanese American Chamber of Commerce in Beirut.

Tola, Dritan

Ambassador of Albania to France, non-resident Ambassador to Monaco and Portugal, Representative at the International Organisation of La Francophonie. He worked at the European Commission and the European External Action Service, where he was in charge of political issues and European and regional developments.

Tonon, Clément

Member of the French Council of State. He started his career at the French Senate by working on international affairs. He wrote several reports on the strategic issues raised by the digital economy.

Touraine, Agnès

Chief Executive Officer of Act III Consultants, a management-consulting firm dedicated to digital transformation. McKinsey Senior Advisor, she is also a Board member of several non-profit organizations such as IDATE and the French-American Foundation. She chaired the French Institute of Directors (IFA).

Touré, Aminata

Senegalese politician and Human Rights activist. She served as Prime Minister, Minister of Justice, President's Special Envoy for Internal and External Affairs, and President of the Economic, Social and Environmental Council. She held technical expert positions at the United Nations in Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal.

Trichet, Jean-Claude

European Chairman of the Trilateral Commission. Member of the Institut de France, he is Honorary Chairman of the Bruegel Institute and of the Group of Thirty. Former President of the ECB, he also served as Governor of Banque de France and Director of the French Treasury.

Tsakok, Isabelle

Economist, Consultant on Agriculture and Rural Development, Senior Fellow at the Policy Center for the New South. Policy analyst and researcher, she has taught courses on agricultural policies and institutions at the World Bank and the School of Agricultural and Rural Department, Renmin University of China, among others.

Tuakli, Juliette M.

Chief Executive Officer of CHILDAccra Medical, a regional medical conglomerate providing medical care, public health, and medical research and development in Africa, Europe, and the United States. Global leader in international women's and children's health, she chairs the Board of Trustees of United Way Worldwide.

Tuncer, Faruk

Co-Founder and Chief Executive Officer of Polyteia. Partner at Quinoa, he is an entrepreneur and public policy professional passionate about the way technology is going to transform governments and cities. His previous work experience ranges from non-profit sector to public sector.

Tybring-Gjedde, Ingvil Smines

Non-Executive Director at Norge Mining. Representative of the Norwegian Progress Party and former Deputy Minister in the Norwegian Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, she was also Minister of Public Security in the Ministry of Justice and Public Security.

Vergopoulos, John

Chief Executive Officer of Norge Mining. Former Chief Executive Office and Chief Financial Officer for various publicly traded corporations in the tech and mineral resources industries, he has a strong fundraising track record in capital, private equity and syndicated loan markets.

Véron, Nicolas

Senior Fellow at Bruegel, Senior Fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics. His research is primarily about financial systems and financial services policies, with a main geographical focus on Europe. His earlier experience includes senior positions in the French government and private sector.

Villain, Jean-Paul

Director of the Strategy and Planning Department of Abu Dhabi Investment Authority. He is a permanent invitee to its Investment Committee. He is a member of the Investment Committee of the Abu Dhabi Benefits and Retirement Fund, the pension fund of the citizens of Abu Dhabi.

Wang, Jisi

Professor in the School of International Studies and President of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies at Peking University. He is Honorary President of the Chinese Association for American Studies. He was a member of the Foreign Policy Advisory Committee of China's Foreign Ministry.

Wurmser, David

Founder and Executive member of the Delphi Global Analysis Group, former Senior Advisor to the US Vice President on Middle East. He is a Senior Fellow and Director of the Project on Global Anti-Semitism and the US-Israel Relationship at the Center for Security Policy.

Wurmser, Michael

Founder and Deputy Chief Executive Officer of Norge Mining. Astute economist and entrepreneur, he has advised on structure financing for companies in natural resources, commodities and mining sectors in Russia, the Middle East and Mongolia.

Yasseen, Fareed

Ambassador of Iraq to the United States. He previously served as Ambassador to France. He has worked and consulted for various UN agencies and think tanks. He was Head of Policy Planning, Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Diplomatic Advisor to Deputy President Adil Abd al-Mahdi.

Youssouffa, Estelle

French independent bilingual broadcast journalist, international affairs consultant. With 20 years of experience as a TV news anchor and investigative journalist, she is the Executive Producer and Host of webTV AfriCanDo. She also delivers global strategic analysis to leaders and hosts international conferences.

Yurgens, Igor

Chairman of the Management Board of the Institute of Contemporary Development, Vice President of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. He is a member of the Presidential Council for Civil Society Institutions and Human Rights and of the Presidium of the Council for Foreign and Defense Policy.

Zinsou, Lionel

Co-Chair of SouthBridge, a Financial Advisory Service company dedicated to Africa. He is Chairman of Terra Nova think tank as well as the Fondation de l'École normale supérieure. He served as Prime Minister of Benin.

Montbrial (de), Thierry

Thierry de Montbrial is Executive Chairman of the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri), which he founded in 1979. He is Professor Emeritus at the Conservatoire national des arts et métiers. In 2008, he launched the World Policy Conference. He has been a member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques of the Institut de France since 1992, and is a member of a number of foreign academies. He serves on the board or advisory board of a number of international institutions. Thierry de Montbrial chaired the Department of Economics at the École polytechnique from 1974 to 1992. He was the first Chairman of the Foundation for Strategic Research (1993-2001). Entrusted with the creation of the Policy Planning Staff (*Centre d'analyse et de prévision*) at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was its first Director (1973-1979). He has authored more than twenty books, several of them translated in various languages, including *Action and Reaction in the World System - The Dynamics of Economic and Political Power* (UBC Press, Vancouver, Toronto, 2013) and *Living in Troubled Times, A New Political Era* (World Scientific, 2018). He is a Grand Officer of the Légion d'honneur, Grand Officer of the Ordre National du Mérite. He has been awarded the Order of the Rising Sun – Gold and Silver Star, Japan (2009), Commander of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany (2016) and other state honors by the French and several foreign governments. Thierry de Montbrial is a graduate of the École polytechnique and the École des mines, and received a PhD in Mathematical Economics from the University of California at Berkeley.





OPENING AND DINNER SPEECHES  
FULL VERSIONS



14<sup>th</sup> EDITION GLOBAL GOVERNANCE October 1<sup>st</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2021 • Abu Dhabi

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Sheikh Nahayan Mabarak Al Nahayan

Minister of Tolerance and Coexistence, United Arab Emirates

Your Excellencies, Distinguished Speakers and Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to convey to you the greetings and best wishes of His Highness Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan, Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi and Deputy Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces. With his support and encouragement, we welcome you to Abu Dhabi and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). As a distinguished group of influential political, economic, and business leaders, you honor us with your presence. We know that we will learn from you at this conference, just as we have already learned from your accomplishments and your vision in government, economics, business, and world affairs. Your presence in Abu Dhabi underscores the city's importance in world affairs and the global economy. It clearly reflects the prominent place of the United Arab Emirates among the nations of the world.

Our greatest fortune in Abu Dhabi and the UAE has been that our leaders are people of wisdom and vision. We are deeply indebted to our founding President, the late Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al Nahyan, for his great foresight and leadership. His wise and inspiring vision made the United Arab Emirates a country of progress, prosperity, and stability. Our national leaders have continued to recognize the need for sustainable development and change. And, especially pertinent to your gathering here today, I take special pleasure in welcoming you to a city that is moving swiftly from good to great.

Abu Dhabi has seized its opportunities and become a truly global city, not only a center for finance, business, education, health, energy, technology, and culture but also a nurturing source of innovation and creativity that promises to benefit the whole world. His Highness Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan has carefully fixed the goals toward which Abu Dhabi is moving and has formulated the methods for most effectively reaching those goals. It is with his guidance that Abu Dhabi is moving forward with deliberate strategies to maintain vigorous growth, to create prosperity for all, and to bring together people, government, private and public institutions to create a vibrant and balanced society.

We are proud that this city and this country are showing the world that people from different nations, different ethnicities, different religions, and different cultures can in fact live and work together in peace and harmony. We have shown that there is a valuable dividend associated with tolerance and peaceful coexistence. Countries that value tolerance are generally more peaceful countries that have lower costs of doing business and have higher workforce morale. Those countries are also typically safer, more productive and have more resources dedicated to useful economic activities.

In addition, tolerant societies with open and welcoming attitudes to new ideas develop cultures that are conducive to innovation, creativity, and knowledge development. These societies generally make a more successful transition to the knowledge-based economy and society demanded today. As a result of our tolerance, the United Arab Emirates enjoys unparalleled economic growth, accompanied by social and political stability, while constantly broadening opportunities for our country's citizens and residents.

It is my sincere hope to see a similar description applied to all countries of the world. Yet regional and global conditions continue to challenge this hope. The absence

of tolerance persists, sometimes from lack of understanding ; at other times from a deliberate intent to misrepresent and mislead. We see how extremism feeds on failure and pessimism and produces intolerance, and how reform and economic prosperity inspire confidence and realistic hopes for a better future.

Distinguished Guests, Friends and Colleagues,

The agenda you have before you contains issues vital to the future, not just for those at this conference, but indeed for the world. I note that you will spend time considering some global wicked problems. By their nature "wicked problems" are tricky and ill-defined, yet some of them, such as climate change, pose existential threats to the world as we know it today. Your presence here signals your resolve to understand the enormous problems we face. You aim to increase and deepen your knowledge. My experience tells me that the acquisition of knowledge demands awareness, understanding, interpretation, evaluation, and theorizing. We acquire knowledge because we seek meaning. Knowledge is a necessary step towards wisdom. And with wisdom, we can negotiate and reinvigorate the global societies that we have become.

I strongly believe that it will be our knowledge and wisdom that allow us to harness the great potential of Expo 2020 Dubai that started today. We are striving to ensure that this world Expo – the first in our region – is not only a spectacular event, but also a powerful unifier, and an effective platform for forging international cooperation and global partnerships. Expo 2020 Dubai will be an opportunity to reinforce our conviction that the challenges facing the world are not limited by national borders. Together, and through our collective knowledge and wisdom, we will promote a culture of tolerance that will unite us in the spirit of the Expo's theme of "Connecting Minds, Creating the Future".

It will also be the knowledge and wisdom displayed here in the World Policy Conference that will help our global communities weather any economic, social, or political turbulence. As you expand, sharpen, and deepen your knowledge of global issues, you are developing the capacity for the wisdom that our world desperately needs.

• Wisdom can be ours. And it will be our wisdom that will help resolve international conflicts and disputes.

• It will also be our wisdom that creates a knowledge economy and knowledge society that accounts for the well-being of all citizens, not just the enrichment of a privileged few.

• It will be our wisdom that improves education so that all can contribute effectively to a knowledge-based economy.

• It will be our wisdom that recognizes the moral imperative for improving the health and safety of all communities worldwide.

• It will be our wisdom that helps us deal effectively with critical environmental "wicked problems" such as climate change, waste management, recycling, potable water, and renewable energy.

• It will be our wisdom that preserves the strengths of our traditional cultures and nurtures our natural moral affinities with other cultures and peoples.

• It will be our wisdom that allows us to accept reasonable risk as we advance scientific research and entrepreneurial innovation.

• It will be our wisdom that enables cooperation, creativity, understanding, and



mutual support that help us face the challenges posed by the Covid-19 pandemic.

• It will be our wisdom that fosters an optimistic outlook on the future of our world, a future that holds peaceful coexistence and prosperity for all.

• And it will also be the knowledge and wisdom shared in this World Policy Conference that highlights the pivotal role of leadership in building the future. Successful leaders for our age must be innovative, but fair, steady, alert, courageous, knowledgeable, and wise.

Together, and through our collective wisdom, we must reaffirm our conviction that we all live and work in an inter-dependent world. We must all work together to create and preserve a world order that promotes peace, hope, understanding, stability, cooperation, and prosperity for all.

I would like to extend my thanks to the marvellous efforts of Thierry de Montbrial who organized this prestigious conference. The collective wisdom you are developing, and sharing is important to creating a better future for us all.

Let me close by noting that the UAE is celebrating its Golden Jubilee this year. We are determined in the next fifty years to expand our success in bringing together private and public institutions, nationals and expatriates, regional and international partners to create a vibrant, balanced, and peaceful society which is focused on improving the quality of life for all our people. We are intent on doubling our efforts of focusing on prolonged, inclusive, and sustainable development. We will emphasize the role of community leaders, thinkers, and innovators in shaping our future. We will continue with our commitment to regional and international peace and cooperation. We will always strive to integrate the knowledge and the wisdom we gain to build a better future for all.

My best wishes to you for a successful and productive conference. Thank you.

Thierry de Montbrial

Founder and Chairman of Ifri and the WPC

I am particularly happy that the fourteenth World Policy Conference is taking place in Abu Dhabi nearly two years after the twelfth in Marrakech. The absence of a thirteenth edition in the WPC timeline—like buildings in the United States without a thirteenth-floor elevator stop or planes without a thirteenth row—will always mark the year 2020, which will stand out in the history of the contemporary world.

The shock of September 11, 2001; the 2007-2008 subprime crisis and its aftermath; the very poorly named "Arab Spring" early in the following decade; the Covid-19 pandemic; and of course climate change, whose effects are now being felt in the everyday lives of people around the world, are some of the early 21st century events that recall the fragility of the human condition in both its collective and individual dimensions.

Geopolitically, the thaw in the international system since the fall of the Soviet Union, combined with the meteoric rise of China, whose ambitions are increasingly clear, remind those who dreamed of a blissful age of globalization that the flat world of its ideologues was an illusion. In some respects, today's world resembles that of the early 20th century, when the lack of any sort of global governance, to use a contemporary term, led to the First World War.

The pandemic (whose outcome is still very uncertain) has accelerated technological and social transformations already well underway, while the sudden hardening of the Sino-American rivalry has intensified changes in the world and the ensuing uncertainties. Many observers, even well-informed ones, have not seen or wanted to see that Joe Biden's election would not change the course of US foreign policy, which now focuses entirely on China. Biden's style is certainly more traditional than his predecessor's, but his actions are no less abrupt and unilateral. Hopes for a return to multilateralism, or at least consultation between allies in bodies like NATO, have faded. The conditions in which American forces were withdrawn from Afghanistan and the announcement of a new alliance between Australia, Great Britain and the United States (AUKUS) are two recent examples. They are unlikely to be the last.

If States like Japan and South Korea have reason to believe that they are safe from Washington's about-faces, it is because US interests are very important there. Many other countries feel the need to brace themselves for profound reconfigurations or even regional conflicts in which the United States would only be marginally interested. Like nature, geopolitics abhors a vacuum. This was recently seen in the Middle East under Trump's presidency, when Russia and Turkey flexed their muscles. Confrontations on a more or less large scale are likely wherever the interests of the United States or China are not directly at stake. Where they are, as in Taiwan, head-on collisions are inevitable in the next few years unless the new world's two superpowers establish a dialogue comparable to the one the United States and the Soviet Union set up after the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. Perhaps it would take a crisis of similar magnitude to get there.

Another source of concern is the growing politicization of the economy and finance, notably through sanctions. Until now, this has mainly been an American weapon, but China can be expected to methodically resort to them. More broadly, each of the two rival superpowers intends to develop its own globalized system, which would result in two competing spheres in cyberspace and new forms of dividing the world up into zones of influence.

However, most countries do not want to find themselves having to pick sides and, thereby, becoming vassal States. This is especially true of the European Union in general and its component parts in particular. Of course, Europeans have a major interest in preserving freedom of navigation in the area now known as the Indo-Pacific, and they unreservedly contribute to this. They attach great importance to deepening their relations of all kinds with India, Japan and South Korea. Naturally, the European Union's member States feel culturally and, therefore, politically much closer to the United States than to China. Europeans cannot show themselves to be "equidistant" and they say it. And yet, their interests with regard to Asia in general and China in particular do not exactly coincide with those of the United States—far from it. They could not accept an imposed transformation—pitched as preventive—of the Atlantic Alliance into a de facto American organization aimed against China. Their main immediate security interests have more to do with their neighbors' instability.

It would make good economic, political and geostrategic sense for Europeans to collectively structure their ties to their southern neighbors, the Middle East, Africa and, naturally, Eastern Europe, including—and I stress this point—Russia. All of us should focus our efforts mainly on relationships with our neighbors to boost the chances of harmonious economic and social co-development while giving ourselves the most autonomous means possible to build the collective security of this vast region, whose peoples are destined by history and geography to live together.

This of course does not mean working against the United States, but nor do we want a confrontation with China beyond what preserving our essential interests requires, for example in the area of technological sovereignty.





That said, there is a pre-condition for keeping the global peace in the coming decades : an understanding between the United States and China based not on a sort of division of the world but, on the contrary, on what can be called humanity's common interests, starting with health and climate, as we are now discovering or rediscovering. If this condition goes unmet, other States will be unable to successfully meet the tremendous challenges the world can be expected to face in these areas in the coming decades. With a bit of optimism, strong cooperation between the two superpowers on humanity's common good could hopefully extend to other issues.

These few thoughts are not meant to be pessimistic, but lucid. More than ever, I believe in the WPC's calling as it has been defined since its inception in 2008 : medium-sized powers must work together to put across their views on the conditions required to keep the world reasonably open, i.e. globalization without hegemony or any form of extremism. It seems to me that this idea is shared by the United Arab Emirates, which is hosting us today at the very time when the Dubai World Expo is opening, whose symbol is precisely balanced globalization through the smart, reasonable use of technological resources.

The entire Middle East is suffering, but the region potentially has everything it takes to again become a place of hope and prosperity. Moreover, everyone has become aware of Africa's immense resources. Europe, if it manages to surmount the challenges inherent to its integration, could become even more of what it has been in past decades, i.e. a pole of prosperity, freedom and peace that has renounced all forms of imperialism.

It is clear that in a world of shrinking distances, Europe in the broad sense, the Middle East and Africa form a community of destinies.

**HH Bartholomew I<sup>st</sup>**  
Archbishop of Constantinople - New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch

Your Eminences,

Your Excellencies,

Honorable Participants,

Dear Thierry de Montbrial,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Dear Friends,

We would like to warmly thank the organizers of the 2021 World Policy Conference for inviting me to participate once again in its indispensable work and giving us the opportunity to meet, which inspires us so much to carry on with our common "good fight". The organizers are to be commended for planning this conference, ensuring the attendance of many leading figures and choosing a topical, multi-faceted theme.

Even a quick, succinct glance at the state of the world today can only give rise to a sense of fear. Not only are we still battered by the health crisis that hit the world over a year and a half ago, but new geopolitical reconfigurations, the challenge of fundamentalism and the climate and environmental crises are all sources of uncertainty and concern. However, there is no point in preaching doom and gloom

by focusing solely on the difficulties around us. These times of crisis are putting our world to the test. The word "crisis", in Greek, evokes a difficult situation while at the same time underscoring that we will be judged and assessed based on our reaction and response to this challenge.

Cooperation and joint action are imperative in the face of this towering contemporary crisis. No state, religion, institution, leader or science alone can face major problems without the collaboration of other bodies. We really need each other. We must build bridges and work together. Our future and the road leading to it are common.

Dialogue is the basis of collaboration. It is in itself a gesture of solidarity and a source of deeper solidarity. It produces mutual trust and acceptance. It is important to understand that dialogue is different from negotiation, debate, confrontation, criticism, etc. The best definition is certainly this magnificent sentence by Claude Lévi Strauss: "There is not, nor can there be, a world civilization in the absolute sense that this term is often given, since civilization implies the coexistence of cultures offering each other maximum diversity and consists even in this coexistence." Dialogue seems like a paradoxical tension between coexistence and exposure to maximum diversity.

This lesson also applies to us in the interreligious field, where dialogue is theoretical while being a praxis of coexistence. By this we mean that dialogue cannot be conceived only as a means, an exchange of words. It is also an end in itself whose only objective is the encounter in its transformative capacity. When dialogue becomes transformative, it acquires all its density. Dialogue helps to fight against prejudice. It breaks down barriers. It puts people in touch with each other. It allows us to think differently about our relationship to otherness. Today, more than at any other time in its history, humanity really has the chance and the ability to bring about many changes through communication and dialogue.

On reflection, what some commentators for thirty years have called the "return of religion" is just the transposition of a much older phenomenon, a "diplomatic ecumenicalism" that developed in the context of the Cold War and aimed to reach out to Christians trapped behind the Iron Curtain. Since 1948, the World Council of Churches has paved the way for many real advances by building bridges on both sides of Europe. Let us recall Pope John Paul II's commitment to peace, notably at the first meeting in Assisi in 1986. It was the first interreligious meeting on such a scale. That same year, the United Nations proclaimed 1986 "international year of peace" even as the East-West divide still polarized the planet and the war in Lebanon raged. The year 1986, then, was decisive on the interreligious and international front.

The Conference of European Churches (CEC) is another example. While this forum for ecumenical dialogue focuses on bringing churches closer together, it has not lost sight of the importance of other religions. In its 2016 open letter "What Future for Europe ?" the CEC stressed the importance of "a positive attitude towards adherents of different religions, cultures and world views". On the issue of recognizing and respecting diversity, the letter notes: "Throughout its history, there was never a homogenous (Christian) Europe, and the Europe of the future will also be pluralist. In the past, Islam has helped shape culture, especially in the Iberian Peninsula and parts of the Balkans, and during the past few decades waves of immigration have brought Islam and other religions to many parts of Europe."

Dialogue is then a principle of inclusion to which our churches and all religious players are called to contribute. What is true for Europe is also true for the international scene. Interreligious dialogue has become a pivotal part of peace processes between States and within societies. The migratory crisis is a prime example of this double-sided dimension.



The rise of religious fundamentalism as a phenomenon cutting across all religious traditions is a reality. It has certain specificities such as the literal interpretation of sacred texts, moral rigor, political instrumentalization and fierce opposition to any form of ecumenical or interreligious dialogue. Extremism and radicalization aim to privatize the truth by stoking confrontation. Dialogue then appears as the only means to build bridges that allow us to work for peace and mutual understanding. To quote from an address we made in Cairo in April 2017 :

"For this reason, inter-religious dialogue recognizes the differences of religious traditions and promotes peaceful coexistence and cooperation between people and cultures. Inter-religious dialogue does not mean to deny one's own faith, but rather to change one's mind or attitude towards the other. It can also heal and disperse prejudices and contribute to a mutual comprehension and the pacific resolution of conflicts. Biases and prejudices come from the misrepresentation of religion. By our presence today, during this important Conference, we would like to oppose at least one prejudice : Islam does not equal terrorism, because terrorism is a stranger to any religion. This is why inter-religious dialogue can chase away fear and suspicion. It is central for peace, but only in a spirit of mutual confidence and respect."<sup>1</sup>

This is the voice of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, a center of dialogue that promotes inter-Orthodox, inter-Christian, interreligious and intercultural dialogue and fruitful discussions with secular institutions, philosophy, science and environmentalists. It thrusts the dialogue "project" onto the world stage. The last time was at an interreligious G20 in Bologna, Italy. All dialogue is in the service of human dignity, peace and the future of humanity. Engaging in dialogue is a consequence of our faith that always strengthens our bearing witness in the world. What threatens our faith is not openness and dialogue, but dry monologue, asocial introversion and the rejection of communication. Once again we stress this point : we do not risk losing our identity through sincere dialogue. On the contrary, we are enriched and gain a deeper self-awareness.

It is our conviction that the traditions of religions are treasures filled with central existential truths that have a special meaning in our times of moral dilemmas and axiological upheavals. The contemporary crisis calls on religions to bear witness to this truth by contributing to peace, reconciliation, the promotion of brotherhood and solidarity and respect for human dignity. Peace is not the obvious outcome of economic and cultural development, scientific and technological progress or quality of life. Peace is always a duty. It requires vision, effort, sacrifice and patience. As Hans Küng said : "No peace among the nations without peace among the religions. No peace among the religions without dialogue among the religions." In this dialogue, he added, the fundamental moral values in the traditions of religions can be theorized and discussed as a "global ethic" that supports peaceful coexistence in multicultural societies while allowing specific cultural identities to develop.

This is why the Ecumenical Patriarchate steadfastly supports interreligious dialogue and participates in many interreligious gatherings. Our dialogue with Judaism officially began in 1977 and with Islam in 1986. In 1994 we initiated tripartite conferences with Judaism and Islam and we resolutely continue cooperating with KAICIID, the Interfaith Alliance for Safer Societies and other institutions. The Brussels Declaration, "The Peace of God in the World : Towards Peaceful Coexistence and Collaboration Among the Three Monotheistic Religions : Judaism, Christianity and Islam" (12/20/2001), released shortly after the tragic September 11 attacks, was a decisive step in our Church's commitment to dialogue and peace between religions. Here are articles 1 and 8 of the declaration :

1. The will of God is for the peace of heaven to reign on earth. The peace of God is not

the mere absence of war ; it is the gift of abundant life. There is indeed an immediate and inseparable connection between peace and justice. Thus we pray constantly for peace to prevail in the world and for peaceful living together among the faithful of all religions in our modern, multicultural, and multi-ethnic global society.

8. We unanimously reject the assumption that religion contributes to an inevitable clash of civilizations. On the contrary we affirm the constructive and instructive role of religion in the dialogue among civilizations.

The June 2016 encyclical of the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church is also very important. It expresses the ten participating Churches' joint commitment to interreligious dialogue as a key dimension in the search for peace. Here is an important passage from the encyclical :

"Today we are experiencing an increase of violence in the name of God. The explosions of fundamentalism within religious communities threaten to create the view that fundamentalism belongs to the essence of the phenomenon of religion. The truth, however, is that fundamentalism, as "zeal not based on knowledge" (Rom. 10.2), constitutes an expression of morbid religiosity. A true Christian, following the example of the crucified Lord, sacrifices himself and does not sacrifice others, and for this reason true Christian faith is the most stringent critic of fundamentalism of whatever provenance. Honest interfaith dialogue contributes to the development of mutual trust and to the promotion of peace and reconciliation. The Church strives to make "the peace from on high" more tangibly felt on earth. True peace is not achieved by force of arms, but only through love that "does not seek its own" (1 Cor. 13.5). The oil of faith must be used to soothe and heal the old wounds of others, not to rekindle new fires of hatred."

In this perspective, we view the current global crisis as an opportunity for solidarity, openness, dialogue, responsibility and joint action. It is on this note that we will end this modest contribution. We thank you for your invitation and look forward to participating in the discussions.

Thank you for your attention.

<sup>(1)</sup> <https://fr.zenit.org/articles/la-religion-element-cle-du-processus-de-paix-par-le-patriarche-bartholomee-traduction-complete/> (last consultation November 10, 2017)

**Edi Rama**  
Prime Minister of the Republic of Albania

Dear friends,

As you can imagine, I am among the tallest prime ministers in the world and therefore the temptation to talk about the world is so big, but my country is among the smallest in the world. So, the need to talk about it very big too.

I would try to resist the temptation and fulfil this need without being boring and I hope for your patience to have a certain success.

I very much believe that the globalization is here to stay as long as we live in the same planet, as long as we are warmed under the same sun, as long as dependence on deepening our interconnections has become unstoppable.

Our genuine interest in beyond-the-borders cooperation is growing bigger despite the reluctances and rejections and multilateralism is and will remain the instrument





for cooperation.

The problems we are dealing with today are increasingly more inter-related. Let us consider the climate change and, by the way, you all know that global warming is not just a climate issue ; it is a development issue, it is a security issue, an issue that affects the strength or the weakening of the world peace as a whole and peace in various regions. It is an issue with a long-term impact. Therefore, the more effectively we deal with it, the better to prevent the natural disasters, fires, floods, prolonged drought, rising water levels, loss of land etc.

The Covid-19 pandemic of today, a global issue, has taken so many lives compared to the losses in the world wars. Are we able as isolated nations to fight this plague of modern time ?

We saw it and the answer is of course, we are not. The same logic, in my view, applies to the security issue, the fight against international terrorism, the cyberwar, to the drinking water and food supply to all, to the goals for a sustainable and long-term development with the aim of leaving no one behind and so on and so forth.

At these times of global challenges, which are also times for trust challenges, a global approach is required. The commitment of all of us within the structures we have set up is required. And for sure, adapting these structures to meet today's challenges is a must and not in a homogeneous but rather in a harmonic way, I might say.

Albania believes that the renewal of a profound commitment to impact this multilateralism is more necessary than ever before for us to deliver on peace, democracy, the human rights and development. Within this frame, we strongly support the vision and the ambitious reform agenda of the United Nations system and that of the Security Council as well. With a firm commitment to the principles of multilateralism, Albania successfully chaired the OSCE last year, providing a lasting contribution to peace, human rights and equality.

Under our leadership, the OSCE Ministerial Council agreed on several new commitments on combating transnational organized crime, countering corruption and preventing torture in the OSCE area. We delivered much needed progress in all dimensions of the OSCE security and as a believer in multilateralism at a global level, Albania will for the first time in its UN membership history be a member of the UN Security Council for the term 2022-2023. Fully aware of the responsibilities trusted upon us by the United Nations family, we will bring to the Security Council the perspective of a small country, with a constructive foreign policy and a consistent commitment to multilateralism. With a group of like-minded people, we have undertaken to launch a treaty against the pandemic, in order to face successfully such costly pandemic situations.

We are also concerned about the negative consequences of the infodemic in the context of Covid-19, which can heighten the risk of conflicts, violence, human rights violation and the mass atrocities.

We need greater integration for the sustainable development agenda, peace and security as well as human rights. Albania considers that achievement of the sustainable development goals and implementation of the 2030 Agenda is a shared responsibility.

We are in a full track with the European Union's policies and the international documents and the decision to develop the energy sector in full harmony with and respect for the environment.

The Albanian government has started to reform its power sector since 2014 through actions undertaken to complete the legal and regulatory framework in compliance with the European Union's third package on energy and in full compliance with the EU directives on energy. We are focused on diversification of the power generation always based on the renewable, like water, sun and wind. This will definitely reduce the country's high dependency on the weather conditions as currently almost all the production is based on hydro sources. The government is developing the new national energy and climate plan according to the new policy guidelines and the energy community agenda on decarbonization in the energy sector. This plan projects power generation based on the domestic installed capacities for the period 2021-2030. So Albania is expected to become a net electricity exporter within this decade.

However, talking about the challenges of our times in this city, I cannot avoid speaking about the role model of the United Arab Emirates regarding peace, multilateral cooperation and human solidarity. The signature of the Abraham Accords between the United Arab Emirates and Israel was a shockingly positive development of discontinuity with ages of a stalemate of one of the longest and deepest conflicts in our world, undertaking a huge step towards reaching out to the historical enemy. The UAE leads by example towards a completely new direction of addressing the future, not by forgetting the past, but by looking forward to the future. And by doing so, making the future the basis of dealing with the past and not let the past anymore dictate the future. This major development in the history of peace-making is a true source of inspiration for the world, as well as for us in the Balkan region, where for a long time bloody wars and conflicts prevented people of different nations from seeing themselves as humans and deal with each other humanely.

On the other hand, we in Albania have experienced first-hand the UAE human solidarity in the aftermath of the devastating earthquake in November 2019, when 15,000 families lost their homes in less than a minute. His Highness Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed was among the first among a vast number of international leaders, who expressed their solidarity, not just through words, but also through their deeds and thanks to Him and the government of the UAE, a brand-new residential neighborhood is being built for the families that lost everything in that tragedy.

I am very proud to conclude my speech by telling you that Albania stood strong in protection of the Afghan people at risk following the course of events in Afghanistan and the spirit of solidarity I talked about a little while ago. Albanian government took right away the decision to host up to 4,000 Afghan citizens in Albania. It is a very big number compared to much bigger and richer countries, whose contribution did not reach the bar of the challenge. During all these days, many people have asked me "why ?" And my answer is very simple : first of all, by doing so we honor our history and our tradition. One of the most beautiful pages of our history has been the salvation of Jews during World War II, when Albania was the only country in Europe with more Jews after the war than before it, because not a single Jew was handed over to the Nazis.

Secondly, we may not be rich, but our memory cannot be short. We were the Afghans just 30 years ago, when leaving our own hell, escaping our own Taliban, who were not Islamic fundamentalists, but they were fundamentalists of Stalin, back then we had to cross the sea and appear on the shores of Italy and Europe like aliens of which nobody knew how we looked like. And if we were not to be provided sheltered and given help and hope 30 years ago, we would not be here today, a country with the EU candidate status, aspiring to become one of the Union members.

And thirdly, and probably most importantly, we did it because we owe it to our



children. They should not be raised in an environment where they are told to shut the door, to live in fear, and to turn the back to those in need. They should learn by deeds, not by words, that in this life there is a time to ask and there is a time to give.

Thank you very much !

Patrick Achi

Prime Minister of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a real pleasure and a very great honor for me to take part today, in the name of the President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, His Excellency Mr. Alassane Ouattara, in the 14th World Policy Conference in Abu Dhabi.

First, I would like to send HE President Ouattara's greetings to His Highness Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan for the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries, as well as to all the guests and participants here today. I would also like to thank His Highness for the warm welcome and all the facilities that have been put at our disposal since we arrived in this beautiful country.

I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Thierry de Montbrial, Chairman of the French Institute of International Relations, for inviting Côte d'Ivoire once again to this leading geopolitical conference, which offers decision-makers, researchers and opinion leaders from the five continents a unique opportunity to debate global issues and discuss options and solutions in order to overcome crises and achieve a brighter future.

Lastly, I would like to recall the memory of the late Prime Minister Amadou Gon Coulibaly, who passed away last year. He attended this forum several times on behalf of Côte d'Ivoire. I would like to pay tribute to him.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The African that I am will speak to you today with his head, but perhaps even more with his heart, so great are the historical, acute and striking challenges the continent faces as the pandemic draws to a close. The world's future must be written with Africa :

- (I) For the common good of the planet we share ;
- (II) For its economic and social prosperity, to which African youth will make a crucial contribution ;
- (III) For its migratory stability, by experiencing the fastest demographic growth ever recorded in such a short period of time, thanks to a sustainable socio-economic integration on the continent ;
- (IV) For its essential natural resources, indispensable for the world's progress, and having over 60 % of the world's undeveloped arable land ;
- (V) Lastly, for our protection of primary forests, which are crucial to the ecological balance and to the primordial, vital balance of our planet and all our lives.

But while Africa is the continent of the future, it is also an emerging continent that must meet the towering challenges of a world beset by increasingly entangled crises.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Covid has seriously upended our lives. It has also changed the course of the continent's destiny. In a matter of months, the pandemic interrupted more than 25 years of steady growth, disrupted value chains and deeply increased inequality.

Côte d'Ivoire looks like an island of resilience. Its 2 % growth rate in 2020 attests to the strength of our resurgence under HE President Ouattara's leadership. However, according to the IMF, the economies of sub-Saharan Africa shrank by nearly 2 % in 2020, one of the worst drops ever recorded. Extreme poverty threatens to stalk nearly 30 million people.

In 2021, global growth is expected to reach 6 % to 7 %—twice the estimated rate in Africa, even as the continent's growth must outpace the rest of the world's to meet its many challenges, the main one being creating jobs for its immense and increasing population of young people.

The pandemic has thrown Africa off track, threatening not just the forward march of its peoples but also of the whole world, which could lose the future key driver of global growth.

Let us take a clear look at things : Africa does not have the necessary means to succeed alone. Granted, much has been done : the G20 has suspended debt service for certain countries, the IMF and the World Bank have granted exceptional financial aid and the Covax vaccination program is underway. But will that be enough ? We doubt it.

Regarding the health response to the pandemic, it now seems clear that the target of vaccinating 40 % of the continent with the first dose will not be reached by the end of 2021. Only 6.5 % of the population has so far received at least one dose, compared to over 55 % in Europe and the Americas.

The world's leaders are aware of how urgent action is. We must commend and thank the American president, who announced on September 22 that the number of doses delivered under the Covax program will rise to 1.1 billion, i.e. an additional 500 million. Last weekend, President Emmanuel Macron announced that France is doubling its contribution to 120 million doses.

But more needs to be done, and more quickly, to reach the vaccination coverage rate set by the African Center for Disease Control and Prevention—between 60 % and 70 % of the population by mid-2022. Failing that, new variants may appear and spread that could ultimately evade vaccinations and cause harm to everyone.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Regarding the recovery strategy to deal with the pandemic's socio-economic impact at a time when Europe and the United States are rightly deploying cumulative stimulus packages of over \$2.5 trillion, the IMF has estimated that African countries will need \$285 billion of additional funding by 2025.

This is a minimum. The amount should actually be about twice as high if African countries are to be put on the same path as the developed countries.

But as you all know, at this point there is no stimulus package or monetary creation mechanism in existence to harness such resources across the continent, even as the infrastructure needs linked to rapid population growth are immense. The pandemic has not stopped those needs, which are roughly equivalent to 20 % of GDP.

If I only focus on the situation in my country, Côte d'Ivoire's population will rise from around 26 to 36 million between 2020 and 2030. This means that eight million jobs





must be created by the end of the decade to integrate these committed, creative, ambitious young people into the national economic fabric and offer them clear, sustainable prospects.

Before those eight million join the workforce, investments must be made in education, health, basic infrastructure (power, water, transportation, etc.), security, defense and, obviously, the fight against climate change.

Yes, ladies and gentlemen, youth employment is the mother of all battles for Africa. We have no other choice but to succeed—for our nation, for the sub-region, for Africa and for all the other continents with which we share our destiny. Otherwise, the terrorist hydra and the specter of mass immigration will raise their ugly heads.

How can we face these challenges ? By carrying out, I believe, three primordial transformations.

The first transformation, ladies and gentlemen, involves financing our economies. As we have said, our needs are enormous and our own financial resources limited, which means that we must turn to the financial markets, where the cost of borrowing remains high for our nations, especially those that must earmark a substantial share of their budget to fighting terrorism.

Africa as a whole has been compelled to rely heavily on borrowing over the past decade. The cumulative public debt soared to \$1.4 trillion in late 2019 from \$650 billion in 2010. Falling growth due to Covid has only made matters worse at a time when donations and public development aid have decreased and loans at preferential rates from multilateral banks still fall short.

It is therefore absolutely essential to provide African countries with access to large-scale, low-cost resources enabling them to invest in social sectors and infrastructure to create an ecosystem that can hasten their development.

That is why the issue of the IMF's SDR decided at the Paris Summit is fundamental. The continent's current share, \$33 billion of the 650 issued, will barely meet 10 % of identified needs between now and 2025. If the developed economies redistributed 25 % of their SDR, the amount would triple without increasing our countries' debt level. This would not be just a good deed or an altruistic act. It is a fight for our future and, therefore, for yours. As President Macron recently said, "It is the investment with the highest return that can be made in the short term." I fully agree with him.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The second transformation aims to make private sector development a top priority, a matter of national urgency.

The quality of private sector companies and the pace of their growth are the keys to overcoming two of the continent's major challenges :

- The creation of enough wealth and revenue to fund immense social needs as well as the transport and energy infrastructure critical for the private sector's buoyant growth ;
- The mass creation of jobs to meet the needs of dynamic young people eager to become integrated into the economic fabric so that they can enjoy a dignified and decent life.

This transformation could be smiled at as if it were an obvious fact. But, like all obvious facts, it deserves to be continuously recalled so that our countries can put more emphasis on a valued, organized and supported entrepreneurship culture to promote our youth, one of the most dynamic in the world.

We must also continuously keep in mind that the private sector is the real driver of wealth and job creation.

In this context, Côte d'Ivoire's "Vision 2030", part of HE President Ouattara's Côte d'Ivoire Solidaire project, aims to :

- (I) Double our per capita GDP again within 10 years ;
- (II) Cut our poverty rate in half by continuing the dynamics launched nine years ago ;
- (III) Extend our life expectancy by 10 years ;
- (IV) Create eight million new jobs.

The strategic levers include the acceleration of our agricultural power and its integration into global value chains and the creation of a powerful industrial base with national champions in the agro-, textile, clothing, housing, pharmaceutical, energy, mining, digital, tourism and cultural industries. The goal is to achieve a private sector contribution to investment of 25 % of GDP within 10 years.

According to recent work published by the IMF, if current trends continue, by the end of the decade Africa's private sector will be able to provide additional funding for physical and social infrastructure equivalent to 3 % of sub-Saharan Africa's GDP each year. That is \$50 billion a year, based on 2020 GDP, and a nearly 25 % rate of private investment, which currently stands at 13 % of GDP in the region. This will be a revolution with considerable ripple effects.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is important to recognize that the first two transformations mentioned above cannot come about without a third, concomitant, fundamental one : quickly upgrading our administration and governance.

This is not just a matter of legal and tax reforms to improve the business climate. No, here I am talking about the mindset and practices that need to change on every level in order to reach our development and prosperity objectives.

Under HE President Ouattara's impetus, the government of Côte d'Ivoire has created a full-fledged ministry to promote good governance and fight corruption. The goal is clear, actions will be taken and the results will meet expectations.

The imperative need for a cultural transformation of our government's administration must be emphasized in order to increasingly make it tomorrow's indispensable ally of business growth, and much less the regulatory or human brake that it may sometimes be today.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

"Moments of crisis redouble the life of men," François René de Chateaubriand wrote in Memoirs from Beyond the Grave. I want to believe that the extraordinary times we are going through, which has quickly imposed many unprecedentedly complex, multiple challenges on Africa, my continent, will also be one of redoubling ideas and commitments.

Yes, these tempestuous times are also a time of ambition, reinvention and solutions for :

- This African century, which is just beginning, to keep all its promises despite Covid,
- The nations of the continent,
- Their youth, women and workers,



- And all the other players on this Earth we share, which the Africa of tomorrow, with its ingenuity and energy, will have the heavy and challenging task to make grow and preserve.

"It always seems impossible until it is done," Mandela said.

Thank you.

Prince Faisal bin Farhan Al Saud

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia

Let me start with the message of Islam, peace be upon you. Before I deliver the statement on behalf of His Highness the Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the UAE for three occasions : first, their 50th National Day anniversary, second for the inauguration of the Expo, and third for hosting this conference in the capital, Abu Dhabi.

Your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen, thank you for your kind invitation to speak at the official opening of the World Policy Conference. Such an occasion represents a unique opportunity to enhance dialogue and engagement on issues, regional and global concerns. The insights you have here work towards informing policymaking by gathering officials, researchers, business leaders and industry experts under the same roof. A wide area of topics is under discussion, from the shifting state of global geopolitics to the challenge of global health, energy, and climate change. The variety and intensity of the challenges facing the international community require careful attention and deliberation, making matters of global governance very timely indeed.

At the outset of the Covid-19 pandemic, the Kingdom made decisions to address these challenges sustainably and inclusively. The most effective method to do that is by relying on global efforts within multilateral frameworks. This approach is an extension of decades-long diplomacy that sought to bring nations together, narrowing differences in order to focus on the broader picture, the shared challenges facing the international community. In an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world, the pandemic highlighted our common threats and intensified challenges. Unfortunately, this was also accompanied by increased polarization around geopolitical and global hotspots. Communities struggled in terms of lives and livelihoods. These factors increasing international cooperation and paving the way for sustainable economic recovery became the vital path we choose.

Recent challenges emphasize the importance of our ambition, Vision 2030. The need to diversify public revenue streams, develop human capital and create sustainable economics is a challenge relevant to most nations. We have been investing in Saudi youth, enabling them with the necessary skills and diverse opportunities that enhance the quality of life in our society. The various programs such as the recently announced Human Capability Development Program and the National Transport and Logistics Strategy, help our economy to better integrate with regional and global opportunities. We have also opened new sectors for employment and investment, such as tourism, entertainment, technology, and green solutions.

The Kingdom's foreign policy is driven by dedication to this vision, a commitment to regional security and deep formation of our global partnership. We believe that this will act as a catalyst for transformation across the region, creating an environment more receptive to the ambitions of our youth. The Kingdom is equally committed to addressing the challenges of energy sustainability and climate change and lending a helping hand to countries in need. The Kingdom proudly ranks as the

third highest provider of humanitarian aid and both our Islamic and human values drive our solidarity with countries in need. The main platform for our donations is the King Salman Humanitarian Aid and Relief Center, which supervises over 1,727 projects in more than 70 countries, amounting to more than USD 4 billion in aid. Another key provider of Saudi assistance is the Saudi Fund for Development, which has been operating in Africa for the last four decades. Its grants and loans amounted to nearly USD 13,5 billion in the last 45 years, in 45 countries and with projects that span different areas such as food, security, health and education.

Your Excellencies,

Joining the world in achieving a sustainable recovery also means working together to find creative ways to tackle climate change while maintaining energy security and efficiency. In addition to the Kingdom's adherence to the international climate accords, such as the Paris Agreement, and supporting the success of COP 26, we believe we can do more. Based on this conviction, His Royal Highness the Crown Prince has launched ambitious projects such as the Saudi and the Middle East Green Initiatives. Within the Kingdom, we aim to reduce emissions, significantly raise our dependence on renewables and plant more than 10 billion trees. We also plan on hosting a Green Initiative Forum at the end of this month, inviting our friends and partners to participate. With our regional partners, we are embarking on the largest forestation project with the aim to plant over 40 billion trees across the Middle East. This is part of the larger commitment to cater for the needs of the planet as we support innovation in renewable and green energy, as well as pioneering innovation in marine and land conservation in the Red Sea, Neom and across the Kingdom.

Making this ambitious plan real and strengthening global partnerships, require a regional environment that is stable, and we cooperate on tensions. We are keen to shift the region towards stability, cooperation, and mutually beneficial partnerships. Saudi diplomacy is full of examples showing its dedication to finding peaceful solutions to conflicts and disputes. The Kingdom's efforts to facilitate peace and transition in Sudan through the Friends of Sudan group were vital. We supported the UN Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in Sudan towards inclusive transition. We continue to stand with the people of Sudan in maintaining state institutions and supporting the country's stability and prosperity. I would also like to highlight the Al-Ula Declaration, which asserts the solidarity and friendship within the GCC. It was a landmark moment in which the region's leaders chose to come together and pave a bright future for the region. We have also been advancing peaceful solutions to the conflict in Yemen, but unfortunately the Houthis have yet to engage with our unilateral ceasefire and they seem unreceptive to international pressure. We call on them to cease their campaign, which jeopardizes the future of Yemen and stands in the way of establishing long-lasting peace and stability through the region. Facilitating peace will always remain a top priority for the Kingdom, which is the way forward to improving global governance and enabling a more open world.

Your Excellencies,

The world is undergoing profound transformation and we need to adapt if we are to rise to the occasion of fulfilling the aspirations of our youth. Creating opportunities, enhancing connectivity, and strengthening partnerships should guide our path forward. The Kingdom will continue to act as a strong advocate of multilateral frameworks to address common challenges, and to work towards building a safe and secure future for the region where this can be achieved.

Thank you.





**Paul Kagame,**  
President of the Republic of Rwanda

Dr. Thierry de Montbrial, Founder and Chairman of the World Policy Conference,  
Excellencies,

Honorable Ministers and Senior Government Officials,

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am happy to be back at the World Policy Conference, and I wish to thank Thierry de Montbrial for the invitation to join you here in Abu Dhabi.

The past two years have been particularly consequential. The Covid pandemic is unprecedented, but it has exposed weaknesses, in both the national and global systems, that have been there all along. This includes insufficiencies in both public health and governance. The crisis has also revealed, quite starkly, the economic and power imbalances within the international community. While major powers work to contain and constrain each other, Africa is at the receiving end, in all senses. That means, of course, that when vaccine supplies are scarce, Africa is last in line to get doses.

Africa is also, almost as an afterthought, attacked for all sorts of things, in the name of so many things including democracy, human rights, as if these concepts or values were totally foreign to Africa. You could say that one function of Africa in international relations, is to serve as a foil for the importance of universal values, precisely because so many states outside of Africa continue to fall short themselves. The unspoken assumption is that only rich countries and their political elites have interests. Poor countries should allow their interests to be looked after by others.

The rights and well-being of ordinary people are completely forgotten. We cannot talk about a theoretical democracy that is not built on what the actual citizens of that place desire for themselves, their families, and their societies. That is the confusion, in some cases, for example, of contemporary liberal democracy with its singular emphasis on individual freedoms, identities, and desires, even at the expense of the common good. This is not to say that there are no serious shortcomings in Africa, like elsewhere there is a lot to address in Africa. That is not the point at all. But the double standards and hypocrisy that consistently applied to Africa, show that something else is going on. However, where the main global players have stuck to certain principles, these can and do work.

We seem to be turning a corner on the pandemic, despite obstacles. For example, Covax was supposed to be a solution to assist low-income countries to get access to vaccines and therapies. But Covax could not compete with wealthy countries for supply, and we saw examples of hoarding. In actual fact, the rich countries are the ones who were offering vaccine doses through Covax. To add insult to injury, we now see some travel restrictions based on where people were vaccinated, even though the vaccines themselves are exactly the same. So we have now an issue of where you were vaccinated, something else that is about to come or is slowly coming is: what type of vaccine.

Despite this, there is progress. Access to vaccines has begun to increase, both through donations and doses we purchase for ourselves. In Rwanda, we have administered more than 2 million doses, and 90 % of residents of cities, especially the capital, Kigali, have received a dose. We see also cooperating with various commercial and

development partners to launch an ambitious program to manufacture vaccines and other pharmaceuticals for the African market, beginning next year. So, even though things could have been better, we do appreciate the good cooperation that has been there.

Another area where good partnerships can produce results is in the fight against insecurity, terrorism, extremist ideologies, including genocide ideology. There are cross-border challenges that require close cooperation. Rwanda's engagement in peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions in Africa falls under this rubric. Islamist insurgents are now on the run in northern Mozambique in the province of Cabo Delgado, because of a good program of cooperation between Rwanda's Defense Forces, and those of Mozambique and the region. Similarly, our commitment to the Central African Republic, which is both bilateral and multilateral, through the United Nations, aims to create the space for the country to chart its own path to political reconciliation, peacefully. The next step is to consolidate the gains and focus on providing services and guaranteeing rights for citizens. These are just two examples that might link to some of the themes under discussion at this event.

Once again, I thank the World Policy Conference for this wonderful evening and opportunity. And thank you all for your kind attention and interest. I look forward to our discussions to take place immediately. Thank you.

**Khaldoon Khalifa Al Mubarak,**  
Chairman of the Executive Affairs Authority, Group Chief Executive Officer and Managing Director of Mubadala

Good evening. Thank you, Thierry, for your kind introduction – and congratulations on convening the 14th edition of the World Policy Conference. The depth of content over three days is, frankly, extraordinary and I am delighted to join you all this evening.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is an honor to welcome you all to Abu Dhabi and to have the opportunity to engage, in person, face to face rather than screen to screen. I am sure many of you appreciate that as well as I do. As we navigate the long tail of the pandemic together, we genuinely hope that your arrival to the UAE was seamless and that Abu Dhabi's precautionary measures have allowed you to be productive, feel safe, and to connect with our wonderful city.

In addition to this international gathering, Expo 2020, Dubai Expo, opened yesterday, sparking a six month global conversation around innovation for the future – and, of course, congratulations to France on its Expo National Day, which happens to be today. Celebrations are also underway for the UAE's Golden Jubilee, with this country's 50th National Day on the 2nd of December.

Tonight, if you all allow me, I will talk about our government's policy approach for the next 50 years. Specifically, I would like to share with you this country's response to the coronavirus and, in doing so, share how the UAE Government's values, priorities and strategies were not only tested and practiced, but supercharged for the future.

Let me start with some context. Our nation's approach to governance is grounded in the vision of the UAE's Founding Father, the late Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan. Sheikh Zayed brought the seven Emirates together to form the Federation of the UAE in 1971. We were a new country in a volatile neighborhood, with a harsh climate



and basic infrastructure during the very early days.

We grew up listening to stories about our forefathers mitigating and adapting to challenging circumstances. By necessity, they had resilience, grit and a forward looking perspective, which remains in our collective memory and present-day experiences. Even in the early days of his leadership, Sheikh Zayed had a far sighted ambition that was simple but visionary. He imagined a country where people had opportunities to learn, contribute and prosper. He set the course for a stable and sustainable economy and aspired for the UAE to be a responsible global citizen.

I was seven years old when I met Sheikh Zayed for the first time. I was with my grandfather, who was the UAE's Chief Justice at the time, and Sheikh Zayed, who was larger than life to any seven year old, came to my grandfather's home. Sheikh Zayed visited families often and informally throughout his lifetime. It was an expression of how much he valued people. He said, and I quote, "Wealth is not money. Wealth lies in man. This is where true power lies, the power we value. This is what has convinced us to direct all our resources to build the individual and use the wealth which God has provided us in the service of the nation". Sheikh Zayed's leadership was defined by his commitment to creating an educated, prosperous and generous society.

More recently, in 2015, His Highness Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan, Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi and Deputy Supreme Commander of the UAE Armed Forces, reaffirmed these values when he said, "Our best bet at this period of time, when we have wealth, is to invest all our resources in education – because there will be a time, 50 years from now, when we load the last barrel of oil aboard that ship. If our investment today is right, we will celebrate that moment".

In spirit and intention, these pioneering tenets remain the bedrock of the UAE Government strategy. There are so many examples of this. Sheikh Zayed's deep respect for the environment drives our clean energy needs and goals. Last year's signing of the Abraham Accords reflects his faith in peaceful coexistence. The Abu Dhabi Investment Authority, formed by Sheikh Zayed 45 years ago, set the benchmark for forward thinking economic diversification and investment.

Now, let us all fast forward to 2020. During the darkest days of Covid-19's global disruption, that legacy propelled us here in the UAE. In late January 2020, when Covid-19 seemed like a distant risk contained within China, His Highness Sheikh Mohamed requested a briefing with all the authorities across Abu Dhabi. In the room, we had people responsible for the economy, the health sector, supply chain, national security, food security. We were all there late January 2020.

To be honest, we all walked into the meeting – me included – quite relaxed. We regularly give briefings on different topics to His Highness. On this day, I myself talked about the economic impact that past pandemics had in the relevant markets. We each discussed worst case scenarios from our perspective and, as we started to go around the room, we started to grasp what His Highness Sheikh Mohamed already knew – Covid-19 could be disruptive and devastating in so many ways.

The meeting turned to early mobilization and a mandate to stay ahead of the virus's probable surge. We talked about things that were unimaginable at that time – like lockdowns, quarantine, global shortages of medical equipment, and supply chain breakdowns. The most perceptive question that day was, "How do we test for Covid?", and the answer was a PCR test. His Highness insisted that we have the expertise, the infrastructure and provisions to manage a comprehensive in country testing regime.

We all walked out of the meeting on high alert, recognizing that this is real and the timeline to prepare was bearing down on us. Our responsibility was made very clear

to us that day – save lives, protect all the people of the UAE, and safely emerge from this unprecedented global crisis as fast and as strong as possible.

Because of that meeting in late January 2020, the UAE is where it is today. The country has conducted over 83 million Covid-19 tests. Per capita, that is the third highest number of tests globally. Every day, we test more than 3 % of our entire population, or approximately 300,000 tests a day. We have the fourth lowest positivity rate globally, at 0.1 %. In personal terms, I test probably anywhere between two or three times a week.

The UAE has also administered 20 million vaccine doses which, per capita, is the highest number of vaccine doses globally – 83 % of our population is fully vaccinated and a further 11 % is partially vaccinated ; the highest share of vaccinated population in the world – and our vaccination campaign continues, now providing booster doses to ensure maximum protection to our people and population.

It is fair to ask, "How did we achieve this?". Unlike the ambitious targets articulated in our national policy agenda, Covid-19 was not a choice, but we are succeeding in mastering both in the same way. Our national disposition is to accelerate towards big challenges, or the seemingly impossible, driven by the ingenuity and resourcefulness of our people. It is not in this country's DNA to ever stand still. Covid-19 became the rocket fuel that supercharged every priority in our national agenda. We are, therefore, now sprinting towards our long term objectives.

Let me share a few examples. One of the UAE's long term goals is to ensure in country expertise and infrastructure across critical sectors. In response to Covid-19, the UAE became the first country outside of China to set up a lab capable of processing tens of thousands of PCR tests daily. We also now have a domestic vaccine production capability as the first producer of Covid-19 vaccines in the Arab world, with a capacity of over 200 million doses annually. That is already in place now.

In March 2020, we anticipated a shortage of medical masks. Within four weeks, Strata – our aerospace manufacturing facility in Al Ain – pivoted its facilities to produce N95 masks in partnership with Honeywell, with a production capacity of 30 million masks annually. The UAE is now a large scale exporter of masks, with 80 % of our output distributed to 10 countries, including the US, Japan and Egypt, as an example.

A seamless, secure and personalized virtual ecosystem is at the core of the UAE's digital transformation agenda. The pandemic imposed a wholesale change in how we conduct business, educate students, interact with people, and offer government services. The Al Hosn app – which many of you would have downloaded upon arrival – is an example of our aim to centralize and integrate critical healthcare information virtually and in real time.

A newly-expanded telemedicine infrastructure is another example and, in the past 18 months, Abu Dhabi's Health Services virtual outpatient clinic conducted half a million online appointments, accounting for about 10 % of all its outpatient consultations.

Following the direction set decades ago by the late Sheikh Zayed, the UAE's Foreign Assistance Program proactively supports countries and communities in need. The UAE is always a first responder in this space ; and throughout the past 18 months, we have provided over 2,200 tons of medical aid to over 136 countries – including 4.3 million PCR testing kits and over 2,100 ventilators. 117 countries received aid from the logistics hub in Dubai's international humanitarian city and we set up seven mobile hospitals and clinics in developing countries. Millions of vaccine doses are being donated through international initiatives – like Covax – alongside \$10 million of in kind donations to the WHO.





As a gateway between East and West, the UAE is deeply invested in strong diplomatic ties around the world, undoubtedly strengthened during the pandemic. Our bilateral relationships allowed us to share information, learn from others' experiences, and kick start mutually beneficial collaborations. In the early months of 2020, we were in constant touch, as an example, with our Korean counterparts to mine their knowledge in pandemic management. We have also been cooperating with our Chinese counterparts on three clinical trials of Covid-19 vaccines involving over 31,000 volunteers here in the UAE; and we are working with partners in Israel on breakthrough therapies and technologies for severe diseases – which include, of course, Covid-19.

The 2021 Edelman Trust Barometer highlights that 80 % of UAE respondents say that government is the country's most trusted institution. Very compelling point – I was surprised when I saw that but it shows you the level of the population's trust and confidence in this government. Throughout the pandemic, we made sure to honor that social contract by communicating often and honestly with our citizens and residents and by being decisive, immediate and transparent about precautionary measures that are based on science, data and global best practice.

Like our forefathers decades ago, by necessity, we were agile, imaginative and innovative when this crisis hit with speed and intensity. We are now emerging from this period with minimal negative impact on our community and optimal prospects for our economy. This month, the UAE placed sixth globally in the Bloomberg Covid Resilience ranking, which analyses where the virus is being handled the most effectively with the least social and economic disruption.

Covid-19 has not been our only focus these past 18 months. We advanced our goals in space exploration, with the July 2020 launch of the Hope probe into the Mars orbit – only the fifth country in history to do so. We are now gathering the first complete picture of the Martian atmosphere to support global research efforts and scientific understanding.

We furthered our leadership in the clean energy sector as the first Arab country to produce nuclear energy when the Barakah-1 nuclear plant started commercial operations in April 2021. In the midst of Covid, we were able to start our first nuclear power plant safely and efficiently. We also continue to produce the cheapest kilowatt of solar energy in the world, at 1.35 cents per kilowatt.

We strengthened diplomatic relations – first with the Abraham Accords in August 2020, a historic peace agreement between the UAE, Bahrain and Israel, which is opening the door for partnership and exchange; and also with our two year term on the UN Security Council, working towards further global cooperation and problem solving.

We doubled down on attracting and retaining human capital by expanding our Golden Visa Residency program and creating a long term pathway to UAE citizenship. We focused on our competitiveness by fast tracking significant pieces of social and commercial legislation that make living, working and investing in the UAE more rewarding, more enjoyable and easier – including 100 % foreign ownership of companies.

We kept investing in growth areas of the future. At Mubadala, which I run, for example, Covid-19 supercharged our deployment of capital in areas that are driving global progress, like healthcare, life sciences, and, of course, technology.

So, what do I think the next 50 years will look like for us here in the UAE? Just like that January 2020 meeting with His Highness, there will be both challenges

and innovations that I cannot imagine. But I can tell you, as a nation, we have the experience and expertise to take educated risks to advocate for humanity and to advance it. As a government, we have a renewed confidence to excel in the face of challenges and overcome the unexpected. Most importantly, as individuals, we are empowered to contribute to our collective future.

I will leave you this evening with a quote from our Founding Father, Sheikh Zayed, who said, "Future generations will be living in a world that is very different from that to which we are accustomed. It is essential that we prepare ourselves and our children for that new world".

Thank you so much for your time. I apologize if I have gone too long but, as you can see, I am very passionate about what we have accomplished as a nation over the last 50 years; what we have accomplished in the last two years in the face of these incredible global challenges; and obviously how excited I am for the next 50 years of what we intend and hopefully will do as a nation.

Thank you for being with us here today. Thank you for making the time to fly and come from many different places. I hope you have an enjoyable stay here in the UAE and, above all, thank you, Thierry, for your kind invitation. It is really my pleasure to be with you today. Hopefully we will have more and more of these gatherings and I wish you a wonderful evening.

Good night.





United Kingdom – Reuters – 10/03/2021

"Part of what we need to do is manage our region better. There is a vacuum and whenever there is a vacuum, there is trouble," Anwar Gargash told the World Policy Conference.

France – Les Echos – 10/01/2021

Pour Thierry de Montbrial, président-fondateur de l'Institut français des relations internationales et de la World Policy Conference qui se tient cette année à Abu Dhabi, la nouvelle donne mondiale impose à la France de revoir les fondements de sa politique étrangère.

France – L'Obs – 10/18/2021

Comme tous les ans, ce raout réunissait des responsables politiques, diplomates, chercheurs ou économistes plutôt « solutionnistes », convaincus que la technologie et la finance devraient nous sortir par le haut de la crise climatique, sans trop de douleur ou de décroissance. L'édition 2021 de la conférence se tenait à Abu Dhabi où, plus que partout ailleurs, on s'accroche à ce dogme.

Spain – Agencia EFE – 10/01/2021

"Hasta ahora Estados Unidos hacia frente al terrorismo islamista, lo que ha estado marcado evidentemente por el 11-S. Hace 20 años que están 'luchando contra el terror' y ahora han cambiado radicalmente y el problema para ellos es China", afirmó Borrell durante su intervención en la World Policy Conference, celebrada esta año en Emiratos Árabes Unidos.

Italy – Formiche – 10/05/2021

Parlando alla World Policy Conference ospitata ad Abu Dhabi, il consigliere per la politica estera della casa regnante emiratina, Anwar Gargash, ha detto che gli Emirati Arabi Uniti stanno cercando il modo per appianare divergenze storiche con la Turchia e l'Iran.

Switzerland – Le Temps – 10/05/2021

La World Policy Conference, créée et animée par Thierry de Montbrial, a traité notamment des questions telles que la tournure que prend la rivalité systémique entre les Etats-Unis et la Chine, la situation en Afrique, les effets de la pandémie.

Côte d'Ivoire – Abidjan.net – 10/02/2021

Le Premier Ministre ivoirien, Patrick Achi, a fait un plaidoyer le 1er octobre 2021 à Abu Dhabi (Emirats arabes unis) en faveur d'un financement plus important des économies des pays africains, pour leur permettre d'accélérer leur développement. C'était à l'ouverture de la 14ème édition de la World Policy Conference.

Greece – Naftemporiki.gr – 10/02/2021

Τη σπουδαιότητα του διαλόγου ως μέσου για την επίλυση των προβλημάτων επεσήμανε ο Οικουμενικός Πατριάρχης Βαρθολομαίος χθες στην επίσημη ομιλία του κατά την έναρξη των εργασιών της διεθνούς συναντήσεως «World Policy Conference», που πραγματοποιείται στο Άμπου Ντάμπι.

Yemen – Al-Sahil – 10/03/2021

تايلاولا نيد تجيتار تسلاو قداصتقلا اسفانما ن ا ، يظويا في تماعلا تاسايلا رشع عيارلا متوملا نم يثااا مويلا في دوقولا يوتسما عيفر يثا اراما لوؤسم لاق ن ا ، تججراخلا نوؤسلا قايسا كلودا ريزوو يثا اراملا يساترلا يساموليدا راشئسما ، شاقرة رونا لاق يبرعلا جيلخلا لود ياع كئاها اطوخض ضرقت نيسلاو كتحتما لشه دضه موصد عفر ياع ياولا عمتجما شاقرة شحو .تجراجتلاو تجيتار تسلاا ميثاكار شد قلعقو اميف قايحتسم تارايدخ داختا ياع قطنملا لود ريجو ي سايسويجلا سفاثااا كتيدج كدرا ببرد في قدايب يلا لوجثا مدعو طوخضلا هذ

Côte d'Ivoire – Nord Sud – 10/03/2021

Le Premier ministre ivoirien Patrick Achi a participé à l'ouverture de la 14ème édition de la World Policy Conference, le 1er octobre 2021 à Abu Dhabi (Émirats Arabes Unis). Représentant le Président Alassane Ouattara, le chef du gouvernement a plaidé pour un financement important des économies africaines.

Egypt – Roayah News – 10/02/2021

سينرلا يساموليدا راشئسما ،شاقرة رونا روتكتلا داثااا يد جرييئع مرمثلاو يرثا مراوح ،تسبلا مويلا ،يثا اراملاا رمتؤمو كلودلا تاقلاخلا يسنوقا دهعما سسؤمو سينر ،لأيرنوم يظويا في ماعلا اذه دقعو يثاا ،تماعلا تاسايلا

Rwanda – KT Press – 10/02/2021

President Paul Kagame says that the African continent continues to be a victim of global power flex where the interests of the continent don't count but rather those of rich or developed countries that wish to set the narrative. Speaking at the World Policy Conference in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates (UAE) on Friday, the Head of State said that the past two years have been particularly consequential, with the Covid-19 pandemic exposing the stark inequality between countries and continents.

Albania – Albanian Daily News – 10/01/2021

Prime Minister Edi Rama has met Friday with the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Josep Borrell at the 2021 World Policy Conference in Abu Dhabi, where they talked about politics of the moment.

Senegal – Dakaractu – 10/01/2021

La World Policy Conference qui rassemble tous les deux ans, décideurs, chercheurs et dirigeants de grandes entreprises tient sa 14ème édition à Abu Dhabi après le report de 2020 imposé par la pandémie Covid-19. Participant à un panel animé par l'ancien Premier ministre du Bénin Lionel Zinsou, Aminata Touré, ancienne Présidente du CESE a demandé les excuses de la part de ceux qui au début de la pandémie, annonçaient des millions de morts en Afrique.

Taiwan – China Times – 10/04/2021

在近期举行的第14届世界政策会议（World Policy Conference）中，Anwar Gargash 谈及了他的国家在疫情后将如何復甦经济。此外，他也坦言对美国针对中东区域的承诺，还有美中之间迫在眉睫的冷战感到担忧。阿联与其他阿拉伯海湾国家一直以来都与中国在经济上有紧密联繫（因中国有大量採买石油的需求），而与美国在军事上有牢固的关系。

Japan – Nikkei – 10/21/2021

アラブ首長国連邦(UAE)のアブダビで10月上旬、著名シンクタンクのフランス国際関係研究所(IFRI)が主催する国際会議「世界政策会議(WPC)」が開かれた。産官学の登壇者が議論の中心としたのは米中の覇権争いで、世界のデカップリング(分断)がビジネスに及ぼす影響の行方についても発言が相次いだ。

Indonesia – Republika.co.id – 10/04/2021

Di acara World Policy Conference, penasihat presiden UEA bidang diplomasi, Anwar Gargash mengatakan belum ada kepastian mengenai komitmen Amerika Serikat (AS) di kawasan. Ia juga mengungkapkan kekhawatiran 'perang dingin' antara Washington dan Beijing.

India – The Rahnuma Daily – 10/02/2021

Sheikh Nahyan bin Mubarak Al-Nahyan, UAE tolerance and coexistence minister, officially opened on Friday the World Policy Conference (WPC) in Abu Dhabi. "We welcome you again to the United Arab Emirates and Abu Dhabi, as a distinguished group of influential political, economic and business leaders".

Saudi Arabia – Arab News – 10/02/2021

Economic and strategic competition between the US and China is putting immense pressure on the Arab Gulf states, a top Emirati official told delegates on the second day of the 14th World Policy Conference in Abu Dhabi.

United Arab Emirates – The National – 10/04/2021

UAE ministers and officials have taken part in the World Policy Conference hosted in Abu Dhabi. The conference brings together decision makers and academics from more than 40 countries. It is the first time the event has been held in the UAE and attendees took the opportunity to share geographical, cultural and economic priorities of the country, Wam state news agency reported.

United Arab Emirates – Al-Bayan – 10/02/2021

ليروبه فيجروج نم لأك قلعخانلا ريزو هارزولا سلجم مينر بجان نايحل لأ ديار زه فيجيد عيشلا ومس قيرظا لبقسا قئقسا مينر لولاا سويلملا زه يوكسلا لكريرظيلا تساقو يورولاا داختاب نملاو .تجراخلا نوؤسلا يلعلاا ضروقلا يظويا فيضئتشة يثاا في ماعلا تاسايلا رمتؤم ١٤ للا قودلا في ناكراشدو يثااا ،تجيتطنطسقا

Lebanon – An-Nahar – 10/01/2021

رصة في عمتجوشيد ،قرشع عيارلا ،خخند في تماعلا تاسايلا رمتؤم يظويا فيضئتشة ،مليا كئلاا ديم ياع عيضاوملا رمتؤملا دنجا ياعو ،كلودلا شاحيلاا زكارمو داصتقلاو تاسايلا مباء نم فيضئت ٣٠٠ نم رثااا تاراملاا يثقت ياع زيماء دعو ماعلا عضولا ن ع لاضة ،ادهش يثاا قيسايسويجلا تاريغتملا دعو مويلا ملهلا لغشت يثاا تجخاسلا يثااا عوضوملا لود لولاا مويلا تاسلج رمتؤملا صرصد .ماعلا داصتقلاا ياع ابتكرت يثاا تاساكعلااو ،لوروك محتاج دعو تماعلاا قداصتقلااو قيسايسلا تاعقوتلاب لصتملاو ،أمومع يماعلاو أصوصص يبرعلا مامتلاا نم أرييك أزيد لغشي محتاجاا

Taiwan – China Times – 10/04/2021

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### Thierry de Montbrial

The purpose of the WPC is to focus on middle powers discussing the major issues of the world through their own eyes and not through the lenses of the superpowers of the day. I think it was extremely successful with the many countries represented here because they spoke in a genuine way, shared their difficulties and their points of view, in a common spirit, which is a great success in itself, but it also reflects the reality of today's world, which is somewhat at a loss.

“

### Didier Reynders

Regarding security, I think we need to give fresh thought to major strengthening of the European security pillar within NATO. We must continue working as part of alliances.

“

### Élisabeth Guigou

Chinese nationalism and imperialism are on the rise. Thankfully, Europeans are no longer blind to this reality. However, we also have to maintain dialog as I cannot see how we can resolve the climate problem without an understanding or agreement with China, the world's leading CO2 emitter.

“

### Robert Sigal

We cannot imagine that in the future, part of the world will be protected and another part would not be. Clearly, there is a risk of new variants, as we have already seen. And these will come “boomeranging” back towards this world that had believed itself protected. So there needs to be improved cooperation with these countries that fully deserve it.

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### Daniel Keller

Personally, the issue that troubles me most is the future of Sino-American relations. Are we moving towards a new 21st century Cold War between China and America? Will this end up being the distant successor to Sparta and Athens in the time of Pericles? This is where we find ourselves, and, in organizing the World Policy Conference, Thierry de Montbrial is attempting, in his way, to be a modern-day Thucydides.

“

### Jean-Claude Trichet

Over the course of these past two years, we have grown much more aware of the fact that there were global public goods in need of preservation at all costs. I think that the international community, with all of these countless current troubles, recognizes that it is both necessary and vital that these global public goods are preserved via good global governance.

“

### Josep Borrell

The Cold War was a strictly military confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States. Now, the confrontation is also economic and technological. We Europeans must align ourselves within this new geopolitical reality in which we are closer to Washington than to Beijing. This goes without saying.

“

### Patrick Achi

Covid-19 came at the worst time for Africa – a time when the continent was just hitting its stride. It was clear to everyone that Africa was the new development frontier with growth rates among the highest in the world.

“

### Randy Kotti

As a young person, it is important to show the extent to which climate change is a major cause for our generation. It is crucial that we try to project a unified message, to show that we can have good ideas and bring something to the negotiating table.

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### Mari Kiviniemi

We have to make sure that the fruits of globalization are shared more equally and that everyone has the opportunity to participate in society. This means that we must put more effort into education and social policies. Trust in government is important, so politicians have a lot to do to make sure that their citizens are also on board.

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### Robert Dossou

It seems to us that the epicenter of global terrorism has now moved to Africa, and we do not feel that the Africans have taken it especially seriously. As things stand, no African state is exempt from an attack, and we still do not know the effect that Afghanistan's new turning point will have on global terrorism.

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### Lucia Sinapi-Thomas

The debates over these last three days demonstrate that digital transformation is underway and that no sector is immune, starting with the public sector.

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### Jim Bittermann

One of the first things to say about the Biden administration is that a lot of people believed that when he came into office, things would immediately change in terms of foreign policy. They certainly have changed in term of domestic policy and in terms of tone, but the foreign policy is quite consistent with what we have seen over the last four administrations in the United States, which is an increasingly hard line with regard to China.

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### Anwar Mohammed Gargash

Communication and dialogue are key. If you look at the Abraham Accords, they are clearly born out of an understanding that decades of not talking to each other has not really resolved anything.

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### Ingvil Smines Tybring-Gjedde

You always have to try to go a little bit further to have a better technology, a better product with lower emissions and a better price. However, the price is not always the most important part, it is how it is produced.

“

### Nabil Fahmy

We have to deal with regional conflicts, but also with nation building, and define a new social contract between the people in the Middle East and their governments, but also between different states in the Middle East. We cannot live in silos at the expense of each other anymore. So, the message is to be proactive, to be engaged, to be inclusive and to try to build the future because over 65% of our people are youth and that is what they are looking for.

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### Mayankote Kelath Narayanan

India does not have the intention, nor the capability, to dominate all of Asia. It wants to be an important power, but it is certainly not aiming for domination of South or East Asia. It has the largest population in that part of the world, so it has a position, but the rivalry arises because China wants to let the rest of the world know that it is superior to India.

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### Faruk Tuncer

It is quite important that a global conference talks about government technology, which is what I am working on. I would like to urge cooperation between European governments, but also between Europe and the rest of the world, to bring government innovation forward.

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India does not have the intention, nor the capability, to dominate all of Asia. It wants to be an important power, but it is certainly not aiming for domination of South or East Asia. It has the largest population in that part of the world, so it has a position, but the rivalry arises because China wants to let the rest of the world know that it is superior to India.

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Printed in France - February 2022

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ISBN: 979-10-373-0484-1







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