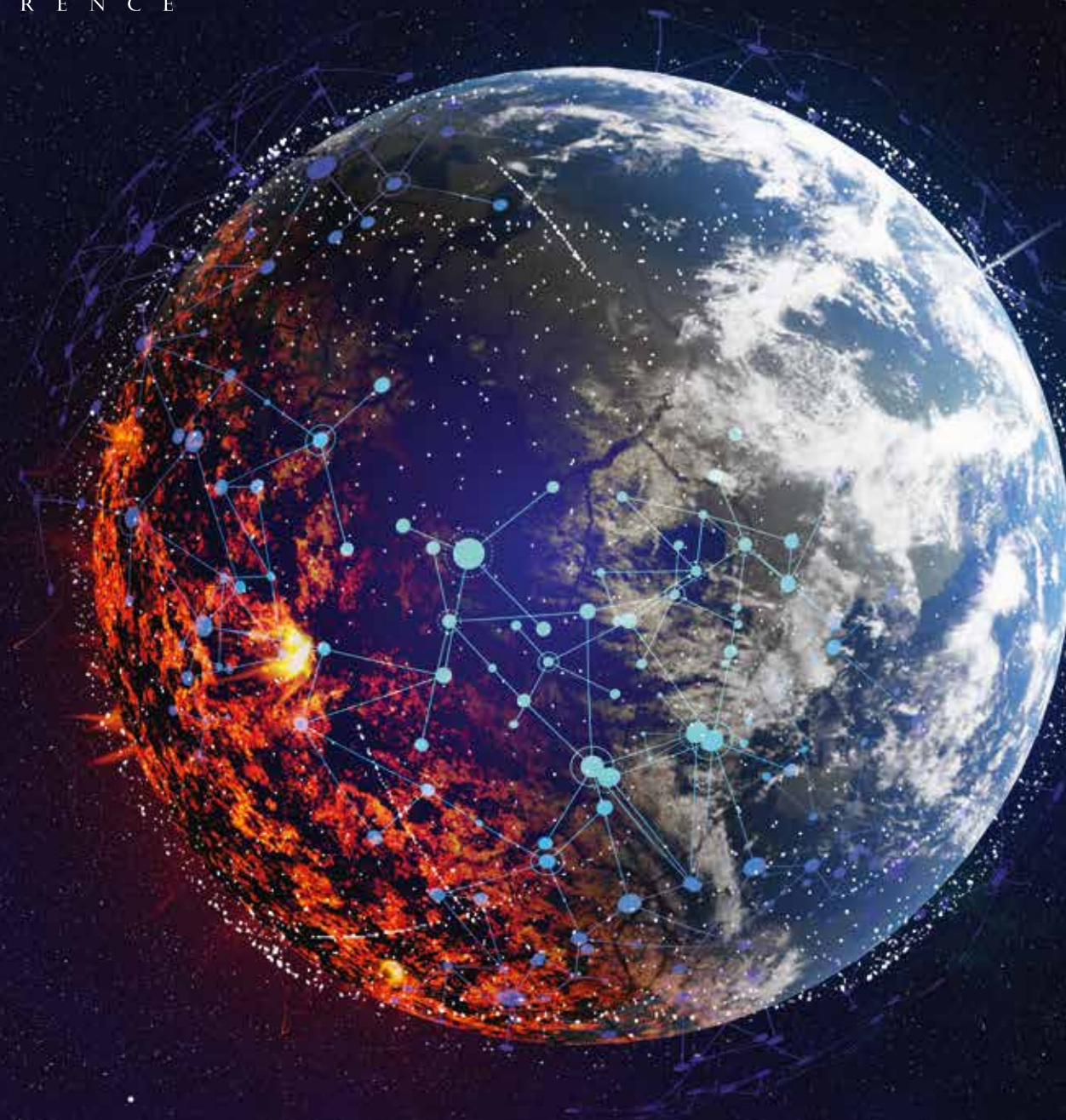


WORLD  
POLICY  
CONFERENCE



**15<sup>th</sup>** Edition,  
Dec. 9-11, 2022  
Abu Dhabi, UAE

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# WORLD POLICY CONFERENCE

FIFTEENTH EDITION  
DECEMBER 9-11 2022  
A B U D H A B I  
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES



WORLD  
POLICY  
CONFERENCE





# Foreword



It is my great pleasure to present the report of the 15<sup>th</sup> World Policy Conference (WPC) in Abu Dhabi from December 9 to 11, 2022, published under the direction of Song-Nim Kwon.

The purpose of the WPC is to promote a “reasonably open” international system that treads a middle line

between the utopia of liberal globalization still prevalent at the beginning of this century and the looming specter of a world split into blocs. Since our first meeting in Évian in October 2008, the WPC has promoted the point of view that middle-sized powers should have more opportunities to make their voices heard, directly or on a multipolar basis, without being drowned out by the major powers and their interests. In terms of global governance, the question is knowing whether, beyond the general framework set out by the United Nations Charter, states can agree on the ground rules, the respect of which is the only way to guarantee the structural stability of the international system as a whole, even though it is ideologically heterogeneous. In particular, what is now called the global South has no intentions of allowing the West to impose its views, even on matters of international security. This has led to the idea of “multi-alignment” promoted by India’s government. It is essential, and potentially even vital, to establish ground rules because globalization in the deepest sense is irreversible, so that the idea of “humanity’s

common goods” is no longer an abstract concept. Everyone who cares about our planet’s future must give this some thought.

Many jolts, from financial crises to the “Arab Spring”, the heating up of Sino-American competition, Brexit, the conflict over Ukraine in Europe and the Covid-19 pandemic, have put globalization to the test since we first met in 2008. After February 24, 2022, the conflict over Ukraine, whose roots date back to the dissolution of the Soviet Union and even before then, has changed dimension. It has become a war, for now localized in Europe but with global consequences. More than ever, the ideal of good global governance seems increasingly out of reach. More than ever, those who think about the international system must strive to combine, the best they can, short-term realism and the pragmatism it requires with the long-term idealism without which no project is sustainable.

The high intellectual, operational and moral quality of the 15<sup>th</sup> WPC’s debates is heartening in this regard, and I thank everyone who helped make it a success, starting with the United Arab Emirates, which welcomed us for the second time. Convinced that our approach is relevant, we want to involve a growing number of people of good will from all parts of the globe.

**Thierry de Montbrial**  
Founder and Executive Chairman  
of Ifri and the WPC  
March 3, 2023

## CONTENTS

FOREWORD	PAGE 3
PROGRAM	PAGE 4
OPENING SESSION	PAGE 6
PLENARY SESSIONS	PAGE 12
PARALLEL WORKSHOPS	PAGE 92
LUNCH & DINNER DEBATES	PAGE 108
NETWORKING	PAGE 114
KEY DATA	PAGE 126
INVITED GUESTS	PAGE 127
OPENING SPEECHES	PAGE 138
PRESS & WPC TV	PAGE 145
PARTNERS & ORGANIZATION	PAGE 150



Friday, December 9

08:30 *Welcome Remarks*

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

08:30 – 10:00

*Plenary session 1: Geoeconomics and Development in a Fragmented World*

Chair:

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

Speakers:

**Aminata Touré**, Representative of the Senegalese National Assembly, former Prime Minister, former President of the Economic, Social and Environmental Council of Senegal

**Jean-Marie Paugam**, Deputy Director General of the WTO

**Kim Heungchong**, President of the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy

**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

**Jeffrey Frieden**, Professor of Government at Harvard University

**Vincent Koen**, Deputy Director of Country Studies at the OECD

10:00 – 11:30

*Plenary session 2: Is the International Economic Order Collapsing?*

Chair:

**Jean-Claude Trichet**, Vice Chairman of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, former Chairman of the European Central Bank, Honorary Governor of the Bank of France

Speakers:

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

**Yann Coatanlem**, CEO of DataCore Innovations LLC, Founder and President of Club Praxis, Board member of GlassView and the Paris School of Economics

**Gabriel Felbermayr**, Director of the Austrian Institute of Economic Research (WIFO), former President of the Kiel Institute for the World Economy (IfW)

**Motoshige Itoh**, Professor Emeritus at the University of Tokyo, member of the Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy of Japan

**John Lipsky**, Senior Fellow of the Foreign Policy Institute at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), former First Deputy Managing Director of the IMF

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

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

11:30 – 13:00

*Official Opening*

**Reem Ibrahim Al Hashimy**, Minister of State for International Cooperation of the United Arab Emirates

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

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

**Haïm Korsia**, Chief Rabbi of France

13:00 – 14:15

*Lunch*

14:30 – 15:30

*Plenary session 3: The Future of Geopolitics and Business: Building Resilience and Adapting to a New Global Reality*

Chair:

**Nikolaus Lang**, Global Leader for the Global Advantage practice, Managing Director and Senior Partner of Boston Consulting Group

Speakers:

**Abdullah Al Mazrui**, Chairman of the United Arab Emirates Chambers of Commerce and Industry

**Maurice Gourdault-Montagne**, former Ambassador, former Permanent Under Secretary of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs

**Helle Kristoffersen**, President Strategy & Sustainability and member of the Executive Committee of TotalEnergies

**Sam Okwulehie**, Chairman and CEO of LATC

15:30 – 16:30

*Plenary session 4: Innovative Leaders: Climate Crisis and Circular Economy*

Chair:

**Lucia Sinapi-Thomas**, Executive Director of CG

Speakers:

**Andrew Brown**, Junior Environmental Policy Analyst at the OECD

**Yim Hyosung**, Vice President of the Corporate Strategy Center of Hyosung Corporation

**Bruno Langlois**, Business Development and Partnerships Director at Carbios

**Livia Ribeiro de Souza**, Co-Founder and Chief Technology Officer at Mimicrete Ltd.

**Florent Andrillon**, Global Head of Sustainability Services at Capgemini Invent

16:30 – 17:30

*Plenary session 5: The Sahel and West Africa: Geopolitics and Geoeconomics*

Chair:

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

Speakers:

**Romuald Wadagni**, Senior Minister in charge of Economy and Finance of Benin

**Alain Tchibozo**, Chief Economist of the West African Development Bank (BOAD)

**General Francis A. Béhanzin**, Co-Founder and Chairman of the *Réseau mondial des professionnels de sécurité et de défense pour la prévention et la lutte contre le terrorisme*, former Commissioner Political Affairs, Peace and Security of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

**Nshuti Manasseh**, Minister of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation in charge of East African Community of Rwanda

17:30 – 19:00

*Plenary session 6: The Rest of the World Facing the US-China Rivalry*

Chair:

**Douglas Paal**, Distinguished Fellow at the Asia Program Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, former Senior Director of Asian Affairs and Special Assistant to the President in the US National Security Council

Speakers:

**John Andrews**, Contributing Editor to *The Economist* and *Project Syndicate*

**Jean-Pierre Cabestan**, Senior Researcher Emeritus at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) attached to the French Research Institute on East Asia (IFRAE) of the National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilisations, Professor Emeritus at Hong Kong Baptist University

**Renaud Girard**, Senior Reporter and International Columnist at *Le Figaro*

**Yuichi Hosoya**, Professor of International Politics at Keio University in Tokyo

**Lee Hye Min**, Senior Advisor of KIM & CHANG, former G20 Sherpa of Korea

**Samir Saran**, President of the Observer Research Foundation of New Delhi

**Wang Jisi**, President of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies at Peking University in Beijing, Peking University Boya Chair Professor

19:30

*Dinner Debate*

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

Chair:

**Ali Aslan**, International TV Presenter and Journalist

Saturday, December 10

08:00 – 09:30

*Plenary session 7: The Future of EU and European Security After the Ukraine War*

Chair:

**Ali Aslan**, International TV Presenter and Journalist

Speakers:

**Peter Beyer**, member of the German Bundestag, former Coordinator of Transatlantic Cooperation of the Federal Government

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

**Hubert Védrine**, Founder of Hubert Védrine Conseil, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of France

**Zaki Laïdi**, Personal Advisor to the High Representative and Vice President of the Commission EEAS

**Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj**, former President of Mongolia

09:30 – 10:30

*Plenary session 8: The Relevance of "Indo-Pacific" as a Geostrategic Concept*

Chair:

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

Speakers:

**Hiroyuki Akita**, Commentator of *Nikkei*, Japan

**Mayankote Kelath Narayanan**, Executive Chairman of CyQureX Systems Pvt. Ltd., former Senior Advisor and National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister of India (Manmohan Singh)

**Douglas Paal**, Distinguished Fellow at the Asia Program Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, former Senior Director of Asian Affairs and Special Assistant to the President in the US National Security Council

**Yim Sung-joon**, Senior Advisor at Lee International IP & Law Group, former Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, former National Security Advisor to President Kim Dae-jung

10:30 – 12:15

*Plenary session 9: Space Governance: The Implications of Globalized Access to Space Technologies*

Chair:

**Patrick Nicolet**, Founder and Managing Partner of Linebreak Ltd., former Group Chief Technology Officer of Capgemini

Speakers:

**Amer Al Ghafri**, Senior Director of the Space Engineering Department at the Mohamed bin Rashid Space Center in Dubai

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

**Daniel Andler**, Professor Emeritus at Sorbonne University, member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, Philosopher

**Meir Sheetrit**, former member of the Israeli Knesset, former Minister of Intelligence Affairs and the Committee of Atomic Energy, former Minister of the Interior

**Patrick Trinkler**, Founder and CEO of CYSEC

**Geoffrey Bouquot**, CTO and Group Vice President Strategy & External Relations at Valeo, former Technical Advisor for Industrial Affairs in the Cabinet of the French Minister of Defense

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

12:15 – 13:15

*Lunch*

13:30 – 14:00

*Plenary session 10*

Conversation with:

**Dmytro Kuleba**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

Chair:

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

14:00 – 15:00

*Plenary session 11: Eastern Europe, South Caucasus and Central Asia Facing the Ukraine War*

Chair:

**Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean**, Research Fellow and Director of the Russia/NIS Center of Ifri

Speakers:

**Roman Vassilenko**, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan

**Olga Rosca**, Chief of staff of the Deputy Prime-Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of Moldova

**Lasha Darsalia**, First Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Georgia

15:00 – 15:30

*Session plénière 12*

Conversation with:

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

Interviewer:

**Mina Al-Oraibi**, Editor-in-Chief of *The National*

15:30 – 16:00

*Session plénière 13*

Conversation with:

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

Chair:

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

16:00 – 17:00

*Plenary session 14: Critical Raw Materials – How to Secure the Crucial Resources for our Industries?*

Chair:

**Friedbert Pflüger**, Director of the European Cluster for Climate, Energy and Resource Security (EUCERS) at the University of Bonn, Founding Partner of Strategic Minds Company GmbH

Speakers:

**Philippe Chalmin**, Founder of Cercle Cyclope, Professor at Paris-Dauphine University, Consultant for various international organisations (OECD, EEC, UNCTAD)

**Jonathan Cordero**, Head of Corporate Development at Eurasian Resources Group

**Ingvil Smines Tybring-Gjedde**, Non-Executive Director at Norge Mining, former State Secretary for the Ministry of Petroleum and Energy of Norway

**Peter Handley**, Head of the Energy-Intensive Industries and Raw Materials Unit in the European Commission's Directorate-General for Internal Market, Industry, Entrepreneurship and SMEs

17:00 – 19:30

*Parallel Workshops*

**Workshop 1: Finance and Economy**

Chair:

**Jean-Claude Trichet**, Vice Chairman of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, former Chairman of the European Central Bank, Honorary Governor of the Bank of France

Speakers:

**Serge Ekué**, President of the West African Development Bank (BOAD)

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

**Jeffry Frieden**, Professor of Government at Harvard University

**Akinari Horii**, Special Advisor and member of the Board of Directors of the Canon Institute for Global Studies, former Assistant Governor of the Bank of Japan

**Kyung-wook Hur**, President of the Korean Bretton Woods Club, Chairman of the Board of the Korea Center for International Finance, former Vice Minister for the Ministry of Strategy and Finance, former Senior Economist for the IMF

**Pierre Jacquet**, President of the Global Development Network, Professor at the École nationale des ponts et chaussées

**André Lévy-Lang**, Founder and Chairman of the Louis Bachelier Institute

**John Lipsky**, Senior Fellow of the Foreign Policy Institute at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), former First Deputy Managing Director of the IMF

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

**Workshop 2: Energy and Environment**

Chair:

**Valérie Ducrot**, Executive Director of Global Gas Centre

Speakers:

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

**Narendra Taneja**, Chairman of the Independent Energy Policy Institute of New Delhi, Founder President of the World Energy Policy Summit (WEPS)

**Florent Andrillon**, Global Head of Sustainability Services at Capgemini Invent

**Igor Yurgens**, Scientific Director of MGIMO Centre for Sustainable Development and ESG Transformation

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

**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:

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

**Cheikh Tidiane Gadio**, President of the Institute for Pan-African Strategies, Peace-Security-Governance, Special Envoy of the OIF, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Senegal

**Elisabeth Guigou**, Founding President of Europarténaires, former 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**, Representative of the Senegalese National Assembly, former Prime Minister, former President of the Economic, Social and Environmental Council of Senegal

**Juliette Tuakli**, Chief Executive Officer of CHILDAccra Medical, United Way Worldwide Chair Immediate Past (IP), Mercy Ships Africa Ambassador, Medical Director

**Lionel Zinsou**, Co-Founder and Co-Chair of SouthBridge, Chairman of Terra Nova think tank, former Prime Minister of Benin, former Chairman of PAI Partners

20:00

*Gala Dinner*

**Laurent Fabius**, President of the French Constitutional Council, President of the COP 21, former Prime Minister of France

Chair:

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

Sunday, December 11

08:00 – 09:00

*Reports from parallel workshops*

**Pierre Jacquet**, President of the Global Development Network, Professor at the École nationale des ponts et chaussées

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

**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

09:00 – 10:00

*Plenary session 15: Perspectives on Covid-19 and Other Pandemic Threats*

Chair:

**Michel Kazatchkine**, Special Advisor to the World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe, Senior Fellow at the Global Health Centre of the Graduate Institute for International and Development Studies in Geneva

Speakers:

**Antoine Flahault**, Director of the Institute of Global Health at the University of Geneva, Deputy Director of the Swiss School of Public Health, former Founding Director of EHESP

**Juliette Tuakli**, Chief Executive Officer of CHILDAccra Medical, United Way Worldwide Chair Immediate Past (IP), Mercy Ships Africa Ambassador, Medical Director

**Maha Barakat**, Director General of the Frontline Heroes Office and Senior Advisor at Mubadala

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

**Christian Bréchet**, President of the Global Virus Network, Senior Associate Dean for Research in Global Affairs and Associate Vice President for International Partnerships and Innovation at USF Health Morsani College of Medicine, former President of Institut Pasteur

10:00 – 11:00

*Plenary session 16: Global Governance and Public Health*

Chair:

**Michel Kazatchkine**, Special Advisor to the World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe, Senior Fellow at the Global Health Centre of the Graduate Institute for International and Development Studies in Geneva

Speakers:

**Anders Nordström**, Ambassador for Global Health at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Sweden

**Lionel Zinsou**, Co-Founder and Co-Chair of SouthBridge, Chairman of Terra Nova think tank, former Prime Minister of Benin, former Chairman of PAI Partners

**Haruka Sakamoto**, Project Researcher at the Department of Global Health Policy of the University of Tokyo, Senior Fellow at the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies

**Farida Al Hosani**, Official Spokesperson for Health sector of the United Arab Emirates

**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

11:00 – 12:15

*Plenary session 17: Food Security in a Fragmented World*

Chair:

**Jean-Michel Severino**, President of Investisseurs & Partenaires, former Director General of the French Development Agency, former Vice President for Asia at the World Bank

Speakers:

**Máximo Torero Cullen**, Chief Economist and Assistant Director General for the Economic and Social Development Department of the FAO

**Pierre Jacquet**, President of the Global Development Network, Professor at the École nationale des ponts et chaussées

**Bayu Krisnamurthi**, Associate Professor in the Department of Agribusiness the Faculty of Economics and Management of the Bogor Agricultural University, former Vice Minister of Trade and former Vice Minister of Agriculture of the Republic of Indonesia

**Mariam Al Mheiri**, Minister of Climate Change and Environment of the United Arab Emirates

12:15 – 13:15

*Plenary session 18: New Technologies for New Geopolitics of Energy*

Chair:

**John Andrews**, Contributing Editor to *The Economist* and *Project Syndicate*

Speakers:

**Frank Obrist**, CEO of OBRIST Powertrain

**Franklin Servan-Schreiber**, Co-Founder and CEO of Transmutex

**Nicolas Piau**, Co-Founder and CEO of TILT Capital Partners

**Friedbert Pflüger**, Director of the European Cluster for Climate, Energy and Resource Security (EUCERS) at the University of Bonn, Founding Partner of Strategic Minds Company GmbH

13:15 – 14:15

*Lunch*

14:15 – 15:45

*Plenary session 19: The Middle East in the New Geopol*



OPENING SESSION



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# Reem Ibrahim Al Hashimy

Minister of State for International Cooperation of the United Arab Emirates



“The path forward in the UAE is clear, it can only happen through constructive dialogue, but we do not meet with each other to simply talk to one another, we must meet to also ensure that we are bringing more to the table by being innovative and inventive and bold. We do have to look at ways where we also do not become echo chambers where we simply repeat and agree with one another about what the path forward needs to look like. There is a strong conviction in the UAE that the strength of the output can only come through diverse opinion and also through a clear intent that we are delivering on impact and not simply on output. Everyone can and must be part of the solution, and everybody has a duty to contribute. Sometimes these efforts start with a strong foundation and rich, shared history or cultural legacy. At other times, a hand must be extended and a certain degree of faith must be placed on a new relationship. Regardless of how we begin, international cooperation is also based on the recognition that everyone has something to offer that you do not, and that the collective wisdom has the capacity to chart a path forward that is necessary in uncertain times. The solutions for today's urgent problems and tomorrow's approaching ones begin in the mind and are made real through rigorous discussion and partnership between states and at all levels of government and society. Through this, we hope to step into the future, confident in our ability to collectively meet its challenges and seize on opportunities.

\*Full version page 140



# Thierry de Montbrial

Founder and Executive Chairman of Ifri and the WPC



“The year 2022 will also be characterized around the world by a significant increase in extreme weather phenomena, such as the catastrophic floods in Pakistan. From now on, no one can deny the extent of the climate change that is underway with its inevitable consequences in all areas, for example in the health sector and due to the potentially massive increase in migration. From this standpoint also, there are negative effects from the Ukraine war, if only in terms of hindering roll-out of the measures needed to slow down global warming. This brings us to global issues such as public health and climate. It is vital to ask the following question, which can be formulated very simply: despite the intensification of the China-US rivalry, which increasingly appears to be irreversible, will the two superpowers of the 21<sup>st</sup> century manage to cooperate for a better governance of humanity's common good, which is crucial for the future of the Earth? Nobody can deny the importance of this question anymore. Unfortunately, the answer is not straightforward. Evidently, a scenario involving armed conflict between the two superpowers over Taiwan is becoming increasingly plausible according to the most respected analysts and commentators in the field of international relations.

\*Full version page 140





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

Archbishop of Constantinople - New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch



The ethnoreligious fanaticism inculcated in Russian youth makes peace and reconciliation a distant hope. The Orthodox world is divided and this fragmentation is projected onto poor countries where people hoped to find solace in their faith. And above all, it is doing harm to the Russian Church. Because sooner or later, the Russian people will see the errors of a Church that is subject to objectives that have nothing to do with its original mission. International relations experts sometimes ignore or marginalize the role and importance of religion, whether it is sincere or manipulated. We have, however, entered a period in which religion will be increasingly important. Theologians and others who specialize in questions related to how Churches function will need to be more open to other perspectives and develop dialog with other disciplines. It is also important for specialists in the social sciences, political science, and international relations to overcome their hesitancy to explore religious issues in depth. We cannot understand the new world that is emerging before our eyes if we do not understand religion.

\*Full version page 141



# Haïm Korsia

Chief Rabbi of France



This may be the idea behind the Tower of Babel story, which begins in chapter 11 of Genesis, the first book of the Bible: "And the whole Earth was of one language, and of one speech." The story is not about mixing languages, which happens later. It is primarily about handling a single mindset, a tempo and words, that powers want to impose on others. I believe that the original intention of the World Policy Conference was to foster a different way of thinking about the world, without letting anyone impose anything with a one-size-fits-all language, as some would like to do. In Genesis, the whole world spoke the same language, which led to uniformity but not unity. So God created various tongues that people had to learn in order to cooperate with each other, overcome their differences and find ways to achieve things together. To change the way the world thinks is necessarily to change something in our world, too. Now, as a Frenchman, I like revolution, but experience has taught me that sometimes a better way is evolution, slow transformation, adapting to new situations, being flexible about the world's demands, needs and expectations, which religions do marvelously well if they can count on women and men like you, who also think about religion in the world, in the balance of the world and in the general economy of the world. We also share this future.

\*Full version page 143





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# Geoeconomics and Development in a Fragmented World



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



**Aminata Touré**  
Representative of the Senegalese National Assembly, former Prime Minister, former President of the Economic, Social and Environmental Council of Senegal



**Jean-Marie Paugam**  
Deputy Director General of the WTO

International development and politics – international politics, geopolitics – have always been connected, so it is not as if this is something new. The question we will explore in this panel is how the relationship is changing and what that means for the way in which we think about development and development cooperation. I would like to propose that there are at least three ways in which that relationship is changing. First, we used to think about international development mainly as how to improve living standards and how to deal with poverty within individual countries. It was a country based approach to thinking about issues. Today, we think about international development much more as a set of global challenges, which include climate change, pandemics and biodiversity. While these overlay with countries, the way we think about them has become broader and different. Second, because we are thinking about these broader challenges, we can no longer, when we think about development cooperation, simply have the development agency or the development ministry in a rich country deal with how to support development. Now, every ministry, every agency – whether it is the financial sector, whether it is the health ministries around the world, or the trade ministries – everybody needs to cooperate to be able to deal with global challenges, much more so than was the case before. Finally, third, even though the need for cooperation is broader to solve these shared challenges, the possibility of cooperation, the scope for cooperation, is becoming more constrained because of the fragmentation in the way in which global politics is organized now and the rivalry amongst great powers.

We live in a deeply fragmented world. Even in wealthy countries, people feel left behind, and inequality is a major issue that needs to be addressed. It is clear to me that our concepts of international development need to be re-evaluated, so they reflect the reality of a fragmented society. This is particularly true in Africa, where the future of nutrition will be decided. With 60% of the available land, the youngest population in the world, and abundant resources, Africa has the potential to be a leader in this field. However, Africa also faces significant challenges, including security concerns and questionable leadership in many countries. It is therefore essential that we work together to build trust and redefine our relationships, acknowledging the history of colonialism and focusing on young people's and women's rights. At the heart of these issues is the need for genuine international cooperation, where countries work together to achieve common goals. This cooperation must be based on a deep understanding of human beings and human rights, with a focus on prioritizing the needs of people over the needs of the state or the economy. The United Nations has an important role to play in this process. It needs stronger teeth and leadership that reflects the diversity of the world, including African countries. It is time to open up leadership and ensure that all voices are heard, especially those of developing countries. Similarly, the private sector must also re-evaluate its practices and focus on peace and healthy consumers. This is particularly important as the private sector is the driving force behind economic growth and development. At the heart of all these issues is the need to acknowledge our shared humanity. We are all human fellows, living on a shared planet. It is only by working together, with a unified vision and a focus on human beings and human rights, that we can achieve our common goals and build a better world for everyone.

There is not a clear trend towards de-globalization in trade figures. While there have been some trends, such as an apparent slowdown in the rate of openness or global trade on GDP, this can be attributed to various statistical phenomena, such as variations in commodity prices and the composition of GDP. However, there are new forces that will shape globalization and make it more complex, leading to increased transaction costs for businesses and governments. Three of these forces are especially noteworthy. The first is the return of strategic trade policies, which relate to industrial policy. These policies are increasingly used by states to create comparative advantages. The second force is decoupling policies, which cover a wide range of policies from war and sanctions to trade wars and softer concepts like open strategic autonomy within the EU. This is a new trend, with significant impacts when it comes to sanctions targeting larger economies. The third force is decarbonization, with different countries and players adopting different strategies to reach net zero emissions. These trends will make the situation more complex, and our international institutions may struggle to keep up. While there are strong core principles underpinning the world trading system, such as transparency, good faith, and non-discrimination, there are still divergences in values and government systems that make negotiations difficult. Managing commons and their legacies is also challenging, as seen in the debate over climate change and the negotiations on fisheries subsidies. In addition, there are differences in capacities to deal with the new trends of decarbonization and digitalization. Therefore, we are likely to see stop-and-go progress, with some successes in emergency circumstances but also stalemates on core issues. While there are significant challenges to overcome, we must not overlook the successes and progress that can be made through international cooperation.





**Kim Heungchong**  
President of the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy

The fragmentation and "blocization" of global economies are now substantial. All of these hinder the stable provision of global public goods that the emerging economies have hitherto utilized for their growth. The digitalization of ODA will be the revolution for increasing the effective distribution of global public goods while responding to the climate crisis through green technology. The key is how to manage technologies. All of the major changes, together with the pandemic, the war and polarization will be the target of ODA in the coming era. Lastly, strengthening the ODA strategies and changing the structure of ODA will determine the effectiveness of global public goods distribution.

# Geoeconomics and Development in a Fragmented World



**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

The convergence of traditional crises - economic, social, and energy - coupled with fundamental transformation across several domains has created a complex global situation. This transformation is geopolitical, with decarbonization and biodiversity at the forefront of discussions, and technological changes, such as artificial intelligence, rapidly evolving. The tension between the North and the South, as seen in the vaccine distribution and the gas debate in Africa, adds to the complexity, as does the demographic divide between the aging West and the growing South. The world is further complicated by the ongoing tensions between China and the United States, which have significant implications for the global economy. Meanwhile, new standards, such as the Environmental, Social, and Governance (ESG) criteria, are being developed in Europe, which could further widen the gap between regions. There is also a growing sense of apathy towards global issues, with many people focusing only on their local interests. To address these challenges, new approaches are required. While global leaders have discussed Bretton Woods and the United Nations Security Council, there is a need to explore alternative mechanisms for financing development. For example, using the International Development Association's (IDA) hundreds of billions of dollars to fund global public goods could provide a much-needed boost to development. Additionally, innovative financing mechanisms, such as taxes on carbon or extractive industries, could generate new revenue streams for development. Mobilizing the private sector remains a critical challenge. With changing financial conditions and investors' shifting priorities, it is increasingly difficult to attract private investment to emerging and developing markets. Solutions already exist, but they need to be more effectively implemented. This requires addressing technical obstacles, such as defining aid and taking into account guarantees, as well as overcoming cultural barriers that hinder cooperation.



**Jeffry Frieden**  
Professor of Government at Harvard University

The highlighted points here are the current geoeconomic and political situation and the constraints that they impose on developing countries. We are in the midst of a fundamental change in the constraints and opportunities faced by developing countries and that this is going to be a very challenging period to come. Over the last couple of decades, we have gotten used to cheap money in plentiful quantities with very low interest rates, negative real interest rates, and relatively open trade, all of which are changing. The world now confronts a sustained period of high interest rates, a global growth slowdown, and greater limits on trade coming from the OECD. This includes greater limits associated with climate policy, border adjustment mechanisms, and trade being more and more tied to human rights, labor rights, democracy, and climate policy. All of these are constraints being imposed by the developed world and will make it much more difficult for developing countries to access OECD markets. There are alternatives, such as China with its Belt and Road Initiative and development projects, but money often comes with strings attached. The ability of China to stand as a true replacement for or alternative to the OECD is strictly limited by the level of development of China and the size of the Chinese economy. The Russian axis, which sometimes is pointed to as an alternative, is increasingly disappearing into the horizon as the Russian government gallops down the path to making Russia a pariah state. All in all, this is a very challenging period for the prospects of development, and we can be reasonably pessimistic about the possibility of moving fast in the direction of change. The willingness and ability to design and implement those changes depends on the underlying domestic political and geopolitics realities, especially in the OECD. We need to be realistic about what is reasonable to expect given the difficult domestic political circumstances within many of the developed countries. Realism would be a better state of mind in thinking about the way forward.



**Vincent Koen**  
Deputy Director of Country Studies at the OECD

China's GDP per capita, at purchasing power parity, soared from 3% of the G7 average in the late 1970s to 36% in the late 2010s. In the process, China overtook the US as the world's largest economy measured in PPP terms. But this catch-up has stalled over the past two years, with the pandemic stress-testing China's development model to the utmost. Refusal to use Western vaccines and hesitancy vis-à-vis vaccines led to a sanitary impasse, with huge economic costs. Recently, however, China made a U turn, with a major relaxation of controls. China's near closure during the three years of the pandemic has come on top of other factors working in the direction of deglobalization: the Made in China 2025 strategy, which seeks to reduce China's dependence on foreign technology; Trump's trade war, with tit-for-tat tariff hikes starting in 2018; the US Chips and Science Act and the EU Chips Act; and the US Inflation Reduction Act. Against the backdrop of geopolitical tensions, all this translates into less FDI and knowledge exchange. In the meantime, the roll-out of the "new silk roads" has illustrated China's clout but has also left some recipient countries with high debts. China is by far the world's largest emitter in absolute terms. China has long recognized the problem and has promised to reach carbon neutrality by 2060. China has been playing a major global role in bringing down the cost of renewables such as solar panels, but for now it also continues to rely massively on coal. China's economy needs to move on from its reliance on real estate, which supports high-emitting sectors like cement and steel, to a low-carbon model. Rebalancing towards consumption-led growth - a longstanding but elusive goal - would shift economic activity to services and reduce the energy intensity of growth.





# Is the International Economic Order Collapsing?



CHAIR:  
**Jean-Claude Trichet**  
Vice Chairman of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, former Chairman of the European Central Bank, Honorary Governor of the Bank of France



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

Since the end of World War II and the Bretton Woods system, there have been numerous shocks to the global economy, from the collapse of the Soviet Union to the spectacular rise of Asia and China. Each of these events called for a new global economic order, and the pace of transformation is accelerating at an incredible rate. The ongoing Ukraine conflict is just one example of the correlation between geostrategy and economics. It is clear that a new international economic order is needed, but the question remains: what kind of order? All speakers, from the President of the United States to leaders in China and around the world, agree that a new international economic order is necessary. However, the specifics of such an order remain elusive. Should it be multipolar or unipolar? The answer is that it should be multipolar, but what kind of multipolarity? Some suggest a division between the West and the rest of the world, democracies and authoritarian regimes, or the Global North and the Global South. There is no clear consensus on what kind of multipolarity is desirable or feasible. The question of shared global rules is another pressing issue. Should there be shared rules for global public goods, taking into account that we are all living on the same planet? The answer should be a resounding yes, but it remains to be seen whether countries and cultures will agree on what those rules should be. In short, the need for a new international economic order is clear, but the details are complex and multifaceted. The ongoing transformation of the global economy calls for a thoughtful and nuanced approach to crafting a new order that reflects the realities of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It is up to leaders and policymakers around the world to engage in these critical discussions and work towards a shared vision for the future.

There are some concerns regarding the recent global supply chain restructuring. First, industrial policies could be revived in most countries, including the United States and probably the EU, triggering industrial subsidy competition among major countries. We worry that we might lose the opportunity to reform the rules on industrial subsidies at the WTO. Second, some trade policy measures based on national security concerns, green economy or politically motivated nationalism, such as those in the US Inflation Reduction Act, may violate the WTO rules of the MFN principle and the national treatment. Regarding these aspects of the US legislation, some trade experts even including those in the US, are questioning whether the US supports defending and reforming the rules-based multilateral trading system, or simply pushing for anti-China or America first policies. The third concern is about the issue of decoupling between the US and China. However, it may not be realistic or even feasible to suddenly cut off all trade between the US and China. We should consider limiting the US decoupling from China to a few technologically sensitive sectors, which are directly related to national security. Even in the case of semiconductor, decoupling should focus on a few technologically advanced chips. Fourth, probably in the second pillar of the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework, there will be some provisions for supply chain resilience, which might exclude China in their supply chains for certain products and materials. If this is the case, we can easily expect China to react in one way or another. In sum, I would like to suggest that the WPC participants start to raise the appropriate voices over these concerns. I particularly think that the WPC is the right place to discuss some ideas about the future global trade governance.





# Is the International Economic Order Collapsing?



**Yann Coatanlem**  
CEO of DataCore Innovations LLC, Founder and President of Club Praxis, Board member of GlassView and the Paris School of Economics



**Gabriel Felbermayr**  
Director of the Austrian Institute of Economic Research (WIFO), former President of the Kiel Institute for the World Economy (IfW)



**Motoshige Itoh**  
Professor Emeritus at the University of Tokyo, member of the Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy of Japan

The Bretton Woods institutions and the Washington Consensus have played a valuable role in the past, and have perhaps been more adaptable than is often recognized. However, given the global nature of many current crises and the increasing interdependence of societies, the international economic order needs to be adjusted in key areas. Two specific measures that would contribute to the common good. The first proposal relates to macroeconomic and financial stability, and involves the revival of the spirit of the Pittsburgh G20 summit. The creation of a global financial contagion model could anticipate the domino effects of financial crises across multiple countries and regions. While some work has been done at a national level, this kind of analysis needs to be done globally. Additionally, an extreme risk measure of the entire world economy should be developed to assess market risk, credit risk, climate risk, cyber security, and operational risk. Once this measure is in place, financial institutions, including shadow banking, sovereign states, and FinTech, can be stress tested to attribute risk where it belongs. A common risk framework can help identify common interests, which can be the key to international goodwill. The second proposal is focused on equality of opportunity for companies, countries, and individuals. The staggering fact is that 1% of companies control 98% of all useful patents, and this excessive rent-seeking amounts to private taxes on society. To create a fairer system, we can suggest fighting externalities like climate change through a club structure with penalties for countries outside the club, and compensating poor countries through a fund proposed by the COP27. Finally, optimizing human capital over the entire life of individuals is essential for creating a more equitable society, and governments are encouraged to do more long-term planning and monitoring of public policies to ensure fairness in the welfare system.

History tells us that our world is undergoing constant transformation, faster than ever and accelerated at times of crises. This is nothing new. Also, power struggles have been with us forever. The period of hyperglobalization from 1989 to 2008 was a historical anomaly. Despite the permanent crisis mode and many alarmist speeches, if we judge from the outcomes, we must acknowledge that the world economy has been very resilient lately. Trade volumes, e.g., bounced back very strongly after Covid-19 and stand substantially higher now than before. This resilience is interesting given the fact that many global important institutions are in bad shape, including the World Trade Organization. This tells us that formal institutions and legal frameworks are not the only determinants of cross border cooperation. Networks matter enormously, both in business, but also between state actors. Take the field of competition politics. There is no formal global organization here, but cooperation works quite well. We could also cite tax cooperation. Or banking regulation. This works whenever there is epistemic consensus across countries that may, in other areas, have strongly diverging preferences. Identifying such alignments is critical. What is also critical is a clear vision about the future. Global cooperation will become ever more important to secure lives and livelihoods, even if substantial heterogeneities will remain and, maybe, even increase. Finally, when we talk about institutions, reforms, or cooperation, we should not limit ourselves to the present conditions and not over-focus on single relationships, like the Sino-American one. Mankind's future will be decided in places that currently get too little attention in the West, from Africa to India.

Geopolitical risks, especially those between the United States and China, are about to have a profound impact on the structure of global trade and investment, particularly in the semiconductor industry. While most industries still maintain a flattened international economy, the geopolitical dynamics are forcing a correction to this trend. The US is moving to exclude China from its semiconductor supply chain, and is preparing to subsidize production bases within its borders. Japan and South Korea are also being asked to participate in the US-centered supply chain, causing Japanese companies to refrain from investing in China. China, on the other hand, is building its own supply chain that doesn't depend on the US. If this division continues to expand into other industries, it could have a significant impact on the global trading system. To ensure the international economy continues to move favorably in the future, attention must be paid to two fronts. The first is building economic relationships based on strengthening strategic relationships with specific countries and regions. The second is maintaining and strengthening the reality of a flat international economy. This includes adhering to WTO rules, and the importance of COP's efforts to address climate change. In advanced technology fields, partnerships will develop within specific countries and regions. Beyond simple trade, deeper integration through capital tie-ups, government-involved support measures, technical cooperation, and personnel exchanges will be essential. This will also be linked to free trade agreements and economic partnership agreements. Expanding these relationships with a wider range of countries, including Europe, Oceania, and India, is important. Industrial cooperation movements, which are occurring in the midst of geopolitical trends, should involve a wider range of countries to become a building block for globalization.





# Is the International Economic Order Collapsing?



**John Lipsky**  
Senior Fellow of the Foreign Policy Institute at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), former First Deputy Managing Director of the IMF



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



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

The global economic order is challenged by rising geopolitical tensions and trade protectionism that threaten to disrupt the existing international financial system and undercut sustained global growth. Urgent attention is needed to adopt a more cooperative and coherent multilateral approach to set macroeconomic and financial sector policies. The Bretton Woods system was designed to create a flexible, rules-based international monetary system, but the lack of a framework to govern cross-border capital transactions and systemic flaws contributed to the Global Financial Crisis. The international political arena is dominated by new geopolitical frictions, resulting in new trade restrictions and financial sector sanctions, which threaten economic growth and stability. Two systemic tests include making the G20 Common Framework successful in providing needed debt restructuring and making the G20's Framework for Strong, Sustainable, Balanced and Inclusive Growth more effective. The Financial Stability Board also needs to make new progress in capital market rule-making. The desire to expand global trade on a multilateral basis was the inspiration for strengthening the global payments system, but new trade protection and the proliferation of financial sanctions threaten to undermine the economic foundations of the rules-based system. Preserving and strengthening the system is imperative for the benefit of all.

I guess there is no consensus on the definition of international economic order, but it seems to me that there should be three components to it. First, it is international economic organization. Second, it is international economic law and regulation. Last, an international monetary system. I have a general judgment on the international economic order. It provided public good, played a positive role in building a base from which the world economy has steadily grown. At the same time, it has some shortcomings. Therefore, it is time for reform. First, for an international economic organization, I hope more power in decision-making to developing countries. Second, for international economic regulation and law, we should keep some of them and revise them throughout. Last, for the international monetary system, in the long-term a multiple reserve currency system is more likely. [...] How the international economic order evolves in the near future will depend on the results of two important factors. First, it will depend on the results of geopolitical evolutions. The second factor is whether emerging protectionism and anti-globalization will be effectively contained.

The question is whether the international economic order is collapsing. I will attempt to answer this again, and my answer is no. There are all reasons to be concerned at the moment. I think we all have things in mind, and they have already been analyzed by a number of participants. There is massive uncertainty, which I think is the dominant characteristic of the current moment, that we do not know a number of fundamental things even in the very short-term. What happened in China in the last few weeks was a reminder of that. There are some very basic premises on how we look at the world that we cannot be completely sure of and of course, climate change is a massive challenge, and we are losing a race against time in addressing it. I am not advocating complacency here. But we do not see a collapse of the order in sight. I think the international economic order is actually surprisingly resilient. The response in terms of economic international institutions has been forceful but proportionate to the extraordinary violation of norms we have seen. Let's talk quickly about what I mean by resilience. The WTO is still there and running even after the aggression of the Trump administration. To my mind, we had a very successful G20 summit in Bali, which kind of illustrates what I am talking about. The banking system has experienced great resilience, as we have seen with the shock of Covid-19 and the shock of the Ukraine war. The Basel Committee on Banking Supervision has been an extraordinary international success. Finally, we have even seen unprecedented, unfinished progress in an area that until now has been completely immune from that kind of collective cooperation, which is taxation, with the efforts of the OECD. Of course, the EU has been built on the rejection of economic nationalism, with coal and steel in the first place. It has faced an existential crisis, but it has overcome it, and it is now stronger than ever on many parameters. There is no reason to replace this system.





# The Future of Geopolitics and Business: Building Resilience and Adapting to a New Global Reality



CHAIR:  
**Nikolaus Lang**  
Global Leader for the Global Advantage practice, Managing Director and Senior Partner of Boston Consulting Group



**Abdullah Al Mazrui**  
Chairman of the United Arab Emirates Chambers of Commerce and Industry

When BCG talks to business leaders, they often ask what the current situation means for their business and how they should prepare for the future. We have developed four scenarios for the world in 2030. The first scenario, which we call "Back to the Future," refers to the world when institutions such as the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO were functioning smoothly, and free trade and democratic values were dominant. The second scenario, which we call "Limited Stalemate," anticipates a situation in which the war in Ukraine becomes a frozen conflict. China steers clear of it, and its continuation creates substantial economic instability for many years to come. The third scenario, which we call "The Tripolar Competition," is premised on the emergence of three blocs: one consisting of the Western countries, including the US, Europe, and potentially Japan; an Eastern bloc organized around China, with or without Russia; and a third bloc of countries, including India, several Middle Eastern nations, and much of Africa, playing a more non-aligned role—although we probably won't see a re-creation of the non-aligned movement founded in 1961. The fourth scenario, which we call "Global Escalation," would involve a war in Europe plus a war in the Indo-Pacific. What do these scenarios mean for the economy? When we move away from "Back to the Future" and toward any of the others, we see a degradation of the world's economic and political situation. Whether we focus on GDP growth, inflation, global growth, or the whole dimension of climate change, the farther we move away from our traditional scenario, the more pressure we will see on key economic impact factors that are highly relevant for the business leaders on our panel. In my view, there are six dimensions in which business leaders must act in the emerging world, embedding geopolitics in corporate decision making, supply chain resilience, investing in people and strategy, innovation, cybersecurity, and accelerating climate action.

Geopolitical changes have a significant impact on the world economic ecosystem, and recent events such as the war in Ukraine and the Covid-19 pandemic have led to global economic challenges. To minimize geopolitical tensions, businesses can increase their flexibility and resilience, develop practical methodologies for risk management, and adapt to the economic reality. The UAE has adopted a strategy of geopolitical flexibility, which has helped to limit the implications of the pandemic and create a model that can co-exist with the current situation. The government has also implemented digital transformation and amended rules and regulations to align with updated objectives and priorities. The UAE has excellent economic features, including a stable political landscape, flexible economic laws, and ease of doing business, which make it an attractive destination for world investment. The government has launched national strategies and new legislation to initiate and encourage manufacturing, such as Operation 3 billion, which aims to enhance the industrial sector's role in stimulating the national economy. Abu Dhabi has also launched a new industrial strategy with a 10 billion funding scheme across six transformational programs. The UAE Chambers offers support for business matchmaking and cooperation regionally and internationally.





# The Future of Geopolitics and Business: Building Resilience and Adapting to a New Global Reality



**Maurice Gourdault-Montagne**  
Former Ambassador, former Permanent Under Secretary  
of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs



**Helle Kristoffersen**  
President Strategy & Sustainability and member  
of the Executive Committee of TotalEnergies



**Sam Okwulehie**  
Chairman and CEO of LATC

We are in a time of war. Whether it will unfold into something tripolar or frozen forever, this period of war is sure to last for a while. Covid gave us the awareness of disruption of supply chains. There are blocs: the US-EU and some other countries, in fact OECD countries, which are the ones that support Ukraine and apply sanctions. Then China-Russia, a very odd couple against the Western model. The whole world looks at China and Russia, trying in a way to bypass the sanctions and, considering China as the platform for trade. "Multi-alignment" is the new behavior of countries which behave according to their own interests and India is a champion in that respect. The rest of the world is a swarm of middle-sized countries or smaller countries trying to survive because of inflation, security, grain, pesticides. Around 140 countries are following this pattern. The EU-US relationship is more and more complicated. The Inflation Reduction Act will counter efforts in the EU which will react. We must not kill free trade. Defense issues between the EU and the US are also there. NATO counts 23 countries out of 27 EU member countries, so where is the self-reliance of the EU in the future? China is taking the lead in BRICS, SCO and with the countries trying to bypass sanctions. New channels of trade are set up, that make many countries go off the Western countries. There are now compensation funds, rouble/rupee, or Turkish pound/rouble. A new issue is electronic currencies. Three major zones are rising: 1/ Asia with the RCEP (the Regional Cooperation Economic Prosperity Zone). There will be norms and standards coming out from that region. 2/ With the UAE, Gulf countries and Saudi Arabia. 3/ Africa. We must absolutely avoid bipolarization because most of the countries, this swarm of multi-aligned countries do not want to choose between the US and China and the world is reshaping itself.

In the recent reports on risks published by insurance companies and risk assessment specialists, we can notice that the top three risks identified across all regions are geopolitics, cybersecurity, and climate change. These three risks are inherently linked, and inaction on climate change will lead to geopolitical tensions, migrations, droughts, water conflicts, and more. TotalEnergies has prioritized climate and sustainability in its strategy, aiming to be a leader in the ongoing energy transition while continuing to meet the daily needs of people who still rely heavily on oil and gas. The company recognizes the importance of geopolitics in its operations because natural resources are where they are. Interestingly, the geopolitical risk is not always where one might think. Some investors think that TotalEnergies has invested too much in Africa and associate that with geopolitical risk. They are afraid of exposure to fiscal instability. But what we need to know is that the UK and Norway, not African countries, has the most fiscal instability. How does TotalEnergies manage risks as a global company? They focus on compliance with sanctions and other regulations, diversification of investments, preferring liquid markets, analyzing and monitoring supply chains, diversifying into renewable energy, preparing for crises, and maintaining financial strength. In conclusion, geopolitics is inherent in TotalEnergies business, but their teams also work on managing risks related to climate change and cybersecurity. They also note a potential new risk related to the return of government intervention in non-regulated markets and the erosion of trust in free markets. And the challenge today on energy is to reconcile the ongoing energy transition with security of energy supply and prices.

1/ Geopolitical/Trade Leadership in the C-Suite: more than ever, businesses need to embed geo-political considerations into decision-making at highest levels (c-suite) spearheaded by a competent subject-matter expert. Making the case for the "Chief Trade Officer". 2/ Speed to Action: geo-politics has proven to have almost immediate supply chain consequences and impact. Swift decision making is required to react or proactively respond to protect supply chain resilience. 3/ Localization: supply chain needs to be brought as much closer to home as possible. From raw materials sourcing to finding new markets for finished goods, proximity needs to be an essential consideration to help build supply chain resilience. 4/ Monolithic vs Polycentric Structures: global/multi-sector businesses that operate across geographies now need to consider decentralized structures that provide nimbleness and flexibility for speedy decision making and execution. The era of big global headquarters vs decentralized regional centers needs to be questioned in order to help build the required resilience to protect supply chains by reacting quicker to events closer to home. 5/ Digital Acceleration: adoption of technology has proven to help businesses remain agile and resilient to turbulences that could be brought about by geopolitical or other challenges like the covid pandemic. 6/ Sustainability: protection of our future via sustainable business practices is now undoubtedly important in our global ecosystem and could be the natural resilience build that global supply chains require today and tomorrow.





## Innovative Leaders: Climate Crisis and Circular Economy



CHAIR:  
**Lucia Sinapi-Thomas**  
Executive Director of CG



**Andrew Brown**  
Junior Environmental Policy Analyst at the OECD



**Yim Hyosung**  
Vice President of the Corporate Strategy Center  
of Hyosung Corporation

The climate warming limit translates into a need to drastically curb carbon emissions by the middle of the century and at this point, some would say that failing national commitments to make it happen, the next-zero by 2050 remains aspirational. As a matter of fact, adapting to climate change comes with a cost. Transitioning to cleaner energy, and we have seen that with solar panels or batteries, requires massive resources, minerals and metals, that are pretty scarce on earth. Increasingly, there is a perception that a change of paradigm is needed when it comes to the use of natural resources. On the positive side, we need to acknowledge that we are witnessing innovation at a historically high pace across all domains. This is thanks to new technologies but also to available new resources coming in particular from the venture capital and private equity industry, which has turned start-ups into a new source of innovation. That is not only in the digital space but also in more capital-intensive areas like deep tech and clean tech. The good news is also that the corporate world is now embracing the sustainability imperative not only from a reporting and compliance standpoint, but as a lever to rethink the entire value chain from industrial production, operations and business models, to supply chains, of course, with technology as an enabler. Hence, the question today is not if but how. How can we scale fast promising technologies that are today in their infancy, such as carbon capture and synthetic fuels, for example? How fast can we move the transition to clean energy, wind, solar and especially hydrogen? How can we do more with less, less leaks, less waste? How can circular economy contribute to decarbonisation and energy transition?

At the OECD we are taking a look at this interaction between the environment and economic systems. At the core of this interaction is this paradox that when we look at our economic systems we begin to see economies of scale, that with each additional input we see an improvement in our ability to produce. However, when we consider our natural resource use we see the exact opposite, diminishing marginal returns. The question becomes how these two relationships work with one another and how can we find a new economic system to break free from this paradox? [...] We think about what the possible solutions could be, and one area that the OECD is very interested in is circular economy. We break circular economy down into three particular parts. We think about efficiency, how we can use natural resources more efficiently and get more economic productivity out of a certain amount of resource use. How we can slow our resource use, meaning how we can use and keep products at the highest value possible for the longest period of time possible. Then we also want to close our economic systems, address the leakage of our products into the environment and the impacts that they have. [...] There is not necessarily going to be one silver bullet that solves the circular economy problem, so instead we are looking at a policy mix, where you can combine several policies to create the incentive such that the sustainable or environmentally friendly choice is the most obvious one.

Hyosung already provides a wide variety of recycled pre-consumer and post-consumer nylon and polyester products. Likewise, there are many recycled products out there in the market, but the problem is that there is not enough demand for these products because no one is willing to pay higher prices for them. In this sense, we have to pay more attention to increasing the demand for recycled products that are already out there. This is crucial if you actually want to get the circular economy going as fast as we would like. Hyosung also produces hydrogen as a by-product from making polypropylene, the raw material used to make thermal plastics. With the hydrogen generated for our dehydrogenation process, Hyosung recirculates it into the economy as a fuel for mobility. In a 50:50 joint venture with Linde of Germany, the hydrogen gas is liquefied and will be provided to hydrogen refueling stations that are being built nationwide for commercial vehicles by early 2024. Currently, hydrogen is an expensive fuel, but the basic rationale behind the economics is that green hydrogen prices will come down as equipment manufacturers make more electrolyzers to bring down the investment costs for hydrogen production facilities in line with increased demand for hydrogen. However, the demand for hydrogen is not growing as fast as we would like because subsidies provided by the government is not sufficient enough for customers and businesses to use and produce hydrogen. In this respect, government funding will definitely be the most important factor between now and 2030 and 2040 in generating hydrogen demand, until the price of hydrogen really becomes affordable for customers.





# Innovative Leaders: Climate Crisis and Circular Economy



**Bruno Langlois**  
Business Development and Partnerships Director at Carbios



**Livia Ribeiro de Souza**  
Co-Founder and Chief Technology Officer at Mimicrete Ltd.



**Florent Andrillon**  
Global Head of Sustainability Services at Capgemini Invent

What Carbios is doing is inspired by nature. If you look at nature, it does not generate waste, at the end of its life, all material is converted back to new raw materials and new life can be generated. Carbios has been looking at enzymes, a kind of proteins, which are capable of accelerating the degradation of materials. Inspired by nature, we have looked at biotechnology tools, which lead to the design of an enzyme that can break down polyester, which is one kind of the plastic being produced massively, about 80 million tons per year, with essentially one-third going into packaging and two-thirds used in the textile industry. This enzyme is capable of breaking down this polymer back to its two original constituents that we use today, and which are produced from oil to make virgin plastic. In a word, what we are doing is the capability to take our waste and to convert it back to raw materials, to reproduce a virgin polyester, one kind of plastic. [...] It is interesting to see that we have multiplied the quantity of waste by 12 in the last 50 years, when the population has been multiplied by less than three. We are obviously going in the wrong direction in terms of producing more and more at lower cost, making objects with lesser value that are quickly thrown away. For example, the average time we wear a textile is six times, I am not saying it is valid for every country it is just an average, and it shows we are going in the wrong direction in terms of waste generation. We are diverting these materials from incineration and landfill, to regenerate them and on the lifecycle analysis we see that we are reducing the CO2 emissions by around 45%, using no solvents and working at a low temperature.

If small cracks are formed contaminants can enter the concrete and corrosion can take place in the rebars. As a result, substantial amounts of money is spent on repair and maintenance and that is a problem because then, as we all know, cement is one of the fundamental materials used in the production of concrete and cement production produces around 7% to 8% of CO2 emissions during the calcination process. So at Cambridge, we have been investigating self-healing technology for cementitious materials, mimicking what happens in nature. We are doing it by embedding healing agents into the infrastructure, either in discrete elements such as capsule or in continuous systems like the vascular system, which delivers the healing agent. As a result, we can extend the service life of the infrastructure and decrease all the actions that could be associated with its repair and maintenance. [...] The results we see with this kind of technology are two-fold. On one side we can see the decrease in actions associated with repair and maintenance. On the other, if we go back to why rebars or steel are needed in concrete, by enhancing the capacity of concrete to heal itself and to close those cracks by itself, we can reduce the amount of steel used. [...] We need a departure from a standard, which can take from a couple of weeks to a couple of years. So, what we are doing at the moment is liaising with organs in the UK that are responsible for standardization of our products. However, our long-term vision is that the codes can be modified to account for this new technology. In a way, what I envisage is that in maybe 10 or 20 years you will see changes in the Euro code, which will set guidelines for using traditional concrete and for using self-healing cementitious materials.

The good news is that there are increasingly levers to go towards more circularity. The first one is the sustainability imperative, and we have had great examples of using circular, biomimicry and regenerative principles can reduce GHG emissions. However, for 50% of executives we asked, it is also seen as a source of cost reduction. There are also a lot of innovations to enable circularity, such as biotechnologies and synthetic biology is clearly one of them, as well as the convergence between the physical and digital worlds. A lot of the circular economy principles were just principles and were not easy to implement in the past beyond burning waste to produce heat or energy. Now, with the development of a lot of new technology and the fact that everything is connected, it is possible to develop circularity, for example, the emergence of platforms that make it possible to move towards a more sharing economy. That is, instead of selling cars, you sell access to cars, as we see with companies that are enabling car sharing, for example. As well as traceability, which has been seen as a major issue in enabling circularity, somebody mentioned a crypto currency, but the technology behind it can also be used for traceability and also to enable the reverse logistics principle, which is difficult today. That is being able to trace your products down to their usage point but also organize the new supply chain and get them back to be reassembled, refurbished and reused. Technology is clearly a lever and innovation that will help us accelerate the move to a circular economy.





# The Sahel and West Africa: Geopolitics and Geoeconomics



Romuald Wadagni  
Senior Minister in charge of Economy and Finance of Benin



Alain Tchiboza  
Chief Economist of the West African Development Bank (BOAD)



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

I think we are right to worry about what is happening in the Sahel. We will see that separating security and the economy makes no sense because everything is related. Over the 2010-2020 period, the Sahel countries launched a growth and poverty reduction process, although in different degrees. During that period, eight UEMOA countries grew by 7% or more for seven consecutive years. The region is extremely poor, with huge social and economic gaps between big cities and the countryside. These countries began a growth and poverty reduction process. In 2020, Covid hit, slowing down the momentum. The outbreak of global crises only made matters worse. Consider climate change, which we have been talking about for years. Conditions in the Sahel countries make the impact worse there. In the last three years, climate change and drought have sent Niger's agricultural output plummeting. Given their geographical location, these countries are bearing the full brunt of climate change. They are also extremely poor, and there is an enormous gap between the haves and the have-nots, which can fuel social tensions. The Libyan crisis triggered an overflow of terrorist attacks towards the Sahel and now the South. The Sahel countries now have to deal with terrorist groups on their soil. They seem to accumulate all the problems in the world: climate change, terrorism, lack of basic infrastructure, education, water, you name it, they have it because they are severely underdeveloped.

The context of the Sahel countries is complex and poses many constraints for their development. The two main constraints are their geographical isolation and low population density, which make it difficult and costly to build infrastructure to meet the needs of the population. Despite efforts to combat extreme poverty, these countries lag behind the African average, which itself lags behind other continents. As a development bank, the goal is to help with development and mitigate the effects of the crisis on the populations, but managing priorities is difficult due to the numerous needs that must be met. The most urgent challenges are food security, access to energy, and infrastructure development. The Development Bank must therefore mobilize financial resources for long periods at the lowest possible cost. Since the Ukraine crisis, interest rates have increased, but the Development Bank seeks to reassure lenders by showing its ability to absorb repayment defaults on its own funds. Winning this fight would maintain access to long-term, affordable resources for all countries in the region, especially those in the Sahel.





# The Sahel and West Africa: Geopolitics and Geoeconomics



**General Francis A. Béhanzin**  
Co-Founder and Chairman of the *Réseau mondial des professionnels de sécurité et de défense pour la prévention et la lutte contre le terrorisme*, former Commissioner Political Affairs, Peace and Security of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)



**Nshuti Manasseh**  
Minister of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation in charge of East African Community of Rwanda

At present, the geopolitical, geostrategic and security situation throughout West Africa and the Sahel is fraught and concerning. Of the 15 ECOWAS states that have enjoyed relatively good democratic governance since 1990, three West African countries (Mali, Guinea and Burkina) and one Central African country (Chad) have lapsed into military rule for various reasons allegedly related to insecurity and poor governance between 2020 and 2022. Additionally, numerous terrorist groups are present in the Sahel, including the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC), now AL Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), the Group for the Support of Islam and Muslims (JNIM), the Islamic State in the Greater Sahara (IS-GS), the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), Ansar Dine, Al Murabitounne and Boko Haram. Rebel groups are also present, in particular various Tuareg rebellions, the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA) in Mali, and rebellions in Niger, Chad, Sudan and Eritrea, etc. To remedy these multiple, multi-faceted and multi-dimensional socio-economic, political and security disturbances, ECOWAS, ECCAS and the AU have, among other things, adopted political measures to oversee military rule in these countries with a view to a return to the normal constitutional order. Similarly, numerous initiatives and strategies have been developed and planned in the field. Since the Sahel has long attracted interest because of its actual or potential resources or its geostrategic position (gold, uranium, bauxite, iron, phosphate, oil and ground-water rich in fresh water, etc.), some twenty proposed strategies have been implemented by bilateral and multilateral cooperation agencies. Each actor operates according to its own agenda, interests and methods of intervention based on their perception of the issues and challenges for development in the Sahel.

The Sahel region is currently a dangerous place due to violent extremism that has political, economic, and social implications. The lack of an integrated and coordinated security development approach further exacerbates the situation. Rwanda has been involved in addressing security threats for more than 14 years, driven by a commitment to help its neighbors and the belief that the absence of governance creates fertile ground for extremism. Service delivery and socioeconomic issues also contribute to the problem. The international community needs a collective and coordinated approach that does not rely solely on military means, as governance and socioeconomic issues need to be addressed. Rwanda's success in intervention stems from analyzing the problem and understanding its context, addressing root causes, and timely intervention. While bilateral engagements may be more effective than multilateral ones, a blend of the two is necessary. Understanding the political and historical context of the problem is critical, as interventions need to address root causes rather than just the consequences. Rwanda has contributed to interventions out of its own funds and calls for a coordinated, collective, and timely response to address the Sahel's security threats.





# The Rest of the World Facing the US-China Rivalry



CHAIR:  
**Douglas Paal**  
Distinguished Fellow at the Asia Program Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, former Senior Director of Asian Affairs and Special Assistant to the President in the US National Security Council



**John Andrews**  
Contributing Editor to *The Economist* and *Project Syndicate*

We are assuming that there is a US position and that it is pretty strong in opposition to China going into this discussion. This afternoon, the czar of American Indo Pacific in Washington, Kurt Campbell, made a presentation in which he said, 'We are returning to normal interstate relations', as a result of China effectively capitulating to American policy over the next year. We can talk about that and many other subjects over the course. [...] I would propose this is a good time if China wants to change its tactics. We are seeing, in various subtle ways, China pulling back on its aggressiveness in the South China Sea, the Senkaku Islands. They are not changing fundamental positions, but they are being less aggressive. Maybe that will be true on the Indian line of actual control as well, I do not know at this point. For me, it would be a great time for China to show some tactical flexibility. If Kevin McCarthy shows up in Taipei with a delegation, China says, 'What? Another Speaker of the House shows up? Who cares?'. Secondly, China can quietly begin to recommence communication with Taiwan's authorities – send some faxes with their former contacts who were in regular contact with the mainland before Tsai Ing-wen got elected as President. China could lower the temperature a lot during this crisis, to head off a crisis in the time ahead, if it wants to think creatively.

There is absolutely no doubt that the UK will do whatever the US wants. If you go back to the days of David Cameron, the idea then was a golden era of relations between the UK and China. That golden era is now long gone. Britain caved into American pressure over Huawei. There are only 20 countries in the UN who name the US as their number one trading partner. You take how many countries name China as their lead trading partner, it is at least 120. If push comes to shove, what choice will countries make? Of course, none of the countries want to have that choice – they want to avoid it. You have got the Chinese military base in Djibouti; you have got potential bases also and I think China now is developing something like 50 different ports in Africa. If you take the whole BRI initiative, the downside is that you get a sort of debt imperialism. Xi Jinping is maybe even now still in Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia has been a faithful American ally really since the foundation, 1932 – so, we are talking 90 years. Now, that is all up for grabs. The challenge will be over Taiwan. When I say 'we', I sort of mean the West here. We were lulled into complacency in the era of Deng Xiaoping; and that carried on with Jiang Zemin; and with Hu Jintao. With Xi, we do not really know how to treat him. I think that means that the possibility of miscalculation does exist. Remember that American military really is battle hardened. Therefore, if there were a war between China and the States, regardless of who is on what side, I suspect America would win. One lesson I think that Xi has taken from the Ukraine war is that the American military, and NATO in general – but especially the American military – is really very, very good. Chinese military does not have much battle experience, and what it has had has been pretty poor. For example, in Vietnam. [...] The measures that Trump brought in – basically a trade war – they are there and Biden has not taken away most of them, and now you have a 'chip choke'. Biden likes to think of this as democracies against authoritarian states – which I think is a pretty simplistic way of looking at it – but the problem with democracy is that they have very short term horizons.





# The Rest of the World Facing the US-China Rivalry



Jean-Pierre Cabestan

Senior Researcher Emeritus at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) attached to the French Research Institute on East Asia (IFRAE) of the National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilisations, Professor Emeritus at Hong Kong Baptist University



Renaud Girard

Senior Reporter and International Columnist at *Le Figaro*



Yuichi Hosoya

Professor of International Politics at Keio University in Tokyo

Another trend which has taken place for some years – even before these recent tensions in the Taiwan Strait – is the fact that the European Union itself has moved away from a kind of naïve and full engagement with China to a much more balanced China policy. We know the three pillars of this policy now – one is economic cooperation; the other one is economic competition; and the third one, which is something which shocked the Chinese when it appeared in 2019, is the idea that China and we are systemic rivals. What does it mean? It means that we do not share the same political values; we do not see the international order the same way; we do not abide by international law in the same manner, and in particular, for instance, as far as human rights or the law of the sea are concerned, and many other aspects of international law. China's growing power has brought together more than before Europeans and Americans on China. [...] I have done field works in a number of African countries and, clearly, the Africans do not want to choose between the US and China. However, one thing I will remind everyone that according to Afrobarometer surveys both China and the US are popular in Africa. In terms of favorable views, they are more or less at the same level – 60% of the Africans are favorable of China; but then also 58% of the Africans have a favorable view of the US, a much more positive view than their view of the former colonial powers. Clearly, they do not want to choose. Even today, I think most countries in the south, they think they can get away with this new so called Cold War between the US and China and remain neutral – and still benefit from cooperating with both sides.

Obviously, France does not want to be stuck in the middle of the rivalry between China and the United States, the collateral victim of some Thucydides trap. That is certain. Moreover, France realizes that it no longer carries enough demographic, economic, trade or military weight to be a major player in the great global game. Alone it does not have sufficient clout to influence the great global game because it is no longer a great power. On the other hand, France understands that its voice can be heard because of its history as the world's leading power until Waterloo. I think the French president, Emmanuel Macron, wants to be heard. He wants to be an honest broker in all the world's conflicts. [...] I think Macron is absolutely right about wanting to be an honest broker, a peacemaker. It is within France's reach because of its reputation and history, but I think he is going about it the wrong way. When you do not choose, you do not make anybody happy.

This is the Japanese perspective on the structural confrontation between the United States and China. As the world's third largest economy, Japan is considered a frontline state, vulnerable in the event of a war between the two great powers. However, Japan has close relationships with both countries and has developed two strategies to respond to this difficult question. The first strategy is to create the Quad, a collaboration among the four leading democracies in the Pacific (the United States, Japan, India, and Australia) to address China's rise. The second strategy is FOIP (Free and Open Indo-Pacific), a more inclusive strategy that connects subregions of the Indo-Pacific region, including Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, and East Africa. FOIP is an inclusive strategy that allows all countries in the region to join, including China and Russia. Japan seeks to invite the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) to join regional cooperation in order not to divide the region into two opposing camps. In addition, Japan is committed to promoting the norms and ideas of democracy, freedom, rule of law, and human rights, while seeking to present a more inclusive vision to embrace China. Therefore, Japan is in a position to promote regional cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region by combining these two strategies.





## The Rest of the World Facing the US-China Rivalry



**Lee Hye Min**

Senior Advisor of KIM & CHANG, former G20 Sherpa of Korea



**Samir Saran**

President of the Observer Research Foundation of New Delhi



**Wang Jisi**

President of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies at Peking University in Beijing, Peking University Boya Chair Professor

The intensifying and expanding tension between the US and China is a very serious issue to all of the world, but much more serious to Korea, because of history and geography. The international political order that Korea wants to pursue is non exclusive and we highly value cooperation with every country of the world, including China. Therefore, it would be difficult for Korea to join initiatives exclusively targeting China – though Korea shares the concerns of the United States of China's economic outreach, and its foreign policy. Korean companies are global players and we must note that Korean companies make their investment and business decisions rather independently from the policy of the Korean government. This means, even if the Korean government follows the US trend as an ally of the United States, business decisions may differ as long as they do not violate relevant laws and regulations. The consequence of China/US conflict leads to the increasing subsidy of the United States, European Union and Japan. It is a very serious concern to Korea. Those countries are increasing subsidies, especially in the field of electric vehicle batteries, and semiconductors. The reason is to correspond to the State Capital of China. However, it is distorting international trade order, definitely. Therefore, currently, WTO dispute settlement mechanism is totally paralyzed and we have no means of addressing those distorting international trade practices. Korean businessmen are fully aware that US/China conflict has a long way to go and is a constant factor for their decision making.

First of all, I think our engagement with China is for ourselves. We are locked in a Himalayan face off. We have close to about 100,000 troops, if you count both armies together, across the line of actual control. Therefore, the US does not have to motivate us to face off against China. China does that pretty well by itself. It is China that has motivated us to face off, in some sense, against it. I am not sure that US has the consensus inside it, so I do not think there is a US position that it is trying to preach in any case. I think you may find that the discord within the US may become louder. Even if we were to assume that the US has some great idea of carving the world into two camps, I think that is not new for India. We have faced that idea for a very long time and successive governments have pursued non alignment, strategic autonomy, multi alignment – choose the word you want – but, in many ways, it is not a new phenomenon. It is new for Europe, not for us. The Chinese themselves are trying to distort the character of Asia. The Chinese want a multipolar world, but a unipolar Asia – and that is what we are fighting against. [...] The lure of money, the lure of return, has made Europe incompetent and incapable of taking a unified position against China. If you think you are going to see a Russia style mobilization against China, we are all living in La La Land. Europe is the weak link for the US if it has to mobilize any sort of consortium against China. [...] I would argue that the idea that China would be this 100 feet gorilla is exaggerated. In fact, I would argue that we may already have seen them peak; and now what emerges, in the coming years, may see a very different, more vulnerable and more messy China. In that sense, maybe this whole idea of mobilizing the world to take on this great monster may itself be a futile project. We are happy taking on the dragon by ourselves and, of course, we seek partnerships as well.

Several topics are addressed here, such as the relations between China, Europe, and the United States, as well as the prospects for Taiwan. Europeans share a negative opinion of China regarding human rights, but Europe will maintain its strategic autonomy vis-à-vis China in economic and technological terms. In terms of ideology and geopolitics, the European Union and the United Kingdom will turn to the United States. President Xi recently participated in summits with Arab leaders, with the ambition of establishing a bi-univocal platform. With regard to Taiwan, it is unlikely that there will be massive military action or military takeover in the near future due to the Covid-19 pandemic and the struggling Chinese economy. However, there is the possibility that the United States will abandon their policy of "One China" and recognize Taiwan's independence, which could lead to more offensive military maneuvers by China and an uncontrollable conflict. It is also noted that the opposition party KMT has won more seats in the Taiwan Assembly, but even the KMT will not support reunification with the mainland.





# The Future of EU and European Security After the Ukraine War



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



**Peter Beyer**  
Member of the German Bundestag, former Coordinator  
of Transatlantic Cooperation of the Federal Government



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

The support for Ukraine in this war with regard to financial and military aid is very high in Germany. Actually, it is always wise for politicians to really listen and have all their senses open to the people they represent. We just do not deliver weapons into war zones and German people said we do not like weapons, we are more pacifists, but we think it would be the right thing to do. I think that the German people, the society understands much better what needs to be done, maybe with a gut feeling not just with intellectual reflection. Support is high but there is certainly that concern. We do not only have energy prices shooting through the roof and, I have to say, it is only just the beginning, next winter, by the end of next year, will be much more expensive. We have an inflation rate in double-digits, which is around 10% and many other things. Taken together, this is really a challenge for any government, be it on a Federal or more regional or local level, to hold the side together. However, they have the responsibility to communicate and explain to constituents why it is necessary. Of all the good reasons, it is not just about Ukraine, which would be cause enough to support it, but the Ukrainians are defending us here. [...] There is so much talk that the European Union is over, whether it has a future, etc. Why not give the good examples of the European Union? It is a guarantor of peace, stability, and prosperity in the so-called old continent, it is very successful, and it has proved to be in this very situation. We have to think about what comes after the war, what our idea and vision is for the next 30 or 50 years of the European Union. Our population is decreasing but we are also an economic powerhouse and there are a lot of opportunities and options, we just have to look around to reinforce old alliances and pursue paths of new alliances, be it in the Indo-Pacific, Latin America or elsewhere.

There are also two more operational goals that are important not only for Ukraine but also for the European and Atlantic communities, I would say the destabilization of the European Union and the paralysis of NATO. They were expressed just before the war began in Ukraine, in the famous ultimatum from President Putin to the West. If you ask about the Polish perspective, this is a war that is not only about the Ukrainian nation and statehood, but also the European Union and Atlantic community as a whole. That is why we are satisfied with three important new factors. The first one is the return of the United States to Europe, which President Biden mentioned during his campaign, and which he has done at least since June 2021, when he paid his first visit to Europe taking part in three summits, the G7 and NATO Summits, but also the European Council, and there are consequences from that. The second important consequence of this war is the political reintegration of the Alliance. After the beginning of the Russian war, NATO presented itself as an integrated entity. Third, it is the impressive reaction of the European Union. I have never seen before such speed and acceleration of the legislative process concerning external threats, mainly sanctions against Russia. In just two weeks from being started by the European Commission to the final decision of the European Union Council, the main acts were adopted, and a large amount of money was allocated from the European Peace Facility to support Ukraine, that is EUR 3.1 billion, just for military expenses. I did not mention the more than EUR 13 billion for macroeconomic aid and at least EUR 18 billion that has been designated for next year.





# The Future of EU and European Security After the Ukraine War



**Hubert Védrine**  
Founder of Hubert Védrine Conseil, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of France



**Zaki Laïdi**  
Personal Advisor to the High Representative and Vice President of the Commission EEAS



**Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj**  
Former President of Mongolia

The future of Europe is intertwined with the future of NATO. The immediate consequence of Putin's attack is that, at everybody's request, NATO has reabsorbed the entire European defense project. This means that, for some time, we will no longer have any political basis for "French-style" ideas on autonomy in European defense matters. On the other hand, it seems to me that Europe has an obligation to reach a consensus on technological matters to restore a certain degree of self-sufficiency and reduce excessive dependency, which the pandemic, the shut-off of Russian gas and the blockade of grain exports threw into high relief. However, this is not about defense nor security. Let us remember that the number one challenge for the United States is China. Europeans tend to forget this.[...] About the future, I think Westerners, and Europeans, will stand their ground, and therefore, Putin cannot win. However, I do not think the Americans will help the Ukrainians attack Crimea, although I may be wrong about that of course. I believe that after various twists and turns there will be a stalemate. Beyond immediate concerns, everything will depend on the balance of power on the ground, within NATO and in fine the position of the Americans, and therefore Biden, whose order of priorities is 1) domestic policy; 2) China; 3) European issues. They will neither let Putin win, nor allow the Ukrainians and Poles to drag them into a direct confrontation. For me, most of the questions are about what comes afterwards—various hypotheses—and the foreseeable and already visible cracks within the NATO alliance. Public opinion has been on the same page since the beginning: Putin cannot be allowed to win, but war with Russia must be averted. This may seem contradictory, but the opinion is the same across Europe. I do not think it will change. I am not especially worried today about the Europeans' resolve.

You need to read what Putin said and he wrote a very interesting piece in July 2021, which could actually have been written by other Russians, for example, Solzhenitsyn, though of course with much more talent. It means that the Ukrainian problem is not just the Putin problem, it would be a deep mistake to think that it is a Russian problem. What Putin said is extremely clear, he said that Ukraine should not exist because Russia, Ukraine and Belarus belong to the same ensemble, and they are the same nation. As you know, the Russians call the Ukrainians, the little Russians and the Belarus people, the White Russians. In his mind, they are part of the same nation because this is part of an Imperial vision of the Russian world. The question you could ask is why he waited until 2022 to wage this terrible war, which fortunately went miserably for the Russian army. The date, the chronology of the war, launched on February 24 and the day before the invasion, he declared that Russia would recognize and support militarily the two puppet governments of the East of Ukraine. I am amazed to see that nobody knows why he made this statement on February 23 and I will ask the audience here that question. Can you tell me why this declaration was made on February 23? It was the day Yanukovych left Ukraine, and the day after was the beginning of the democratic process. People often say they did not accept Ukrainian independence but ask why they waited until 2022. Here again, the explanation is quite simple. As long as the political trajectory of Ukraine was compatible with the nature of the Russian regime, it was possible for Russia to manage the situation as they do in Belarus. However, since 2014, the political trajectory of Ukraine has become very different and far from the Russian evolution and then the danger started, to which Russia answered with the annexation of Crimea and the launch of the famous green men in the East of Ukraine. That is why he launched this war.

There are also other connections between Mongolia and Ukraine, and there is only one country between us. Ukraine is a free, democratic, and independent country in Europe; Mongolia is a free, democratic, and independent country in Asia. As I said, there is one country between us, and it means that we share common interests. Also, the global implications mean that the frontline of the Ukrainian is much wider, it is the frontline between the free and totalitarian worlds, and it even goes across Africa and Asia, everywhere. If Ukraine loses, I think it will encourage the autocrats but if it wins, those autocrats will be discouraged. I think you know even from the latest news that President Xi Jinping is still distancing himself from Putin and trying to build more connections with Western countries. It means that Ukraine is fighting not only for Ukraine but also for the global faith of humanity and that is very important. Another important thing is that, since 1990, Mongolia has been the only democratic and fully functioning democracy between Russia and China. I think one of the reasons Putin started the invasion of Ukraine is because if Ukraine is free and prosperous, and in Europe, then I think it is going to be a bad example for Russia. I know that one day this war will end and one day we will see a more liberal Russia. If Russia becomes more liberal and more freedom-minded, if there are some democratic developments, I think Ukraine will have a greater impact from the European side, while Mongolia has a greater impact from the East, from the Asian side. Ukraine will liberate Russia from dictatorship from the European side, and Mongolia will liberate and have influence on Russia from the Asian side. It means that even though there are small countries, those examples of freedom are greater and, because of that, I think this Ukrainian war has big implications.





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



**Hiroyuki Akita**  
Commentator of *Nikkei*, Japan

The Indo-Pacific concept can be replaced by three categories of French painting. First is portrait painting, which is very clear, almost like a photograph. The second is impressionist painting like Renoir and Manet, which is a bit vague. Third, there is the pointillism of Georges Seurat, with dots on white canvas which lead to a very vague painting. Portrait, impressionism, and pointillism are the three different concepts, which can also be applied to the Indo-Pacific, and I support the impressionist concept best. So, what is a specific approach to the Indo-Pacific based on these three different kinds of concept? The first approach is a shared interests approach, almost like putting a dot on a canvas, like a Georges Seurat's. Under this approach, every country can cooperate with each other as long as there is a shared interest in terms of economic, political or security. The second is the impressionist approach that is shared norms, i.e., the rule of law, freedom of navigation under the UNCLOS. The third approach is the shared values approach. Under this approach, likeminded countries that can share the value of democracy will cooperate to promote common values. Among these, the best approach is sharing norms. The shared interests approach is very comfortable, but it does not create any regional order. The shared value approach is good, but cannot incorporate many countries. Under the shared norms approach, more like-minded countries can cooperate, as long as they agree with freedom of navigation, the rule of law, transparency of infrastructure projects, etc.

## The Relevance of “Indo-Pacific” as a Geostrategic Concept



**Mayankote Kelath Narayanan**  
Executive Chairman of CyQureX Systems Pvt. Ltd., former Senior Advisor and National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister of India (Manmohan Singh)

The importance of the Indo-Pacific is defined as a zone of strategic conflicts, mainly due to China's rapid military expansion in the region. China is using artificial intelligence systems and relying on a "matrix of escalation and domination" to strengthen its position, which worries countries in the region, including India. Although India has always been reluctant to join alliances, it has recently joined the QUAD. India's military exercises have also included Australia and Japan. The US, Australia, and the UK have also established an independent defense pact in the Pacific (AUKUS), which aims to counter China's military ambitions in the region. India also considers the issue of Taiwan to be of strategic importance for all nations in the Indo-Pacific, due to its close relationship with Taiwan and repeated threats of an armed invasion of the island by China. However, caution must be exercised in exchanges with China and the message delivered at the 20th Party Congress in China must be carefully studied. Although the most widespread interpretation is that China is launching into a more expansionist race, the direction that Xi Jinping wanted to express during the congress concerned much less the external aspects of China than its internal organization. According to this analysis, internal consolidation is the first task of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) today, which requires the Party to continue to strengthen itself. In conclusion, the current situation in which China finds itself has so far prevented its leaders from launching a war or aggression, although there are absolute limits not to be crossed concerning Taiwan and the first island chain. The relevance of the Indo-Pacific as a geostrategic concept makes sense in light of the Congress's statements, but it is important to remain cautious in exchanges with China.



**Douglas Paal**  
Distinguished Fellow at the Asia Program Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, former Senior Director of Asian Affairs and Special Assistant to the President in the US National Security Council

Today, we face three kind of large contradictions in American policy towards the Indo-Pacific. The first is economics versus security. The Asian-Pacific or Indo-Pacific countries have economic priorities that are not looking for strategic or security conflicts. The second is the Americans were oscillating between the two before 2010. Since 2010, the rise of Chinese military power and comprehensive capabilities, has started to shift the US focus from the economic, where the US is no longer the market of greatest relevance to partners in East Asia Pacific, to focus more on the security side. We are also seeing a contradiction in the region with the US over coalitions versus fragmentation. With the current Biden administration, people will talk about the building of the QUAD, the reinforcement of the G7, the continued reduced role of the G20, as well as coalitions of countries who are resistant to what they see as Chinese aggression in the Asia-Pacific region and want to form informal arrangements to resist further Chinese encroachments. This contradiction can be seen in this coalition. We are talking about the Indo-Pacific, so we have got India at one end and the US at the other end of the Pacific. However, the three big coalitions economically in the region are the ARCEP, the Comprehensive Partnership for Pacific Trade and the Digital Economic Framework, of which neither India nor the United States is a member. The coalition is going on with their own dramatic developments and yet, we are outside them. Finally, we have an increasingly legalistic, regulatory securitized approach of the US to transactions between Indo-Pacific countries and China. I think the outlook is for far more intervention by the US into trade, investment and technology relationships as we go forward. I think the contradictions and the challenges of the Indo-Pacific stand foremost in the prospect that I see for the next few years in the region.



**Yim Sung-joon**  
Senior Advisor at Lee International IP & Law Group, former Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, former National Security Advisor to President Kim Dae-jung

The United States has attempted to persuade South Korea to join the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) framework for the past five years, but the country has refrained from making any official commitment. Despite being geographically located in the Indo-Pacific region and possessing significant influence as a strong democracy, a steadfast ally of the US, and the third-largest economy in East Asia, South Korea has been hesitant to join due to domestic politics and strategic foreign policy constraints. However, the country has now announced the formal development of its Indo-Pacific strategy by the end of this year, which was highly anticipated. President Yoon outlined some key elements of the strategy, including the reinforcement of the rules-based international order based on universal values, with a view to creating a free, peaceful, and prosperous Indo-Pacific region through solidarity and cooperation with ASEAN and other major nations. South Korea's hesitation in joining the US-led initiative was mainly due to its concerns regarding North Korea's nuclear issue and its preoccupation with inter-Korean affairs. Furthermore, supporting the FOIP would have complicated South Korea's relations with China, its largest trading partner and a significant player in the inter-Korean relationship. President Moon's administration launched the "New Southern Policy," which overlapped with the Indo-Pacific region, and succeeded in securing autonomy and non-military engagement with the FOIP. However, with the arrival of the Biden administration, South Korea's stance on the Indo-Pacific began to shift. It participated in its first QUAD plus meeting in March 2020 and supported the US FOIP framework during the Washington summit between President Moon and President Biden in May 2021, endorsing the core elements of President Biden's Indo-Pacific strategy.





# Space Governance: The Implications of Globalized Access to Space Technologies



CHAIR:  
**Patrick Nicolet**  
Founder and Managing Partner of Linebreak Ltd., former  
Group Chief Technology Officer of Capgemini



**Amer Al Ghafri**  
Senior Director of the Space Engineering Department  
at the Mohamed bin Rashid Space Center in Dubai

I was honored to moderate this session entitled Space Governance: The Implications of Globalized Access to Space Technologies at the 15<sup>th</sup> Edition of the World Policy Conference, as it once again highlighted the dire need for the international community to gather, discuss, debate, and shed light on such pressing matters. The main takeaway from our panel of experts is that the path to perennial space governance ought to be holistic, collaborative, and practical. The pace at which space technologies are advancing is unprecedented in the history of spacefaring, and the democratized access to such technologies implies that not only a handful of prominent actors are involved and competing, but that corporations, civil society and a plethora of new nations are now in the race too. Space technologies have much to offer in ensuring the welfare, safety, and prosperity of mankind, as recently witnessed in the Russian-Ukrainian arm conflict, or in natural disasters rescue and relief, to name a few. However, as it is well-known, for every action, there is an equal and opposite reaction. Newton's Third Law of Motion is not confined to the realms of physics – it is universally applicable. These new technologies and their applications hold wonderful promises, just as much as they pose severe and substantial threats. Cybersecurity issues, weaponization of resources, militarization of space are just some of the concerns that must be anticipated and addressed with the utmost importance. Avoiding dealing with those realities now would not only lead to conflicts in space, but it would also have terrible repercussions on Earth.

The UAE looks at space as an important and critical sector driving the bigger goal, which is science and technology here in the UAE. We started with earth observation satellites, moved into space exploration missions, then an astronaut program and now we have robotics systems that will go to the Moon. Then we added another element to our strategy, which is economy, so we must have economic growth linked to space projects and space activities. Typically, we would buy from other international partners, but we are trying to make sure that a local private sector is involved and investing in our projects, as well as making sure that the economic growth of the space sector will shift from fully dependent on government funding and backing towards self-dependent with the involvement of the private sector providing solutions that can find a partnership with the government. Key focus on the capabilities to build the human capacity, engineering and science skills, this is the focus we wanted to make sure is implemented.

One of the main pillars of our strategies we also try to ensure that international cooperation is key. We are not doing that just because we want partnerships. First, we do not want to reinvent the wheel, so we can benefit from whatever has already been achieved by others. Second, sometimes international cooperation is essential for successful space programs globally, and we want to emphasize that. Whatever we do, we do it in a very transparent and clear manner. For example, in the UAE we have a very clear project for space focused on the military and military applications, which is what our armed forces have done on previous projects. We also have a very clear, transparent civil program, in which MBRSC and many other entities are involved. We have a very clear commercial space sector, where Yahsat and many other players are also involved.





# Space Governance: The Implications of Globalized Access to Space Technologies



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



**Daniel Andler**  
Professor Emeritus at Sorbonne University, member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, Philosopher



**Meir Sheetrit**  
Former member of the Israeli Knesset, former Minister of Intelligence Affairs and the Committee of Atomic Energy, former Minister of the Interior

Today, space 2.0 is all about the democratization and everyone is now a participant in space activities, including the UAE, and I think the UAE is now playing a very important role as a hub of international cooperation. The second is the commercialization, and we have a lot of commercial activities on this panel. The third aspect is the militarization, with space now being used for military purposes and commercial services like Starlink also being used for military services. On the other hand, that is creating the fourth point, which is the vulnerability of these space assets. I think it is very important to have some sort of a rule of law for space today and to make sure we do have some sort of governance because space is very unique, there are no borders or area denial, everything is moving. The only law defining space activities is the law of physics and nothing is working in a way that terrestrial rules can be applied. Therefore, how do we govern this space with this increasing number of actors due to the democratization commercialization and the much more complex use of space for a variety of purposes? What we need to do is to build up the norms to govern the global commons and there have been some attempts to do this. These norm building exercises are now very important, but it is gradually sharing the understanding that space is a global common, so that even the conflicting actors need to control space and control their behavior. What is interesting in the case of the war in Ukraine is that even though Russia has the capability to disrupt and destroy the commercial and US satellites that provide services for Ukraine, Russia has not really done that. This new technology is creating a situation where shooting down or disrupting satellite services is no longer possible. Because a satellite belongs to certain countries, an attack against a satellite can therefore be claimed to be an act of war which means they can then exercise self-defense. Based on this new technology, the constellation and risk evasions, as well as deterrents, we can build up the norm discussions in the open-ended working group under the United Nations.

Half a century ago, the UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space produced the Five Treatises, from 1967 (Outer Space Treaty) to 1979 (Moon Agreement). They were supposed to shield us from the potential threats stemming from human activity in outer space. Yet consider some of the issues we are facing today: 1/ How to administer the Lower Earth Orbit, with the problem of debris and the competition for satellite orbits; 2/ How to regulate the military and security systems located in space, in the absence of a recognized jus bello in outer space. 3/ What legitimacy, if any, to grant to outer space tourism. 4/ What legal framework, regarding ownership, jurisdiction, protection of the environment, to impose on mining for metals and water and construction on the Moon, on Mars, on neighboring asteroids. 5/ What sense, if any, to make of the project of terraforming Mars and of the even more distant prospect of travel to distant planets, given the burden on the travelers and the colons. While an update of the Five Treaties and international cooperation on such problems as debris and orbit management might help, a much more resolute ethical deliberation is required, one which involves all stakeholders, one in which all relevant factors, including the uncertainties and risks, are taken in due consideration; a deliberation which takes no demand for granted—not even funding all and any research on outer space projects, and seeks a balance between competing interests and worldviews.

A new invention from an Israeli company aims to clean up space. With an investment of between USD 100 million and USD 200 million, the first idea was to send a satellite that would push the parts away into deep space. Then they had a better idea to build a satellite that will move close to every satellite that has stopped working and recharge it so that it can work for many more years without just being space junk. Therefore, if we can reduce the weight of satellites, we can save a lot of money. Private companies have started to develop much cheaper launch systems by doing something very special, using the fact that we can reduce the weight of the satellite just for example, by reducing the weight of screws. Screws seem like nothing, but if we can save a gram off every screw by making it hollow rather than solid metal, there are 100,000 thousand screws in a satellite, so it saves around 100 kilograms in weight, which if you multiply by USD 100,000, means we are saving a lot of money. These suits were developed by a private Israeli company. This is important because the flight from Earth to the Moon does not take a long time and therefore the radiation effect will not kill people. However, according to the Orion mission, going from the Moon to Mars would take more than a year and the radiation over that time would kill the astronauts. For example, we are developing the Aero missiles, 1, 2, 3 and 4, which, as a matter of fact, are capable of flying at unbelievable speeds outside the atmosphere to intercept any missile launched against Israel. Today, we need to intercept them with the Iron Dome, but each missile costs something like USD 100,000, so we need millions of dollars to protect ourselves and we intercept 95% of them. With the laser beam we can intercept them all at almost no cost because it is just a ray of light and it does not matter how many missiles are launched against you, you can intercept them all. In my opinion, it could be possible to put that sort of missile in the sky to protect us from space against enemy missiles.





# Space Governance: The Implications of Globalized Access to Space Technologies



Patrick Trinkler  
Founder and CEO of CYSEC



Geoffrey Bouquot  
CTO and Group Vice President Strategy & External Relations at Valeo, former Technical Advisor for Industrial Affairs in the Cabinet of the French Minister of Defense



François Barrault  
Founder and Chairman of FDB Partners, Chairman of IDATE DigiWorld

I will start by presenting space as a 3.0 evolution not 2.0. From my point of view, it is really the finalization of the digitalization of the world, to give access to the Internet to two to three billion people, to be able to connect a billion IoT devices in the world. That is really the role space will have in the future and will not really follow the law of physics but follow the laws of information theory. Space will be the connection between the Cloud and intelligent devices, the connection between the Cloud and the Edge. There are two major use cases in the commercial space, the first is communications and the second, Earth observation. Communication is 80% to 90% of an incredible market that is increasing by 20% a year and in this case there are different players. There are the traditional ones that use GEO orbit, and they are under pressure from new players in the LEO orbit, like Starlink. In order to compete, they will integrate new technologies like communicating via optical connections rather than electromagnetic connections. This means there is no longer any latency or connection problems, and you do not need to ask a country before installing an antenna because you have the frequency of the country, which is a big evolution. However, only a few countries will have access to this kind of technology and to providing connections all over the world. That is why there are some analogies with implementation of 5G with a player like Huawei that has this kind of technology and some risk of data sovereignty issues. There will be the same analogy around 5G and the access to this kind of technology.

If I were to summarize a few technical hurdles that I see very concretely right now. The first, is the standards because you cannot develop this area if you do not have a global governance that makes sure that this technology developed by Tesla is also available when it is developed by another car manufacturer. Here, we can see that in the 3GPP systems and governance by 2030, we hope that 6G will offer the first applications of the next release of the norms and standards, making it possible for such applications between cellular and satellite applications. The second area is cost efficiency which, if you want to scale and make sure those chips are available for the automotive industry, you have to think in terms of volume. This is also why I drew the parallel with the smartphone industry because we actually use the same, which I think is positive in the sense that we will get the volume effect from the chipsets for the smartphone industry, in order to embed them in the car industry. Last but not least, as has already been mentioned, there is the cyber issue. Those devices that are designed from a commercial and civil perspective are or could be very interesting threats. When you take control of an automated fleet it becomes a very interesting weapon. That is why the blurred frontiers between the civilian and the military activities is very important when it comes to IoT devices and I think that is where we are all heading with the ownership of constellations by some private companies raising the problems you already mentioned. Therefore, independence of technology is still the new frontier, even in space.

I remember coming to Dubai in 1995-1996 and building the first Internet network as well as the first public access to wi-fi. When the Burj Al Arab was built, we installed the first modem because the room was so big, the value proposition was to be able to go from one room to another with your PC. I am very pleased to see the huge development in the Emirates, and Dubai and Abu Dhabi. For those who like me have grey hair, we grew up with Moore's law – where the power of computers doubled every 18 months – when you look at the chips, IoT, Edge computing in cars and space – and you were talking about the weight, Patrick – or smartphones, we are now talking about multiplying by 10 to 1 million within the next eight years, which is a total revolution. When I look at what Thierry de Montbrial wrote, '15 years of a reasonably open world', my personal mission in life is to get everybody connected because I consider that when you connect everybody 7/24 ubiquitously, then the equal access to connectivity is very important. I speak about digital energy like food, gas, electricity, all the things that bring life. For me, it is very important and as I said, my mission in life, which I am repeating because it gives me energy from morning to night, is to help and contribute to distributing the signals to everybody. To conclude, I think satellites present fantastic opportunities because we have moved from defense and survey, to now giving everybody access. The solution will be a kind of hybrid between fiber, 4G and 5G and access to satellite and maybe, I will achieve my dream of having everybody in the world connected like water, food and electricity.





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



**Dmytro Kuleba**  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

One important reason why Ukraine has not only withstood Russia's full scale attack but is actually gradually winning this war is that we have never relied on weather, on the season of the year. Be it winter, spring, summer, autumn, we keep fighting because we are defending our land and the stakes are very high for us and nothing can stop us. Nothing can stop our brave Ukrainian soldiers and our brave people of Ukraine, who suffer enormously from regular Russian missile attacks on critical infrastructure, depriving us of electricity, water and heating. [...] Frankly, I do not care how Putin ends. It is up to the people of Russia to decide. I care for Ukraine, and we are not asking for anything more than what belongs to us by history and by law, and that is our borders. For us, therefore, winning the war is fully restoring the territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders, which in practice means going back to the status quo that existed before February 2014, when Russia began its war against Ukraine by illegally annexing Crimea. This is the non-negotiable part of the victory. This is something that must happen unconditionally. Then there is a broader issue of the strategic victory, not only of Ukraine, but also of the entire international community, because what is at stake in Ukraine relates to all, to the entire world. The world cannot exist if countries can get away with violating international borders, committing mass atrocities, if these countries do not play by the rules. [...] There are different estimations based on the military capacity and the economic capacity of both sides, the impact of sanctions, the impact of Russian revenues from trading oil and gas, on the economic stability in Russia. There are many, many, many calculations and estimations, but I do not think any of them will be correct in the end because there is also a black swan element that has to be taken into account. Not everything can be forecast mathematically. This is not how war works. What I learned in these 10 months of war is that war is a combination of mathematics and philosophy.



# Eastern Europe, South Caucasus and Central Asia Facing the Ukraine War



CHAIR:

**Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean**

Research Fellow and Director of the Russia/NIS Center of Ifri


**Roman Vassilenko**

Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan


**Olga Rosca**

Chief of staff of the Deputy Prime-Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of Moldova


**Lasha Darsalia**

First Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Georgia

Ukraine is the first victim of Russian aggression, but other neighboring countries are also suffering from shocks at different levels, from flood of migrants from Russia to Moscow's energy pressures. All neighboring countries have vulnerabilities toward Russia. For example, a large part of Kazakhstan's gas passes by Caspian Pipeline Consortium, CPC, through Russian territory. There are unresolved conflicts in Transnistria in Moldova, in Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Georgia and there are many Russian speakers in the north of Kazakhstan. At the same time, three decades after the fall of the Soviet Union, these countries are showing more and more divergent paths of development and the will of emancipation. It is really difficult today to speak about "post-soviet" space because new generations have any idea what the Soviet Union was. The attitude of these countries to the Soviet history and its influence on the national identity is very different: two extreme examples today are, on the one hand, Russia, where many people are nostalgic for the Soviet Union and where Stalin is the most popular historical figure, and, on the other hand, Ukraine, which started decommunization, dismantled monuments to Lenin and commemorates the memory of Holodomor, the forced starvation under Stalin.

The impact of this war, this very tragic war, has been quite strong on Kazakhstan as well. You mentioned several areas where our economy and our society have been impacted, and this includes the disruption of the traditional technological and transport and logistics chains, the enormously higher inflation of almost 20% already this year or the influx of about 100,000 Russian citizens into Kazakhstan, which also had an impact on our labor market. However, the way we want to approach this and the way we do approach this situation is by focusing on three points. One is building up stronger political institutions. We had our own share of upheaval in the beginning of this year, which prompted our president to go into overdrive in terms of introducing political reforms. One area, therefore, is strengthening our political institutions and the mandate for the president and generally building up a more competitive political system, which we think will strengthen the country going forward. The second area of focus is a stronger economy which is more diversified, away from the dependence on hydrocarbons, which are still, unfortunately, 30 years after the beginning of independent development, the major driving force of our economy; and building a more diversified and robust system of international transportation routes that do not rely solely on one route, however beneficial, direct and quick it used to be, namely the northern route via Russia, which has seen its own share of disruptions and a 40% reduction in goods transported along this route this year alone. That is why, along with the EU, we are developing the middle corridor. That will be the project of the next decade as we build connections to Europe across the Caspian Sea and across the South Caucasus, including Azerbaijan and Georgia and then Turkey. The third answer I think is to build stronger international institutions. We are just as committed as we used to be to the multilateralism and the institutions that we have been building in our region and globally.

Russia's war against Ukraine affects Moldova dramatically. Nothing compares to the suffering that Ukraine is going through, but in Moldova the war on our doorstep affects every single person. On two occasions already fragments of missiles landed on our territory. Russian missiles violated our airspace. When Russia is bombing Ukraine's vital infrastructure, we experience blackouts. On one occasion the entire country was launched into darkness. Energy is being weaponized as part of a hybrid war. Russia's Gazprom has halved natural gas supplies to Moldova. That has also jeopardized our access to traditional sources of electricity supplies. That forced us to go into the EU market and source both electricity and gas at European prices, something that is completely prohibitive for our state budget and for our population. In the past 12 months, the gas price has increased seven times and electricity four times. We are obviously looking for some social schemes to cushion the impact of rising prices on the population, but in addition to that prices on absolutely everything have skyrocketed, including because of the blockade of Odessa, which has disrupted all of our supply chains. Our farmers have also lost access to markets. What we are doing is we are building resilience across the three sets of challenges. On security, we are modernizing our defenses, working with partners. On energy, we are investing in our energy security. We are building electricity connections with the European Union. We are sourcing gas from elsewhere. Now reverse flow is accessible. The pipeline with Romania has been operational and in use for a while. Then of course on the economic side we are looking at staged access to the EU's single market, further liberalization, so that we can demonstrate to citizens that European integration works, and it works now, and they can start benefitting from it already now, before the full accession.

First of all, I want to talk about the Ukrainian refugees and then from other countries. I just want to say that Georgia is strongly supporting Ukraine generally, but one of the dimensions of that is the help being given by the government of Georgia to the Ukrainian refugees who are in Georgia. It is several tens of thousands, which is actually a small amount, and there are different programs to support them, including not only physically supporting them, but, for example, several Georgian schools are operating in Ukrainian now for the children who are from Ukraine. However, the major thing I want to say is that a lot of Ukrainians, especially in the beginning of the war, who were in Russia and who could not go back to Ukraine came to Georgia, and we are of course continuing this support. Regarding the people from Russia or other countries, there are several things which are important to mention. First of all, it is important to understand that citizens of Russia are one thing, but we have to divide them into different groups. You know that Russia has a significant Georgian Diaspora. It is around 800,000 according to the different figures, and yet Georgia is just, for comparison, 3.7 million. We are talking about the people who lived in the 1990s. I am not talking about these traditional Diasporas from the different centuries. A lot of them who are coming are, therefore, ethnic Georgians, who still have links to Georgia. This is one group. The other group is basically people who are coming from the other neighboring countries of Georgia, so ethnic Armenians, ethnic Azerbaijanis and so on. There is a significant part who are fleeing the regime on the ground and there are others who are using Georgia for transit. Two thirds of the people who have come into Georgia leave within two or three weeks. We understand that this can present some risk, but at this moment it was more important to have a discussion on how Georgia had to deal with this issue.





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INTERVIEWER:  
**Mina Al-Oraibi**  
Editor-in-Chief  
of *The National*



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

Over fifty years of national policies have guided our economic diversification trajectory and global energy leadership. People questioned why one of the world's largest oil and gas-producing nations was placing clean energy and sustainability at the heart of economic plans. Still, we knew the importance and opportunity from acting early, which laid the ground for Mubadala to establish Masdar sixteen years ago. Today, the UAE is home to three of the world's largest and lowest-cost solar plants. Almost 25% of our power needs are met through clean energy, and we have clean energy projects spanning 70 countries.







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



**Anwar Gargash**  
Diplomatic Advisor to the President of the United Arab Emirates

I think it is very reductionist and very simplistic to say the UAE is neutral on Ukraine. The UAE is not neutral on Ukraine. The UAE is affected by the crisis in Ukraine and is trying to find the right balance between our principles and the necessity for a political solution and an end to the Ukraine war. Therefore, if you take our principles, where we are, our size, our region, it tells you that the use of force in international conflict is something that really worries us a lot. I think the region here today is more concerned about four or five specific threats. Terrorism as we keep our eyes open on Afghanistan and other places, including even on Yemen because that remains a major threat. Cyber because, our societies become more modernized. Drones and missiles. Saudi Arabia has been targeted by more than 1,000 missiles and drones, mostly of Iranian origin used by the Houthis. However, sadly, this issue has not really been catapulted into being a major issue until these weapons, have gone into the Ukraine theatre. Then suddenly the world has rediscovered this issue, while we have seen this as a major threat in the other periods. Security of the sea lanes, whether it is for energy or whether it is for commerce and trade. We are a country that has always had a western, and specifically an American, overall cooperation in how it sees the security, not only of the UAE, but the region. Is that going to be assured for the next 30 years? Is it there? Is it going to be explicit? If it is there and it is explicit then this is a major cornerstone for the next 30 years, but if it is not there and it is not explicit, it means a lot of countries in the region will have to adapt.





CHAIR:  
**Friedbert Pflüger**  
Director of the European Cluster for Climate, Energy and Resource Security (EUCERS) at the University of Bonn, Founding Partner of Strategic Minds Company GmbH



**Philippe Chalmin**  
Founder of Cercle Cyclope, Professor at Paris-Dauphine University, Consultant for various International Organisations (OECD, EEC, UNCTAD)

Critical raw materials are essential for economic development and technological advancement. In ancient times, tin was a critical raw material used in the production of bronze and arms. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, tin was still critical due to its use in manufacturing tin plates for food containers. Tin lost its demand in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century but is now back in demand for electronic soldering in the chip industry. Today, critical raw materials include lithium, cobalt, graphite, nickel, rare earths, and platinum. These materials are essential for batteries, wind technologies, and hydrogen. However, the shift towards energy transition was made without considering the purchase planning, leading to China being the major producer of 80% of solar panels and batteries. The demand for lithium, graphite, cobalt, and nickel in cathodes for batteries is expected to increase by 490%, 554%, 172%, and 96% respectively by 2030. Copper is also in high demand for electricity transmission. However, mining these materials is a challenge due to the dependency on certain areas, such as the 'triangle of lithium' in Argentina, Bolivia, and Chile, and the 'Democratic' Republic of Congo, which produces 60% of cobalt. The challenge is not in the reserves, but in the mining process, which requires significant investment. The world needs around USD 160 billion in mining investment each year, but in 2020, only USD 80 billion was invested. Additionally, opening a mine is difficult in many countries due to environmental concerns. For example, Serbia has the largest lithium reserves in Europe, but it is difficult to open a mine due to green hurdles. In conclusion, critical raw materials are essential for technological advancement, and the demand for them is expected to increase significantly in the coming years. However, mining these materials is a challenge due to dependency on certain areas and the difficulty in opening mines. Investment is needed to meet the demand, but environmental concerns make opening mines difficult in many countries.

# Critical Raw Materials – How to Secure the Crucial Resources for our Industries?



**Jonathan Cordero**  
Head of Corporate Development at Eurasian Resources Group

We are on the verge of a decade-long super-cycle and despite some recent setbacks this year and some disruptions, the fundamentals have never been stronger. Yet, our industry suffers from a variety of challenges ahead of us, depleting resources, deteriorating grades, the existing mines will eventually come to a halt, a going concern does not exist in our industry. The capital markets are failing to provide junior miners with sufficient capital to take entrepreneurial risks and go to untapped territories to make the discoveries needed. The increased focus from investors on ESG standards means that funds are not being directed towards the mines that need to be developed in countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo. Unless investors face up to the fact that the materials needed will not come from G7 countries, the important mines that need to be developed will continue to be disregarded and will not come online, which puts all our plans and great missions at risk. We also face logistical bottlenecks, that are exacerbated by geopolitical tensions. Our industry also struggles to attract young talent against the competition of shiny tech companies, space discovery or the financial sector. Personally, I cannot think of any industry that is more purpose driven and making an impact on the world and I think we need to improve here a lot. Our industry is not very good at adapting new technologies and innovating quickly enough. We are behind the curve and notoriously risk adverse. Last but not least, we can still learn a lot about marketing ourselves. Most people do not realize that in most operations we are the only employer, we take responsibility for the people in our countries in the host communities. We are the ones who built the roads and brought in the electricity and water supplies, the schools and hospitals, and often stadiums. Let us make mining sexy again.



**Ingvil Smines Tybring-Gjedde**  
Non-Executive Director at Norge Mining, former State Secretary for the Ministry of Petroleum and Energy of Norway

The solution seems obvious, in the short-term coal-fired power plants are reopened and the life of nuclear power plants is extended and in the longer-term, wind, solar plants and battery factories will become even more important. The paradox arises that Europe will go from a fossil to a renewable energy system, with the risk that this new energy system will be much more dependent on China and Russia than the current system. That is because of minerals, a renewable energy system is highly dependent on minerals described by the EU as critical and without which the European economy will come to an abrupt halt. The green shift increases this sort of dependency and, a wind power plant needs nine times more minerals than an equivalent gas-fired powerplant and an electric car needs six times more than a car using fossil fuels. These minerals are hardly mined in Europe. Both Russia and China are major exporters and the crisis created by the invasion of Ukraine is well-known. I hope it will not happen, but in the event of a conflict with China, Chinese exports of CRMs will become a powerful weapon. The continent could be plunged into a crisis that turns the current energy crisis into a pale shadow. The struggle for access to minerals is also international, foreign and security policy and it is a conflict the West is not well-prepared for. The West is even more dependent on Russian and Chinese minerals than on Russian and Chinese energy.



**Peter Handley**  
Head of the Energy-Intensive Industries and Raw Materials Unit in the European Commission's Directorate-General for Internal Market, Industry, Entrepreneurship and SMEs

The EU has woken up to the imminent danger it faces of not being able to achieve its energy and climate goals as well as its defense, aerospace and digital goals. That is unless it really gets to grips with eliminating its strategic dependencies on far too few foreign suppliers for many of these critical minerals at different stages of the value chain. In September, Commission President Ursula von der Leyen announced that we are going to prepare a European Critical Raw Materials act. The purpose is to identify what we are most concerned about and taking the necessary action. We will focus on the raw materials that are particularly strategic for the technologies the EU has decided it needs to develop fast for the energy transition, digitalization, and security. We want to encourage EU member states to do much more systematic exploration. We want mining to be sustainable, with high ESG standards. We want to reinforce the refining and metallurgical stages of the value chain and to recover critical raw materials from mining waste. We are working on the investment tools and how to streamline permitting without any weakening of environmental and social protections. We aim to set European standards and want to set ambitious recycling and circularity targets. We are also diversifying our external supply. We negotiated two strategic partnerships. One with Canada has already generated a large number of major investments and another with Ukraine, which we will use to help rebuild the country's economy. At COP27 this year, President von der Leyen signed strategic partnerships on critical raw materials with both Kazakhstan and Namibia. Apart from the one with Norway that is about to be finalized, we have just started talks with Greenland and there will be other strategic partnerships in the course of 2023. We are also working with international partners in the Minerals Security Partnership to co-invest in sustainable projects along the value chain, especially in Africa and Latin America. Finally, we are involved in the new IEA critical minerals work around supply chain disruption market transparency and strategic stockpiling.





# Perspectives on Covid-19 and Other Pandemic Threats



CHAIR:

**Michel Kazatchkine**

Special Advisor to the World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe, Senior Fellow at the Global Health Centre of the Graduate Institute for International and Development Studies in Geneva

**Antoine Flahault**

Director of the Institute of Global Health at the University of Geneva, Deputy Director of the Swiss School of Public Health, former Founding Director of EHESP

**Juliette Tuakli**

Chief Executive Officer of CHILDAccra Medical, United Way Worldwide Chair Immediate Past (IP), Mercy Ships Africa Ambassador, Medical Director

Covid-19 is the worst combined health and socioeconomic crisis in living memory. In a little less than three years, Covid-19 has infected at least 250 million people across the world and generated a global death toll estimated to be 14 million to 17 million people. At the highest point of the epidemic, 90% of children across the world were unable to attend school and an output of USD 22 trillion dollars is expected to be lost in the period 2020 – 2025, the deepest shock to the global economy since World War II. By November 2022, at least 125 million people were pushed into extreme poverty because of the pandemic. The pandemic is not over. As we speak, hospitalizations are increasing again, at least in Europe and the US. The pandemic continues to have a profound impact on lives and livelihoods as economies slowly begin to recover in at least the wealthiest countries, but still falter in low-income countries. Our session today has three aims: 1/ to discuss the current pandemic situation and whether epidemiological scenarios can be built for the short and mid-term; 2/ to hear three regional perspectives and how lessons from the pandemic are being learned in different regions; 3/ to consider how other pandemic threats could arise at any time, particularly with the increasing opportunities for animal-human contacts at global level. [...] One of the first lessons that we learned from Covid-19 was that the world was not prepared, and that investments in preparedness have been much too low over the years. Then also the way we thought we could measure the preparedness of a country actually proved to be wrong. There is a so called global preparedness index that showed that the US was among the best prepared countries in the world, but then it was one of the countries that failed totally to respond to the pandemic. We not only need to invest strongly in preparedness now, including in the science and industry and other networks, but we need to totally revise the way we monitor preparedness and our indicators.

In conclusion, in the year 2020 there were two waves. It was a year of surprise created by the emergence of a new coronavirus affecting the entire population of the planet. It was also a year of fear. The response was more or less coordinated, but its contours were necessarily 'medieval'. It was a time of lockdowns, quarantines and curfews. The year 2021 also saw two pandemic waves. But it was a year of hope, with 12 new vaccines on the global market and promising treatments for the most vulnerable. Most of the world has now moved into a more modern era in the methods of fighting this pandemic. In 2022 alone, five waves occurred. And yet, President Joe Biden of the United States quietly assured us that the pandemic was over, and the Director-General of the WHO also believed he could see the finish line by the end of the summer. The reality that caught up with us was that the pandemic was not only not over, it was accelerating. The population was showing worrying signs of fatigue, health workers were exhausted. It was increasingly difficult to demand collective or individual protection efforts. Even China, with its authoritarian government, experienced social unrest in the autumn and expressed its deep dissatisfaction with the management of the pandemic. What will 2023 and beyond be like? How many waves will occur and under what scenario? What will emerge from the "soup" of variants and what will be their impact on the population and the global economy? And finally, what lessons can we learn from the first years of this pandemic? Again, it seems too early to tell.

We learned several lessons from the Covid pandemic in Africa, not the least to observe what was happening elsewhere and look into our own resources. I believe a major lesson was the recognition of the need for strong political will and a focus on in country public health systems. There was also a greater unity of purpose between countries in Africa. There was certainly a regional emphasis, but there was also a pan-African approach that I think was also very helpful to us in the medical arena. There was certainly a recognition of the need to build our own capacities, which was thankfully supported by decisions by international agencies to build up African vaccine responses as a global public good. Of course, as many of you may remember, this was partly in response to the disappointment at how vaccines had been promised and often not delivered. Ultimately, we received barely a third of the promised vaccines, so there was a very rapid recognition of the need to change course that was supported. [...] Vaccine production facilities were developed. There were some existing facilities available, but they have been considerably strengthened and enhanced across six African countries. We have 12 facilities based primarily in Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, Senegal, Rwanda and South Africa and these have been particularly effective and strong in their output. A group African Vaccine Acquisition Trust (AVAT), was also established, that not only focused on the manufacture of vaccines, but also of tests, treatments and protective equipment, even though each country, took on what it could locally and certainly Ghana was very busy in this regard. The CDC also ensured that there was the development of an Africa medical access supply chain for pharmaceuticals. This is currently based in Rwanda, and it has been very effective because of the impactful funding and support from many bodies including the African Union, the African Development Bank, PEPFAR and WHO, to mention just a few.





# Perspectives on Covid-19 and Other Pandemic Threats



**Maha Barakat**  
Director General of the Frontline Heroes Office and Senior Advisor at Mubadala



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



**Christian Bréchet**  
President of the Global Virus Network, Senior Associate Dean for Research in Global Affairs and Associate Vice President for International Partnerships and Innovation at USF Health Morsani College of Medicine, former President of Institut Pasteur

How did the United Arab Emirates manage the Covid-19 pandemic, and how did their response help other regions and countries in the Middle East? The country had one million PCR-diagnosed Covid cases over the last three years, resulting in a mean fatality rate of approximately 0.2%. Wise leadership at the highest level was critical in the country's response, coordinating the national response transparently. Other pillars of the response include a comprehensive national program for infection prevention and control, laboratory testing, effective vaccination, as well as urgent and essential resource mobilization, including national budget prioritization for Covid, mobilization and supply of hospital equipment when necessary, and mobilization of teams in emergencies with very short notice. The United Arab Emirates conducted 200 million PCR tests over the last three years and began clinical trials for vaccination as early as the summer of 2020, with emergency use of vaccination in September of the same year. By June 2022, the United Arab Emirates had achieved 100% vaccination of their target groups. Last year, construction began on a local vaccine manufacturing plant, producing 200 million vaccine doses, which will support not only the United Arab Emirates but also the Middle East region, Africa, and other countries in need.

I would like to share my views on what is going on in China, the experience and the lessons that can be learned from China to deal with a future X disease or unknown virus. First, transparency should be the first principle of dealing with an unknown virus or X disease in the future. Second, the action should be taken quickly. I would like to say rapidity of action is very important. Third, physical separation and its extreme form, lockdown, is effective at the beginning to prevent the virus expanding. The earlier action is taken the more effective it will be and the smaller the scope could be. Fourth, flexibility and sensitivity are necessary to deal with variations of a virus and different measures should be taken for different variations. The last point is that public awareness on the virus or X disease is also very important. Now, I guess the Chinese government should do more to help the public understand what is going on, otherwise it will create serious consequences and it might be that the infection tide will occur in China. I think that Chinese governments will start to do that.

Progress in science and technology has and will have no impact if we do not have sufficient local capacities. It is indeed striking that we have in hands all the necessary tools: we can benefit of a modern epidemiology based on the combination of molecular biology and immunology-based diagnostic tests. We have the necessary bioinformatic and biostatistics to collect the data, share them and analyze them. We can analyze the wastewater samples, and this provides excellent information on the occurrence of an epidemics. We have the satellites. But the reality is that it is only effective if we have on site, in the geographic areas which are vulnerable, the necessary capacities, and this means human resources, training, equipment and overall facilities. We need to further foster our capacity to react rapidly. We all know how successful the development of the RNA vaccines against Covid-19 have been, less than one year! But we must be even better prepared, in particular for antiviral and diagnostic test development. This implies coalitions and networks between academics and industrial partners, novel rules regarding intellectual property and significant financial incentives. The coalition for epidemic preparedness and innovation has been a progress for vaccines but still not sufficient for several reasons and we lack support for antivirals and diagnostics. In fact, I personally believe that the importance of diagnostics has been very much underappreciated in this Covid-19 crisis. The progress in technology, digital applications, artificial intelligence has been tremendous in this area and yet we do not take a full advantage of this progress. Again, this means financial incentives, political will, networking and consortia between academics and industrials.





# Global Governance and Public Health



CHAIR:  
**Michel Kazatchkine**  
Special Advisor to the World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe, Senior Fellow at the Global Health Centre of the Graduate Institute for International and Development Studies in Geneva



**Anders Nordström**  
Ambassador for Global Health at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Sweden



**Lionel Zinsou**  
Co-Founder and Co-Chair of SouthBridge, Chairman of Terra Nova think tank, former Prime Minister of Benin, former Chairman of PAI Partners

Issues of governance of health and governance for health have become particularly prominent on the international agenda with the Covid pandemic, and not least because of the increasing geopolitical dimension of global health. New challenges have emerged around vaccine nationalism, vaccine and mask diplomacy, access to supply chains and intellectual property waivers. As the pandemic progressed, health moved from being a sort of soft power agenda to becoming a critical economic and security issue, that took up last parts of the deliberations of regional summits, like the European Council, the G20, the G7, the World Trade Organization. No meeting of the G7, G20 or the European Council in the last two years did not include or had the issue of health as a dominant component. [...] Discussions and negotiations have been launched to prepare countries for pandemic response. First, multilateral negotiations have begun in Geneva to revise international health regulations and establish a new binding treaty on pandemics. Second, the United States, along with other countries and the World Bank, has created a new pandemic financing mechanism. Third, the United Nations General Assembly has convened a special session on pandemic preparedness and response that will take place in 2023. The resolutions taken during this session are eagerly awaited to guide ongoing discussions and negotiations. Structural, institutional, and political changes are also underway at the regional level, such as the creation of the African Medicines Agency by the African Union. All of these efforts aim to better prepare countries to cope with future pandemics.

Let me just finish by saying that this pandemic is still not just about the virus, it is not only about getting the vaccines. This pandemic has been about economies, it has been people losing their jobs, children not having access to school, and we have not yet seen the impact of this. For the future, we need to think about the fact that we have country systems and commitments at all levels, national, regional, globally. That is not only focusing on making sure we get the vaccines but that we have national systems that can also deal with those broader challenges because that is what we have seen. I cannot help saying then something else, which might be a bit surprising, because somebody mentioned nutrition. One of the critical factors in whether you were successful or whether you lost a number of lives was actually the rate of obesity. If you look at the US, obesity was the most important for being at high risk. If you speak now about climate and what we need to do in terms of changing our food system, it is about climate, but it is also about health and the biggest epidemic we have in the world today is actually obesity. In some way that should trigger some thinking that this is more than just a virus.

Africa has nothing in the way of manufacturing, distributing, administering and accessing drugs, treatments and equipment. This is very serious. While the use of vaccines has become widespread in Africa, Africa produces only 1% of them. While recently there have been major strides in treatments and the use of drugs, a record-breaking 95% of those drugs are imported. On the other hand, the WHO says that Africa accounts for 40% of the volume of counterfeit drugs in the world, a topic that would bring us into a discussion on organized crime. Clearly, the public health system, which involves not just administering care but also prevention, the distribution of pharmacies and access to drugs and equipment, is still highly unsatisfactory. To give you an idea, the global pharmaceutical market is about \$1.4 trillion. Africa accounts for a little less than one billion: well below one one-thousandth for a continent with 18% of the world's population. These figures point to an extremely alarming situation. What are the hopeful signs? The evolution of governance. In 2020, we were lucky to have the president of the most advanced country, whichever metrics you look at, in terms of equipment, access to care, laboratories and the distribution of pharmacies, as president of the African Union. In addition to public health governance, which made a rapid response possible, there have been equally swift and effective responses to debt and the pandemic's economic consequences. Michel Sidibé is tasked with setting up the African Drug Agency, which will be a major step forward.





# Global Governance and Public Health



**Haruka Sakamoto**  
Project Researcher at the Department of Global Health Policy of the University of Tokyo, Senior Fellow at the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies



**Farida Al Hosani**  
Official Spokesperson for Health sector of the United Arab Emirates



**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

It is quite important to determine how to establish and diversify a value chain system that can be completed among like-minded countries. I am repeatedly saying that the MCM value chain cannot be completed in any one country. In particular, since access to vaccines is a matter that directly affects the lives of its own citizens, it is a very important security matter for any country and geopolitical risks should be reduced as much as possible when securing MCMs for their own citizens. For example, currently, the raw materials for all kinds of medicines are mainly dependent on China and India. In other words, it is presently challenging to complete the pharmaceutical value chain without China and India. It will become more important to complete or diversify the supply chain among friendly countries, taking into account cost and environmental impact. [...] In the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic, there is a trend toward shifting the coordination body from the global level to a regional body. In the area of pandemic control, including R&D for new MCMs, it is expected to be conducted jointly at the regional level. Regarding the regional body, it should be noted here that Asia, where Japan is located, is a complicated region to establish a single regional body. For example, the WHO has six regional offices, but Asia is the only region where WHO has two regional offices because of historical and political reasons. Also, Asia includes large countries in terms of population size and economies, such as Japan, China, Korea, and India, as well as smaller countries with smaller populations, such as island nations. While we generally welcome the coordination by the regional body, how to unite Asia in terms of infectious disease control will be a major issue in the future.

I see that the global conversation to revise the governance structure is really going on, but it is slower compared to the risk of having a new global pandemic, which exists for all of us at a global level but also at regional level. I think the EMRO region is very unique in terms of its structure, with a wide disparity of economics, major insecurity and political instability in some regions, which really increase the risks of outbreaks, as well as the risk of any future pandemics. In terms of leadership commitment, I see the Covid-19 pandemic as a very interesting lesson to the political leadership across the world because of the huge impact not only on health but also economies and political systems across the world. However, we need to realize that some of the challenges we face are really constraints for the global community to work together in a collaborative approach. For example, we could see vaccine nationalism that prevented us from getting good access to different vaccinations. In terms of the global governance systems, we need to think about what the priorities are that we need to focus on and having strong healthcare systems is one of the critical issues. We know and understand that there are fragile healthcare systems in certain countries and regions, but we cannot really afford to let those systems affect global health security in terms of emerging new diseases. That means we need to work together to strengthen those healthcare systems to the minimum requirements in terms of disease surveillance, access to care and vaccination.

What are my prescriptions for a better Health governance? From my perspective, WHO is irreplaceable and should be protected and rekindled, in a general move to restore multilateralism, and it should be more closely intertwined with an agency in charge of climate governance. Secondly, I would call for a strengthening of epidemiology as a science at the crossroad of medicine and mathematics, taking advantage of new tools made available by digital technologies, and from there I would endow epidemiologists with the difficult task of educating the public to the complexity of public health. After many years of spreading bureaucracy in health systems, the management should be retroceded into the hands of health professionals, subject to the conditions that they would have been economically educated. My 30 years' experience in healthcare have convinced me that it is much easier to train a physician or a nurse in economics, mathematics, or management, than to turn a business or accounting or administrative person into a doctor. And finally, I would definitely decentralize and empower local players whenever possible, as they are best placed to judiciously allocate resources according to population needs.





# Food Security in a Fragmented World



CHAIR:  
**Jean-Michel Severino**  
Chairman of the Supervisory Board of Investisseurs et Partena-  
naires, former Director General of the French Development  
Agency, former Vice President for Asia at the World Bank



**Máximo Torero Cullen**  
Chief Economist and Assistant Director General for the  
Economic and Social Development Department of the FAO

What has also been very striking in recent years is to see those agricultural issues being raised as major environmental issues. This is not only because climate change is affecting agricultural production, of course, but also because agriculture has emerged as a major carbon emitter worldwide and is part of the goals for the climate change strategy. Let me end by highlighting the fact that at the root of many of our challenges are poverty issues. Extreme poverty is increasingly aligned with rural areas across the world, poor farmers and as average wealth in the world increases, poverty concentrates in those rural areas and hence we have a major social problem. One major issue for our panel is whether or not we will have an agricultural or a water war. This is part of the type of issues we will discuss. It is very important to talk about it because, after all, those agricultural issues tend only to be addressed when major crises occur. The last time we had hot debates around those issues was in 2007-2008, when we had similar problems arising, and then afterwards the kind of political tensions on those issues dropped. However, they are now being revived so maybe we should try to restart a conversation around those issues that can last and that can address one of the most important structural issues in the world from the side of changing demand as well as changing production.

Food is at the heart of three major issues that emerge from analyses of the drivers of agriculture. Firstly, the unequal distribution of food between countries and households is a major concern. Commercial trade is essential to ensure equitable distribution of food, given that more than 3.1 billion individuals do not have sufficient income to purchase healthy food. Income losses during the pandemic and rising prices of food and inputs, including those linked to the war in Ukraine, exacerbate this situation, especially for low-income families in sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia. The second issue is climate change, which is already affecting agriculture and threatens to collapse our agri-food systems. Extreme temperatures, water shortages or excesses, climate volatility and variability, and climate-induced changes in diseases are impacting agricultural systems. Land, water, soils, and biodiversity are also degrading, threatening socio-economic and environmental stability. The third issue is to produce more with fewer resources and distribute production more equitably. The world population is projected to reach 10 billion individuals by 2050, requiring increased food production while reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Protecting commercial trade, addressing climate change, and sustainable food production are therefore major challenges for agriculture.





Máximo Torero CULLEN

# Food Security in a Fragmented World



**Pierre Jacquet**  
President of the Global Development Network,  
Professor at the École nationale des ponts et chaussées



**Bayu Krisnamurthi**  
Associate Professor in the Department of Agribusiness  
the Faculty of Economics and Management of the Bogor  
Agricultural University, former Vice Minister of Trade and  
former Vice Minister of Agriculture of the Republic of  
Indonesia



**Mariam Al Mheiri**  
Minister of Climate Change and Environment of the United  
Arab Emirates

Recent data about food insecurity confirm the gravity of the problem and the particularly severe condition of Subsaharan Africa. Food insecurity depends on many interacting factors around three determinants: production, access and nutritional quality. Each of these in turn depends on several factors. And this interaction is also affected by non-food related conditions such as demography, biodiversity, climate change, geopolitics, pandemics, security, public policies. Overall, food security is therefore a complex state that does not have a single deterministic outcome and that cannot be approached through thinking in silos. The role of farm policies is essential, and yet again, the situation of Subsaharan Africa is one of underdeveloped farm policies, despite official commitments taken in Maputo and Malabo years back. Food insecurity in developing countries is a global concern: its persistence over time signals an unacceptable moral failure, it is a source of political insecurity and health hazards. It is sobering to note that the problem of food insecurity has been recurrent over time and is not due to the pandemics or the war in Ukraine. Developed countries must and can find better ways to help. In particular, their assistance should not aim at providing ready-made solutions, but rather financial resources and capacity building support to help countries find their own solutions.

About 2.3-2.5 billion people on the planet are facing food insecurity, and 200 million are in food crisis, with a highly stressed and critical lack of food access, with high and above usual malnutrition problem. The interesting part is that 70% of those 200 million people are located only in seven countries; from Congo, to Afghanistan and Haiti. And the sad fact is this list of countries has been the same for the last 20 years. We are failing to make this a priority and we fail to solve it. Food inflation is another problem. The UK is experiencing 17% food inflation, Turkey 90%, just to mention a couple. We can see a decrease in food production caused by Covid or war, but the inflation mostly caused by disruption of trade and logistic. The paradox is that the policy response of governments to this problem is protectionism. About 20 countries have banned food exports and 12 countries are limiting food exports, which is making the problem even worse. Looking into the near future, we will face an even greater problem. The price of fertilizers and fertilizer shortages will make food production costs higher while lowering productivity. Ukraine and the region is a major food producer, and I just cannot imagine when the production recovery will happen there any time soon. So, in short, the impact of the last three years situation is as follows: 345 million people are in immediate danger from acute food insecurity, up from 200 million; 820 million people go hungry every night; 3 billion people are entering food insecurity, basically one-third of the human population. That is not mentioning that climate change has impacted productivity and the farmers' ability to produce food; 30% of food productivity in Greece was wiped out by climate change. In the next 15 years, we will have 1 billion more mouths to feed.

In my eyes, we need to do three things. Countries need to plan better when it comes to food systems transformations. We have a national food security strategy, we have the Emirates Food Security Council that governs all the programs we are doing under the strategy to make sure we are implementing. We are also always checking how we are benchmarking ourselves internationally, so we are looking at the Global Food Security Index. By the way, this year the UAE became the number one ranking in the Global Food Security Index for the MENA region. Countries must plan because food security, which is not just agriculture by the way, is food and loss, waste, nutrition, food safety, the way we consume, what we buy in the supermarket, what ends up in the bin, that all has a huge influence on our food systems today. [...] I think of the second point, investing in innovation. We have invested more than USD 150 million in ag tech companies to attract them to the UAE to start growing clean foods all year round in the hot, arid environment we are in. We are so proud today when you go to the supermarkets you see berries grown in the UAE, salmon, quinoa, vegetables of all sorts, fruits are coming up as well. [...] The third point is about partnerships. I keep saying partnerships, partnerships, partnerships, so let us look at an example. Bustanica is a vertical farm that is now operating in the UAE, one of the largest vertical farms in the world. This is a partnership with Emirates Catering Group, and I am sure many of you have flown with some of our national airlines, of which Emirates Airlines is one. You are now going to enjoy salads from this vertical farm, it is now more commercially viable and more profitable for Emirates Catering Group to get its greens, micro greens, lettuce, salads, from these vertical farms in the UAE, rather than importing them. The business model is changing, and this is a partnership between Emirates Catering Group and Crop One, a company from the US.





# New Technologies for New Geopolitics of Energy



CHAIR:  
**John Andrews**  
Contributing Editor to *The Economist* and *Project Syndicate*



**Frank Obrist**  
CEO of OBRIST Powertrain

I am not a technologist, I am not a scientist, so my only real qualification for being here is that I am, although my wife sometimes disagrees, a human being. Therefore, I do have a vested interest in what is happening to our planet and to this energy future. Also, of course, as a human being I consume energy, so I am part of the problem, and I hope this panel will be part of the solution. Politicians always have a very short time span because of the electoral cycle in democracies. In Britain at the moment there is a big dispute at the moment about whether windfarms should be onshore or kept offshore. However, from what you are saying wind turbines are basically a false promise, it is not going to work. That is only 10 years away and there is an actual war in the meantime. Of course, none of this is going to happen without money, so we turn to private equity, Nicolas Piau. Nicolas, you say on your website that the energy transition in Europe is an investment market of about EUR 500 billion a year. That is quite an impressive number, it is a great target but how much of it is actually being reached?

Given the enormous CO2 concentration in the atmosphere, it is not enough to think in forms of "climate neutrality" anymore – we need to be more ambitious and strive for CO2 negative technologies. OBRIST is a world-leading company in such CO2-negative technology. The "cSink-technology" is an active and extremely powerful carbon sink, which will allow us to reduce the CO2 just as quickly as it has been released. And it is with the same technology, that we can produce "aMethanol" simultaneously, using it as fuel for an entire new generation of automobiles to which our prototype of the "HyperHybrid" belongs. I already have good information and I have signed a letter of intent with the United Arab Emirates to install such a plant by 2027 and a large one by 2030. There are still some years to go but these plants are huge, and we think ahead to 2050 and beyond to what is coming in 2100. It is such innovation and such cooperation, that is key in fighting climate change. We now have to spread this knowledge and this spirit around the globe to all people on Earth. I am really proud to be a part of this greatest transition in humankind's history.





# New Technologies for New Geopolitics of Energy



**Franklin Servan-Schreiber**  
Co-Founder and CEO of Transmutex



**Nicolas Piau**  
Co-Founder and CEO of TiLT Capital Partners



**Friedbert Pflüger**  
Director of the European Cluster for Climate, Energy and Resource Security (EUCERS) at the University of Bonn.  
Founding Partner of Strategic Minds Company GmbH

Nuclear is the densest source of energy, it is also the fundamental energy of the universe, anything else being a far derivative. Our civilization went from Medieval times to industrial times with a 2x gain in energy density from wood to coal. Nuclear is 3,000,000 times more energy dense than coal, which in turn is 10x more energy dense than wind or solar. Let us stop talking about 2050, which is an arbitrary goal which we will not achieve, what is important is the future of our civilization and nuclear is the last frontier. It will be necessary, therefore we have to make it work. Let us not be afraid, let us be engaged. We want to have a carbon-free energy future for generation upon generation, not just until 2050.

In a nutshell: we have much more energy supply available than we need, but we need to harness it: the sun alone provides 7,500 times more energy than our yearly global energy consumption. This means that energy is no longer a matter of producing enough energy, but rather making this energy efficiently available. It becomes a matter of logistics and optimization rather than production. The other implication is that we need to organize the transition: we will not be able to get rid of coal, gas and oil at the same time. We need to tackle these fuels in sequence. My view is that we need to get rid of coal – the single largest global CO2 emissions by far - in the next 10 years. Gas is a transition energy source for these next 10-15 years, enabling - together with renewables - to take coal out of the equation and making it possible for hydrogen to emerge as an economically viable alternative. It will also give time to new generation nuclear to develop, on a mid-2030s horizon, awaiting for nuclear fusion post 2050. The development of these energy transition technologies have two main geopolitical consequences: 1) Cooperation and solidarity: if we collectively fail to accompany the major fossil fuel producers in the transition (including Russia), we are heading for significant disruptions, political unrest and a rise in demagogue regimes. 2) Supply chains and materials: we seemed to have rediscovered energy security issue with the disruptions induced by the Russian invasion of Ukraine. What is true today of fossil fuels will be equally true tomorrow for metals and materials, but also for some core components (microchips, solar panels, batteries cells, etc.).

It is this challenge we have to overcome as soon as possible: the huge gap between our pronouncements on more and more ambitious energy or CO2 reduction goals and our ability to concretely deliver. Or by going even further: the loudness of our proclamations of ambitious goals is inversely proportional to our ability to really reduce carbon emissions. This could cause the risk of reaching a decisive tipping point – that people either do not take these aims seriously any more or that they become radicalized, as we have seen in some of our countries, because they say that the politicians are not able to live up to their own goals. So, I think we have embarked on the wrong path – by defining goals and exercising micromanagement, that forbid certain technologies and interfere in markets. What we have to do instead is to unleash technologies, bring them to the market and rely on the human ability to live up to dangers, threats, and challenges, not by forbidding or fleeing, but by grabbing the chances. Like Frank Obrist does, who says, that we need to go beyond CO2 neutrality – to become CO2 negative in our thinking and to actually get carbon out of the atmosphere. His prototype of an a-fuel car demonstrates that his vision is within reach. It is against this background – the openness to innovation – that we should not say today, there should be no combustion engines as of 2035. Instead, we should say, no combustion engines based on fossil fuels as of 2035. If you have them with synthetic fuels, green fuels, why not use a combustion engine? It is not the engine that is bad, it is the fuel that is bad for the climate. And like Transmutex does, too. The CEO of this innovative startup, Franklin Servan-Schreiber, has the potential to reduce the amount of used nuclear fuels and its radiation by transmutation and partition. From my point of view, we have to unleash this technological revolution now.





# The Middle East in the New Geopolitical Context



CHAIR:  
**Steven Erlanger**  
Chief Diplomatic Correspondent, Europe, for *The New York Times*



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



**Gilles Kepel**  
Director of the Middle East-Mediterranean Chair of the École normale supérieure, Professor at Paris Sciences et Lettres, Special Envoy of President Macron for the Middle East

There is so much to talk about: the impact of Russia's return to the region, China's Belt and Road, the notion of US retrenchment and whether it is real or not, intensified regional competition. What does it mean for these countries to have a green carbon-free world? Let alone wars in Libya, Syria, Yemen, big regional powers playing in the region, the repositioning of Israel, to put it mildly, in the Abraham Accords and what the public response has been, heightened tensions with Iran, the moribund state of the JCPOA, though no one dares to actually take its pulse and call it dead because that would mean they would have to decide what to do next, which they do not want to do. We have problems with Turkey, which is very much engaged now and making geopolitical forays. Then there is the quite interesting question of the return of Bibi Netanyahu at the head of a very different Israeli government. What does this new coalition mean for Israel, for the Palestinians, for Israel's reputation, frankly? Then there is the question of the health of Abu Mazen, what happens to the Palestinian Authority? There is always the sad tragedy of Lebanon, the influence of Hezbollah, the worry about another Lebanon-Israeli war but with big rockets. Then we also have divisions in Europe towards the region.

Basically, we are in a phase of multiple transitions, what some call an era of polycrisis. In an ideal world, this is a time when we would benefit from predictable national policies and some coordination among key players to collectively address those challenges. However, instead we get anxiety and helplessness across the world about pressing problems like the energy and food crises. That forces national pragmatism everywhere and feeds a climate of mutual unpredictability and eventual mistrust. Such hyperpragmatism can and has been constructive at times, as in the Turkey-mediated grain deal. Ascending pragmatism may well be the best response to the intensifying uncertainty and the transitions in some cases. The downside is norms, balances and alliances that have given some structure and predictability to the region and the world are eroding before our eyes. The global energy market is a very good example of this dynamic because I think the main axes of that structure have been broken and all nations are after pragmatic paths to resilient supply and national supply-security which undermines and fragments the whole structure of global energy markets. I will not elaborate on that further but it is a good microcosm of how uncertainty and shifting power dynamics pave the way for national reflexes and pragmatism which erodes standing structures and more importantly the trust that underlies them. There was indeed something positive in the air this past year that improved relations among some key regional players. But the positivity in the air mostly flowed from a shift in politics of the region towards pragmatism rather than the wisdom of long-termism. It is hard to predict whether we can bootstrap long-term stability around such pragmatism or this is simply making matters more intractable for the future. That question will preoccupy me and probably most of us over the coming years.

To a large extent we have to take the region into much more serious consideration than we did until recently. That is, as we mentioned Turkey fortunately, that I believe is an extremely important actor with what you call hyper-pragmatism, which is a concept I will use and of course, quote you in the future. That means Erdogan changing sides every day so that he thinks he will be re-elected. It also means that he bought S-400s from Russia, sold Bayraktar drones to Ukraine, that the Iranians are helping the Russians with their own zones and that nice guy, Mr. Medvedev warned the Israelis that if they ever gave the Ukrainians the means to down the Iranian drones they should beware the Syrian skies, etc. I think this is not something we have really thought about, that the global Middle East is also taken into something, you had hyper-pragmatism as your concept, let me try mine, which is disaffiliation; does that mean anything in English? That means that nothing should be taken for certain, it would be hyper pragmatism at the global scale. You mentioned the mission I did as the Special Envoy for President Macron. In some of the southern and eastern countries of the Mediterranean what I was being told by my interlocutors was that they did not think they are bound significantly by any former alliance. One other thing we must take into consideration is that authoritarian regimes are also being shaken in the process. What is happening in Iran, regardless of what happens with JCPOA, no JCPOA, pause JCPOA, etc., is now significantly different from whatever happened in the past. All that is changing, and I think there is a real need to interject much more of what happens on the south-eastern front in this war, for fear of not really understanding the stakes we are dealing with.





# The Middle East in the New Geopolitical Context



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



**Itamar Rabinovich**  
Vice Chairman of the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) in Tel Aviv, Distinguished Fellow at the Brookings Institution, former Chief Negotiator with Syria



**Abdulaziz Othman Sager**  
Founder and Chairman of the Gulf Research Center

Since 2021, most Middle Eastern countries have worked towards de-escalation, in part due to the disengagement of the United States, which is a significant turning point for the region. The countries of the region must now rely on themselves to move forward. After the end of the Gulf states and Egypt's blockade of Qatar in January 2021, many diplomatic visits followed, and even Iran was involved at one point, with leaders in Riyadh and Abu Dhabi adopting a less bellicose rhetoric towards Iran. This moment of de-escalation coincided with the Abraham Accords and the normalization of relations between Israel and several Arab states. The Accords reflect the Middle East's new foreign policy ambitions. In March, Israel hosted a security summit in the Negev with the foreign ministers of Bahrain, the UAE, and Egypt, illustrating how much the Middle East's landscape has changed in less than two years. These developments are local, coming from within the region, and demonstrate the Middle East states desire to shape their own regional order on their own terms. The question is how the United States can discourage the transformation of the Middle East into a battleground for their rivalry with Russia and China. The more local actors develop confidence in their own autonomy, the less tempted they will be to align with the objectives of an external superpower. This is evident in the Russo-Ukrainian conflict, where some Western countries would like other countries to take sides, but they refuse to engage. They are not pro-Russian, but they are not anti-Russian either. The West must be more realistic in diversifying its partnerships.

Middle Eastern politics - domestic, regional and international - are in flux. Internationally, US policy is unclear. The pivoting away from the region announced by Obama was continued by Trump and to a lesser extent by Biden. As a result of the war in Ukraine, there is a renewed importance to Middle Eastern oil and gas. The US is preoccupied with other parts of the world but is quite active in the ME. But traditional Allie's do not feel that they can fully rely on the US and keep open doors with Russia and China. The prospect of a new nuclear deal with Iran seems dim. Russia's position has been clearly diminished by the war in Ukraine, but it remains active. Domestically several Arab states are failed states and other countries face domestic challenges as is the case in Iran and Jordan. Regionally, the traditional division into camps or axes does not exist. Iran has its camp with three subservient countries but the Sunni camp or the Turkish Qatari Muslim Brotherhood axis are not less cohesive. The most important development in regional politics has been the roles taken by Iran and Turkey in the Middle East. These two successor states to former Imperial powers returned to active participation in the region in 1979 (Iran) and in the first decade of this century (Turkey). They are regional superpowers with a population of close to 100 million, large economies and militaries and sophisticated elites. More recently both have also been seeking international roles and influence. As for Israel, the Abraham Accords are well implemented but a fuller Israeli integration into the region is hindered by the persistence of the Palestinian problem.

Iranian expansionism; today, we still suffer from a real, serious threat from Iran. In addition, we have maritime security issues, energy security threatened by Iran, interventionist and expansionist policies using sectarianism as a dimension, and supporting militia. All those remain critical issues for us in the region, so where the Iranian threat goes from here also has a crucial impact on our geopolitical matters. It is also interesting that the region has started making its own sovereign decisions without waiting for the superpowers' instructions, which is a clear signal. You can see it in the UAE, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Algeria, and many other countries in the Arab world that are starting to say that we need to protect our interests. This is another crucial dimension. Since we are witnessing a new Cold War era, will that independent, sovereign decision be challenged by the top two powers? If I look at 2023, we will likely have similar issues of concern. Can we still keep our sovereign decisions independent of the superpowers? Can we still state our position based on our interests, or will we challenge them? It will likely continue to be a vital issue in 2023. Also, there is Iran and what happens with JCPOA. Today's scenarios are different with no agreement, status quo, modified agreement with minor changes, and altered agreement with significant differences. A completely new agreement cannot be established, so today's scenarios are a big challenge. Then there is how Iran will represent a threat, if they will retaliate in the region and how that goes.





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

## The End of Illusions?



**Michel Foucher**  
Member of the Center for Higher European Studies,  
former French Ambassador in Latvia



**Cheikh Tidiane Gadio**  
President of the Institute for Pan-African Strategies,  
Peace-Security-Governance, Special Envoy of the OIF,  
former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Senegal

Is diplomacy an illusion today? To answer this question, international life can be approached in five points, ranging from realism to idealism. Diplomacy consists of a constant conversation between states. While deceitful words are common, mutual understanding is necessary. Thus, during the Congress of Vienna, Talleyrand had emphasized the importance of public law in governing relations between states. However, the pandemic and the isolation of the world have damaged diplomacy, and international relations have hardened. Leaders have locked themselves into their ideological certainties, such as Beijing, Moscow, or Ankara. Despite some progress, such as Abraham Accords between the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, and Israel, failures are numerous, including the paralysis of the Security Council. Reconciliation, as Europe has experienced since 1945, is the best security guarantee. But with Russia, the elites have never declared 'never again' and block critical examination of the Stalinist past. The war in Ukraine is the fratricidal and deadly revenge of Russian leaders for the collapse of their empire. The imperial overland scheme persists in Russia, canceling any critical examination by the suppression of Memorial and the rewriting of history textbooks. A regime change can only come from military defeats, as in 1905, 1917, and 1989. In conclusion, diplomacy is not an illusion, but it is being severely tested. Realism can fail, but the idealism of reconciliation is essential, especially with Russia.

I want to talk to you about Africa's place and role in global geopolitics. Let's talk about illusions. I think Africa still needs to dream and when there is a need to dream, there is a need to keep alive certain aspirations that others call illusions. When the African Union was founded in the early 2000s, many people thought Africa had a shot at belonging to what are called the World Global Players. Unfortunately, that is not what happened. We lurched from crisis to crisis, for example. I think we must do away with our false hopes rather than our illusions. They are two different things. False hope is when Africans were made to believe they were independent and sovereign. They played that card. The African Union is a union of sovereign independent nations. I am for countries that are sovereign but interdependent and accept interdependence. African youth just about everywhere has stood up against what is called sovereignty and independence. They deny everything and denounce everything today. [...] Everybody must back Africa's bid to get a permanent seat on the Security Council. Africa must be able to designate a country, Nigeria, South Africa, Egypt, Senegal, Ghana, whatever country, to represent Africa and work under the mandate of the African Union. The whole world seems to downplay the gravity of the security crisis in Africa. It was recently announced that in Nigeria, from 2009 to today, 40,000 people were victims of terrorism. [...] Russia's presence in Africa, with its system of influencers, is pulling the rug out from under everybody, France, the West and African States. We are waking up to the realization that our young people are now influenced by Russians who sway them to say and do anything. Pan-Africanism is not about replacing old masters with new ones. Pan-Africanism is about Africans being at the heart of African policies, defending their continent and taking their destinies into their own hands.





# The End of Illusions?



**Marc Hecker**  
Director of Research and Communications at Ifri,  
Editor-in-Chief of *Politique étrangère*



**Holger Mey**  
Vice President of Advanced Concepts Airbus Defence  
and Space



**Fathallah Oualalou**  
Senior Fellow at the Policy Center for the New South,  
former Minister of Economy and Finance of Morocco

I would like to try to answer the question that is the title of this round table: “The end of illusions?” To start with, I asked myself what the word illusion means. There are three accepted meanings. I will discuss each one and respond to some aspects of what has been said over the past three days. The first accepted meaning of the word illusion is an erroneous interpretation of sensorial data. You think you see something that does not exist, a mirage. By extension, in international relations, it could be said that this is an error not only of perception, but also of analysis, as Robert Jervis writes in his book *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. The war in Ukraine can be seen as a shock of illusions. There were an enormous amount of misperceptions and mistaken analyses on both sides. The second accepted meaning is wishful thinking. In international relations, I think the closest example is the illusion of power. The third accepted meaning is an effect created by an artifice or trick that makes something look real or true. It is an illusion with an illusionist and enters the world of manipulation, fake news, disinformation and propaganda. In the area of strategy, there is a very wide spectrum, from influence to psychological and hybrid warfare.

“The End of Illusion?” In Germany, many observers and policy-makers admitted that, after the 2014 annexation of Crimea by Russia, they were disillusioned by Putin and Russia. But, to be quite frank, how can one possibly have illusions about Russia? In particular in Germany, there was a tendency to underestimate the role of military power in international relations. If Russia falls apart, the West needs lots of military power to manage the disaster in the East. If Russia regains strength and becomes confrontational/antagonistic to the West, the West will need lots of forces for deterrence and containment. There was a trend among Western military to forgo the principle of worst-case analysis. Many Western armed forces were structured to be efficient in peacetime, rather than being effective for wartime. And the military tended toward looking exclusively at what they called the “most likely” scenarios. The problem, however, is that one needs not just to look at the likelihood that things happen, but rather at risks. And risk is the product of likelihood times damage level. One has to cover the “low probability / high impact scenarios”. This also applies to the possible use of nuclear weapons. This is true in particular if one challenges the assumption that the opponent just wants to conquer territory rather than destroy it. But what if this assumption is wrong? For me it was clear that in case Ukraine moves closer to the West, Russia is going to attack. While conquering Ukraine might have been a first war aim for Putin’s Russia, the core objective was to prevent Ukraine from becoming a Western oriented state. Putin’s message was clear: if Ukraine becomes a NATO member, there would be no Ukraine anymore. We should have no illusions about that.

The current world is marked by a bipolarization between the United States and China, which differs from that of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This was highlighted during the G2 meeting in Bali, which overshadowed the G20. The two major powers acknowledged their differences but also agreed on the importance of working to avoid direct confrontation. Moreover, the current world is uncertain and fragmented. Four major shocks have occurred in the last 22 years: September 11, 2001, the 2008 financial crisis, the 2020 health crisis, and the Ukraine conflict. In addition, the world faces four major challenges: global warming, increasing inequalities and poverty, the rise of radicalism and separatism, and the dangers of new technologies. The rise of commercial and technological protectionism by China, the United States, and even Europe exacerbates this uncertainty. Furthermore, emerging G20 and Shanghai Cooperation Organization countries seek to act and have some influence, contributing to the fragmentation of the world. Therefore, it is necessary to create multipolarity to overcome the dangerous effects of bipolarity and fragmentation. Europe could play an important role in this regard, but it must strengthen its integrations, become relatively autonomous from the United States, and focus on its geography, particularly in the South, Africa, the Arab world, and the Mediterranean, to create a third pole of balance and sharing.





CHAIR:  
**Jim Bittermann**  
Senior European  
Correspondent in Paris  
for CNN



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

The biggest loser in the election was Donald Trump; his endorsed candidates almost universally lost, and it was a win for moderates in both the Republican and Democratic candidates. Nevertheless, although the Republican hold on the House is very slim, they will control the House agenda and all the committees. This means an end of Biden's domestic legislative agenda and that he will increasingly govern in the next two years domestically by Executive Order. This can lead to the President becoming a more foreign policy President. Let us look at what is likely to happen on foreign and trade policy. First, with Ukraine, the administration is seeking and has obtained as we speak a USD 40 billion supplemental appropriation for Ukrainian arms that will last a full year. This is done in anticipation of the fact that when the Republicans take over there will be a significant percentage of the new Republican majority that holds Trump's nationalistic, America first, neo-isolationist policy, which is more skeptical towards aid to Ukraine. They want to get at least one more full year of a major aid package to Ukraine under their belts. Having said that about the House Republicans, the Senate Republicans under Senator McConnell as the minority leader, can continue to be expected to support aid to Ukraine and if anything, to be critical of the administration for not sending enough sophisticated weapons. Putin's policy is clearly to divide and weaken the West, to make it war weary, to create higher energy prices and in Ukraine itself, a darkness and lack of electricity to force a territorial compromise. My fear is that many of the Europeans going through this rough winter will press Zelensky for just that type of North Korea/South Korea DMZ-type compromise. The President is not likely to follow that path and I think he will follow Zelensky's lead. With respect to China, even with the midterm elections there is bipartisan support for a hard-line position against China. I think this will continue and Biden going into a potential Presidential race, does not want to be seen or criticized by the Republicans as being weak on China.

# US Foreign Policy After the Midterm Elections



**Josef Joffe**  
Professor of Practice at Johns Hopkins, Editorial Advisory  
Council of the German weekly *Die Zeit*

Let's situate Biden on the spectrum of reassertion vs. retraction: a/ On the one hand, Biden immediately stops and reverses troop withdrawals from Europe. Instead of badmouthing NATO like Obama and Trump, he mends fences. b/ On the other hand, he returns to Obama's Iran approach by trying to revive, almost desperately, the nuclear deal with Iran; c/ On the one hand, Biden tries to tighten the bond with Japan and South Korea, which Trump neglected, also tightening AUKUS, the trio with Australia and the UK. d/ On the other, Biden pooh-poohs Trump's most significant diplomatic achievement, the Abraham Accords, a modern *"renversement des alliances"* that joins the Gulfies to Israel, with Riyadh as a silent partner; e/ Toward China, Biden is tougher than Obama and Trump. This time, the previously symbolic "pivot to the Pacific" is for real. On the other hand, Biden rules out a clear commitment to Taiwan. The watchword is "ambiguity." f/ On the one hand, Biden did cozy up to Europe. On the other, the Inflation Reduction Act is protectionism with a fancy new label. The gist is that non-US companies will not profit from lavish subsidies, which puts them at a competitive disadvantage on the US market. Worse, the Act may force Europeans to export production and jobs to the US; g/ Finally, Ukraine. On the one hand, Ukraine would be a goner by now if it had not been showered with wondrous US gifts of battlefield intelligence, high-precision artillery, anti-air assets and billions of cash. Plus: Without US leadership and protection, the Europeans would not have risked provoking Putin by arming the Ukrainians. Just remember how reticent both Berlin and Paris were. h/ On the other hand, the past month has seen US feelers to the Kremlin. In November, Biden suddenly threw up the term "compromise." A few days ago, when Macron was in Washington, Biden said: "I'm prepared to speak with Mr. Putin if in fact there is an interest in him deciding that he's looking for a way to end the war." American grand strategy has never followed a straight line. The cycles of reassertion and retrenchment are as American as apple pie.



**Jean-Claude Gruffat**  
Vice Chairman of the American Hospital of Paris Foundation,  
member of the Leadership Council of United Way  
Worldwide, Chairman of the Competitive Enterprise Institute

The United States has largely benefitted from the Russia-Ukraine conflagration. It is true that the United States and the Biden administration have supported the Zelensky administration from the very beginning with massive financial and military aid, but the US has largely benefitted from it for a variety of reasons. Number one, and thanks largely to the last administration, the US is practically energy independent and is exporting LNG to Europe as you know and benefitting from that. The next effect of availability of cheaper energy is also to attract investors to the United States. A few European companies have already shifted some of their operations from Europe to the US to benefit also from the subsidies and the tax incentives the Biden administration is granting to those that operate in the United States. This is part of the Inflation Reduction Act, which is not really a reduction of inflation but is purely another form of protectionism. That is benefitting not just the US but also our partners in North America like Canada and Mexico. This is another aspect of this benefit to the US. There is also the fact that the increased contribution to defense that the previous administration requested, whether Obama or Trump, and Biden, has now had an effect in Europe where several countries have announced that they will increase their defense spending, starting with Germany. The benefit also for the US is that countries like Germany are not spending by buying European equipment from France or forming joint venture alliances but acquiring F35 from the US. That is another benefit for the US. NATO, which the previous administrations had questioned, is also now strengthened by the inclusion of Sweden and Finland, which would have been unthinkable if we had not had the conflagration in Ukraine. We are in a situation where effectively the US has greatly benefitted from this conflict in Europe, this is only a part of it, but this is the reality.



**Renaud Girard**  
Senior Reporter and International Columnist at *Le Figaro*

In 2014, the Russians began cyberattacks on the Americans, who in turn launched a major counter-offensive, hacking into all the important computers in Russia, including the Russian general staff's, which allowed them to share Russia's plans with their Ukrainian allies hour-by-hour. In February and March 2022, the Americans saw that all of Europe was panicking. Sweden and Finland wanted to join NATO as soon as possible. Germany realized it had made a mistake—"We were so naive to rely on Russian gas"—and did an about-face. By the time of the NATO meeting in Madrid, Europe was completely "NATOized". France's ideas and initiatives on European strategic autonomy and defense were forgotten. The Germans planned 100 billion in investments. There was no question of buying European weapons, only American ones. When Scholz spoke in Prague about European defense, he did not even mention France. He said he wanted to develop a sort of antimissile shield without breathing a word about France and Italy's efforts already underway in this area. European strategic autonomy was completely forgotten. Now that Europe is vassalized, what will the suzerain's policy be? It will continue selling its weapons. It will shore up the Paris-Berlin-Warsaw-Kyiv axis, which was already in Brzezinski's playbook. When Brzezinski, the great chess player, recommended completely excluding Russia from the European space, he said that the axis had to be created. Today it exists and it is completely under American influence.





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



**Prince Faisal bin Farhan Al Saud**  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia

From our perspective polarization is the last thing we need right now. We already see tremendous pressures on the global economy with inflation, food security, etc., and more polarization is not a way to solve that, it will only exacerbate it. We think we need to build bridges, strengthen connections, and find areas of cooperation. The China-Arab world, China-GCC summit was one iteration of that, just like the Jeddah summit with the US was. It is our attempt to continue to build bridges will all our international partners. This year, the kingdom is the 15<sup>th</sup> largest economy in the world and the fastest growing, and hopefully this year we will reach USD 1 trillion in GDP. As we are growing in importance as part of the global economy and our position, the Kingdom's position but also the GCC's position, and we really want to emphasize and build on our position as a bridge between East and West to address all these challenges we are facing. We live in a complicated and difficult world and there are always going to be issues that need to be addressed but the best way to address them is through dialogue, interaction, and cooperation and that is our approach. [...] For us, our foreign policy is driven by our need to build sustainable prosperity first for the Saudi people, but then for the people of our region and we hope, for the people of the world. We look for every opportunity to build on that goal. If there is an opportunity to work with a partner with a global stage to further our ability to strengthen our economic and social programs and our region, and that can only happen through cooperation, we will follow those avenues. [...] Clearly, if Iran gets an operational nuclear weapon, all bets are off. We are in a very dangerous space in the region, we have already seen significant activity from Iran, and we could see much more risk from that. Of course, regional states will not want to be exposed to such a threat without a reaction, so you can expect that regional states will certainly look at how they can ensure their own security. [...] I think it is a tremendously exciting time to be working in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. We are undergoing breakneck change and most importantly, we are working under a clear roadmap and vision, building sustainable prosperity for the Saudi people. That is the absolute priority and driving ethos of everything that the government of Saudi Arabia does, whether domestic or foreign policy. My mandate as Foreign Minister is very clear, it is to support and enhance the prospects of achieving the goals in that vision, sustainable prosperity for the Saudi people. We have plans in place that will likely mean that by 2030 we will be in the top eight economies in the world.









# 1. Finance and Economy



CHAIR  
**Jean-Claude Trichet**  
Vice Chairman of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, former Chairman of the European Central Bank, Honorary Governor of the Bank of France

It remains only for me to give a list of questions: 1/ What is the likelihood of central banks of the advanced economies succeeding in regaining control of inflation? 2/ Do we have any comment on the present projections for global growth from international institutions? 3/ Are we correctly assessing the divergences between the advanced economies, the developing world, and emerging countries? What about the fragility of the developing countries and the probability of major disruptive issues? What is the likelihood of a financial crisis triggered by major market corrections? As I already mentioned, sudden stops in major markets functioning or some of the non-bank intermediation, abrupt loss of public or private credit worthiness, asset bubble corrections, etc. 4/ Another issue should be addressed, crypto assets and what are the causes and consequences of what happened in the crypto world? Can we expect much more drama in this domain and what judgement can we make? I have to say, I do not understand with the benefit of hindsight how we could let such instruments, at least those that are purely speculative, prosper as they have. Another issue linked to this one is cyber insecurity and is it a major threat to financial stability? What kind of correction can we imagine? 5/ Can we exclude a major financial disruption caused by climate change, and what would be the consequences? Associated with that, do we share the judgement that it is very likely that the green transition will trigger much higher real interest rates at a global level than in the past, taking into account that it is very likely that the savings glut will progressively evaporate, and the immense new amount of investment associated with the green transition, as well as the replacement of the stock of capital that is made obsolete because of the green transition.



**Serge Ekué**  
President of the West African Development Bank (BOAD)

I would like to highlight four major key policy objectives we face in Africa in general and more specifically in our region, Sub-Saharan Africa. The first one is addressing food insecurity, which I think is a major threat we have to deal with in a region where the median age of the population is 20, and we all know that our population doubles every 25 years. That is a real threat in the current context. The second key policy objective relates to the way we should manage the shift in monetary policy. Last year I was among those who believed that inflation would be a temporary stage but when we look at things in detail today, it appears we are moving into a new era. In the late nineties Mexico was getting access to capital markets at 18% 10 years maturity. That did not come as a surprise to anyone. Today, getting funding at 18% is a real challenge. The shift in monetary policy with this reality of the majority, not to say all our countries would no longer have access to capital markets, that is going to be a real threat and issue. The third one is the way we will consolidate public finances and meet tighter financial conditions. The last, is the way we will set the stage for sustainable and greener growth. Last year, at BOAD we launched a sustainable bond with EUR 750 million, six times oversubscribed. Back then, my credo was: cash being king, we would have to do whatever was necessary to get as much funding as we could. My very last point is, I think to tackle these issues we need to see how to strengthen the tier 1 capital of our institutions, to answer to the one and only question that matters, which is who bears the first losses?



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

The Lebanese economy is facing stressful conditions for the third year in a row, resulting from the multi-dimensional crisis it has been going through, aggravated by the global and regional economic turbulences. Lebanon's crisis emerged after a decade of regional turmoil on the one hand and the difficulties in public finances in terms of deficit in the budget and the exacerbation of public debt and its service on the other hand. The most stressful consequence is the inflationary monetary-financial factor that is embodied by foreign-currency liquidity shortage, exchange rate devaluation, and imbalance in the balance of payments. Having an excessive trade imbalance, the Lebanese economy has been highly vulnerable to price shocks combined with a severe contraction across all economic sectors. Real GDP contracted by 11% in 2021, after registering a real contraction of 25.9% in 2020, and it is expected to contract by a further 6.5% in 2022 under the assumptions of continued inadequate macro policy responses. The average inflation rate for 2021 has been forecasted at 154.8% against an average rate of 84.9% in 2020, and it is estimated to exceed 170% by the end of 2022. Comprehensively, cumulative inflation rate between 2012 and 2021 mounted 831.6%. Lebanon's unemployment rate increased from 11.4% in 2018-2019 to 29.6% in January 2022, indicating that almost one-third of the labor force is unemployed. [.] On the Lebanese level, efforts exerted by Banque du Liban (BDL) to reestablish financial and monetary stability should be accompanied by critical measures to curb high uncertainty and set the path for recovery: political stability; political will for undertaking structural reforms and setting a viable economic plan; restoring and enhancing internal and external confidence.





# 1. Finance and Economy



**Jeffry Frieden**  
Professor of Government at Harvard University

My final point is to think about some of the political implications of what is going on. We are only at the beginning of a period of restrictive monetary policy after at least three decades of the great moderation when interest rates were extremely low and growth was reasonable. In that context, as restrictive monetary policies kick in, they will slow growth, as they already have in some countries more than the US. From a political standpoint, we can anticipate substantial pressure arising to take the brakes off monetary policy. We could argue about whether this is justified and there are current debates in the US as to whether it is worth the candle to raise interest rates or what the appropriate balance is between concern over inflation and concern over employment. We find ourselves in a sweet spot now where employment is doing very well, but that will not continue forever. When there is a clear trade-off between fighting inflation on the one hand and creating jobs or avoiding unemployment on the other, I think there will be political consequences. To be very specific, in countries that face increasing recessions in the context of tight monetary policy, I think this will provoke a resurgence of populist pressure from segments of the population that believe that central banks and the bankers are doing what they can to impoverish the working population and that they should be taken under control by the political system. I think the medium-term political prospects also presage a great deal of controversy over the appropriate measures to be taken. Those are my thoughts about the intersection of the economic events we are experiencing and some of the political and policy dilemmas we will face moving forward.



**Akinari Horii**  
Special Advisor and member of the Board of Directors of the Canon Institute for Global Studies, former Assistant Governor of the Bank of Japan

Globalization has slowed down, but it has not reversed the course. Unless globalization is reversed, inflation pressures from the supply side of the world economy will recede as supply chains are restored and alternative sources are developed. Now that the US has a split Congress, no big fiscal spending program or tax reform is likely to materialize within the next two years. US monetary policy is aimed at containing inflation and no big fiscal surprise is good news for it. Whether all this ends with a soft-landing or not, I am perhaps more optimistic than most of you around the table. Why? Perhaps because I live in Japan, away from Ukraine, first of all. Europeans are much more concerned about their own economies with reasons. Also, I see no large build-up of financial dislocations, particularly in the US, like the ones which led up to the GFCs. I hope that the central banks and other supervisory authorities will be able to manage the situation by addressing problem-causing institutions case by case. It is comforting to know that most of the banks in major countries are so well capitalized that they are unlikely to feed into a systemic crisis of the financial system. The BIS exchange market survey of 2022 has displayed once again the fact that the international currency market has scarcely changed over decades as far as the distribution of major currencies is concerned. One of the notable developments in recent years is a rise in the Chinese yuan (RMB). The RMB's rise may be accounted for, in large part, by its substitution for the Hong Kong dollar and the Russian ruble as freedom of Hong Kong as a financial center has been questioned and the Western sanctions on Russian banks has limited the use of the ruble for a means of payment for trade and other transactions.



**Kyung-wook Hur**  
President of the Korean Bretton Woods Club, Chairman of the Board of the Korea Center for International Finance, former Vice Minister for the Ministry of Strategy and Finance, former Senior Economist for the IMF

On the global monetary policy, I think there is a real danger of overtightening rather than under tightening. Normally, the idea is to bring down inflation by tightening monetary and fiscal policy together. However, this time because of the very rapid increase in interest rates, there are vulnerable groups in society that face a danger and that probably requires more support from the fiscal side. In addition, we talk about the US Inflation Reduction Act and the same has been mentioned in Europe, Japan and even Korea, because all this chip industry or EV industry require fiscal support. Another thing is the climate change adaptation costs, we all know after COP27 that we are behind the curve for meeting the target, so there will be a huge demand for fiscal support. When the monetary side is tightening, even with the best intentions of the government, there are many areas that still require fiscal standing. If the tightening is done by the monetary side alone you can end up with overtightening rather than too little tightening. [.] One final point, which is also related to the Korean side, is the foreign exchange channel that also requires overtightening. When you look at all the things concerned, we might be able to achieve the inflation target, but we are more likely to have a recession than originally planned by the most recent IMF estimate. [.] I still think there must be some more structured way for non-convertible currency countries to have reasonable expectations of access to the Fed, which is still missing. The last one was given unilaterally during the pandemic so that may be something that is missing from international financial architecture up until now.





# 1. Finance and Economy



**Pierre Jacquet**

President of the Global Development Network,  
Professor at the École nationale des ponts et  
chaussées

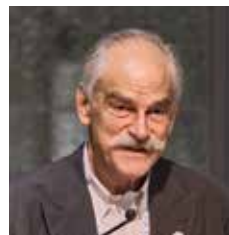
Inflation remains a risk to consider. However, there is no sign of a wage-price spiral, at least in Europe, and central banks have acted so far, if belatedly, with determination and wisdom. Inflation may not be the more ominous risk to consider in today's situation. The main danger ahead seems to me linked to the deteriorating fabric of our societies, notably linked to the perception that the economy is ultimately about enriching the rich. This requires all our attention. My second point is that the current situation is unique in the convergence it shows between a number of severe crises across the board. But capitalism has always been about crises, and beyond proximate causes, there are deep behavioral constants that continuously feed periods of excessive enthusiasm to then replace them by periods of excessive disillusion. Regulation is necessary, but it tends to be reactive rather than pro-active.



**André Lévy-Lang**

Founder and Chairman of the Louis Bachelier  
Institute

My topic is the interaction between finance and geopolitics, what I call the weaponizing of finance. It is not a new issue, remember that sanctions and boycotts have been used for political means against countries like Angola, Iran, and Sudan, but what is new since last February is that it involves Russia, which is a significant economy and that is a major change. If you look at finance as a weapon, the question is what impact this situation has on the huge amounts of investments that, as Jean-Claude mentioned, will be needed to be able to finance climate change, because we are talking about very large numbers. The fact that finance is used as a weapon has implications in terms of systemic risk, the behavior of financial institutions and the markets, and it is not clear to us, and we are working on that, how finance in general can support and make it feasible to accomplish these huge investments without creating systemic risk, breaking the system of creating major, unmanageable situations. That is a key issue on which we are currently starting a project with Ifri, by the way. Again, it is very easy to formulate the issues but not easy at all to develop and turn into a research project.



**John Lipsky**

Senior Fellow of the Foreign Policy Institute at  
Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School  
of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), former  
First Deputy Managing Director of the IMF

If long-term rates rise notably, and remain elevated for any period, higher, there is going to be tremendous pressure on the fiscal accounts in the advanced economies, because debt service costs with rise inexorably as a percentage of revenues. I have been suggesting that the intense focus on monetary policy in public discussion of the economic and financial outlook seems to underemphasize analysis of the underlying fundamental forces that I think are the most important. It is widely recognized that developing country debt is going to be a problem. We also know the outlines of the problem that currently is blocking the formation of an effective multilateral solution. In sum, it is the big change in the composition of the creditors of the developing economies that has occurred since the Global Financial Crisis, which has rendered the pre-existing Paris Club ineffective. New international cooperation is required in order to make progress toward a solution. Recognizing that the Paris Club was no longer the appropriate venue, the G20 created the Common Framework for Debt Treatment. The Common Framework so far has been notable for its sluggish progress, not to be more critical than that. This is an issue that is a litmus test for the outlook for global policy cooperation. In other words, the G20's Common Framework must be made to work. For sure, compromises will have to be reached in order to make it work. Regardless of the specifics — for those worried about global inequality, and for those concerned about the unraveling of global governance — there needs to be a solution to the current impasse.



**Jean-Claude Meyer**

Vice Chairman International  
of Rothschild & Cie

Next year will be volatile, difficult, unpleasant, a "tough year" to quote the Chairman of Mubadala, because growth will decline with a recession in some countries until the summer; stock markets will remain unsteady, - bumpy. Interest rates should increase at a slower pace in parallel with a lower but sticky inflation going down and energy prices, shipping rates and raw materials falling thanks to a lower growth. This growth contraction should also raise the unemployment up to 5.5% in the US which will have a positive effect against inflation. But we can have a rosier scenario in 2024. Once "the job is done" to quote Jay Powell, anticipations for 2024 should improve, with a certain growth, including in China, lower inflation and lower interest rates, in brief: a soft landing. Provided there is no more Covid and that the war in Ukraine does not deteriorate, and there is no war in Taiwan. In this framework, we can therefore be a little more optimistic for the end of next year, with a recovery in 2024. US stocks markets will then behave better than the European stocks, thanks to the strength of the dollar, and the lack of problems which Europe has to face: the eurozone being more fragile than the US, and more affected then by the Ukrainian war and by inflation due to the price of energy, of food and the high demand stimulated by European budgetary policies. To conclude, we feel badly in the short term, better in the medium term, and contrary to the projections of Keynes: not dead in the long term. Maybe a dream.







## 2. Energy and Environment



CHAIR  
**Valérie Ducrot**  
Executive Director of Global Gas Centre

I have recently been on a mission in Central Asia and when we talk about energy efficiency we have to mention subsidies. When energy is subsidized it is very difficult to have prices that reflect the real market. That is a very important topic that we have to tackle in the North as well. The second point is green hydrogen. Some projects are linked with Africa, for example, that have solar farms and then come back to Europe for green hydrogen. I am afraid it could increase the gap, as you mentioned, between the South and North. This is a topic that we have to tackle and to discuss again because it is a bit contradictory. Regarding the last point you just mentioned, circularity, if we talk about green hydrogen that is partly produced in Africa and then sent back to Europe it is not circularity at all. [.] When we are talking about reducing demand, again, it is a northern conversation. If we think of the South, there are billions of people who do not have access to energy and do not have access to electricity. In South Africa they are in blackout two hours a day, and there are many examples like this. We, therefore, have to be careful. If we want to live in a better world we have to increase our production of energy and electricity. That is the topic. For sure in Europe we live in the context that we are now in, but we have to be careful of the conversation globally. [.] I would add natural gas as well. You have a lot of projects in Southeast Asia and on floating LNG, which are very important. If I take the example of the Philippines and Indonesia, that is an important topic we have not spoken about. However, natural gas has its role in energy transition and access to electricity is essential.



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

The Russian invasion of Ukraine is clearly a wake up call. Geopolitics is a key dimension in the energy sector. Geopolitics has always been a key dimension of the oil sector. This is due to the concern of security of supply. The unequal distribution of oil and gas reserves is an important concern. The same applies to natural gas. The Ukrainian conflict is a clear example of this return of geopolitics. Thanks to their renewed energy independence, the US was claiming leadership on the world energy market and also in the supply of Europe. On their side, Russia, the first gas exporter, is threatening the energy weapon, which has been made afterwards. The invasion of Ukraine by Russia on February 24 is a decisive turning point. This dramatic event has had a major impact on the energy scene. Most European countries reacted to mitigate the impact to the final consumer. The European Union rapidly took embargo measures on coal and oil. We may question the real impact of these measures on the Russian economy. The natural gas market is tightening. This is a clear challenge for Europe, which relies heavily on Russian supplies. LNG is a unique alternative. In a nutshell, the geopolitics will be an inescapable challenge of the energy sector for years to come. It is clearly urgent to integrate this dimension into the energy policies to be put in place all around the world.



**Narendra Taneja**  
Chairman of the Independent Energy Policy Institute of New Delhi, Founder President of the World Energy Policy Summit (WEPS)

When you look at the climate, like COP and other platforms under the UN and all that, we have by now created a kind of global governance structure, some infrastructure and some rules. There is, therefore, a kind of global governance emerging as far as the climate is concerned. I strongly believe that energy policy, energy security, climate policy, climate security are two sides of the same coin. If we reject that we are compromising with our future. The OECD countries, or the so called Global North, are very happy to build that kind of thing for climate, but for energy they are not. Yes, there is OPEC. OPEC is a cartel. Yes, the IEA takes care of the interests of the OECD countries, and there are a few others for renewables and the International Energy Forum and so forth, but the point is that the biggest challenge today is that the majority of OECD countries are not open to even have a discussion on this issue. How can you build some kind of sustainable climate global governance without building a sustainable energy global governance order? How can you do that? [.] The Ukraine war happens and look at the reaction, for instance, of Europe. The immediate first reaction of Europe to start building a kind of energy fortress for Europe. The concern is Europe. Build a fortress. Go to Canada with a huge delegation, as the German chancellor did. Go to Saudi Arabia. Go to Qatar. That LNG ship going to impoverished Bangladesh was only 200 miles away from LNG import terminals in Bangladesh when it was diverted to Germany. What are we talking about then? You think that we can build a sustainable global climate governance? How? You think you build an energy fortress for Europe and you will be fine? If India buys a few drops more oil from Russia you spend half of your energy just taking India to task, not mentioning China even once, which imports much more, or Europe.





## 2. Energy and Environment



**Florent Andrillon**  
Global Head of Sustainability Services at Capgemini Invent

What we need to do, getting into a matter of time, is to get up to speed on climate change in all its dimensions. My friend Helen Clarkson from the Climate Group says that our biggest threat is climate delayism, putting climate topics further away down the road and focusing on energy safety, while what we probably need to do is what the world successfully did during COVID, which is Operation Warp Speed. How do we put all our energy into climate change and on the deployment of the technologies which are already there and on accelerating the innovation of technologies which exist all around the world, including low tech because low tech is also a good way? Also, Jugaad innovation is probably also something we should dig into more to save energy and reduce our energy consumption. [...] Energy supply and energy safety has been neglected. This has led to be reliant mostly on an external gas network. Clearly we have had a hard wake up call. Energy sobriety is a critical and immediate measure for Europe, at least, to avoid disruption in supply, not only relying on the other ones. [...] It is very easy to tell other countries to get rid of their CO2 plants, but you all know that those CO2 plants have a lifetime of 30 to 50 years and they will not disappear overnight, and all the countries that are relying on coal do not have enough resources to invest overnight in new clean energy, new nuclear plants, so CCUS will be required for the Eastern Europe countries and also for Asia. We clearly have to be realistic and the energy crisis will probably delay the reduction of GHG emissions. GHG emissions in 2022 are back to where they were in 2019, so a strong increase. In the medium-term carbon free energy will be more dependent on domestic resources. Maybe one last word on something that was not mentioned in the previous discussion: it is circularity. I strongly believe that circularity is also a lever that is insufficiently used and explored and that is also a way to solve part of the equation. We discussed earlier about the lack of materials that we will probably face, but we do not explore circularity at all, or not sufficiently, as a lever to reuse and re inject the materials into the economy that we need to support the energy transition.



**Igor Yurgens**  
Scientific Director of MGIMO Centre for Sustainable Development and ESG Transformation

After long period of reflection and hesitation the Russian Federation committed itself to reach net zero by 2060. It presently adopted the national plan of decarbonization and major Russian public and private companies did the same. You can appreciate the challenge to accomplish such obligation when 60% of the foreign trade, 40% of the budget and 20% of the GDP of the Russian Federation essentially consist of hydrocarbons. To accomplish such task will require the restructuring of the whole national economy. [...] In terms of business, surprisingly enough, despite of all the sanctions and the pressure on Russian businesses, private and public, an ESG alliance has been built up by the 30 largest companies. They are working hard on the non-financial reporting, on green financial instruments and on trying to clean themselves up in accordance with the sustainable development criteria. I can tell you that in most of those companies you can see a pretty sensible plan for decarbonization. [...] Russia actually has to start renewables from scratch. We had such cheap gas, oil and coal that we didn't have motivation to use other sources. However, I would say that the prerequisites are all there. Yakutia, which is in the extreme north of Russia and which has temperatures of minus 40 degrees in winter, has more sunny days than France, for example. Russia is a pretty solar area. Winds are no problem at all and of course, plenty of water is available. From this point of view, 20% of the world production of hydrogen was the target for the Russian Federation according to this decarbonization plan. Renewables – wind, solar and tides – I think account for no more than 2% of the energy balance in Russia at the moment. However, people are starting to do all of these pilot projects in big parks and, surprisingly enough, especially among the younger generation, people are very enthusiastic about it. I mentioned the ESG alliance, but we also have different initiatives, including a coalition for the sustainable development of Russia, a big organization of young people with bright eyes. In spite of everything else, they fight for their causes.



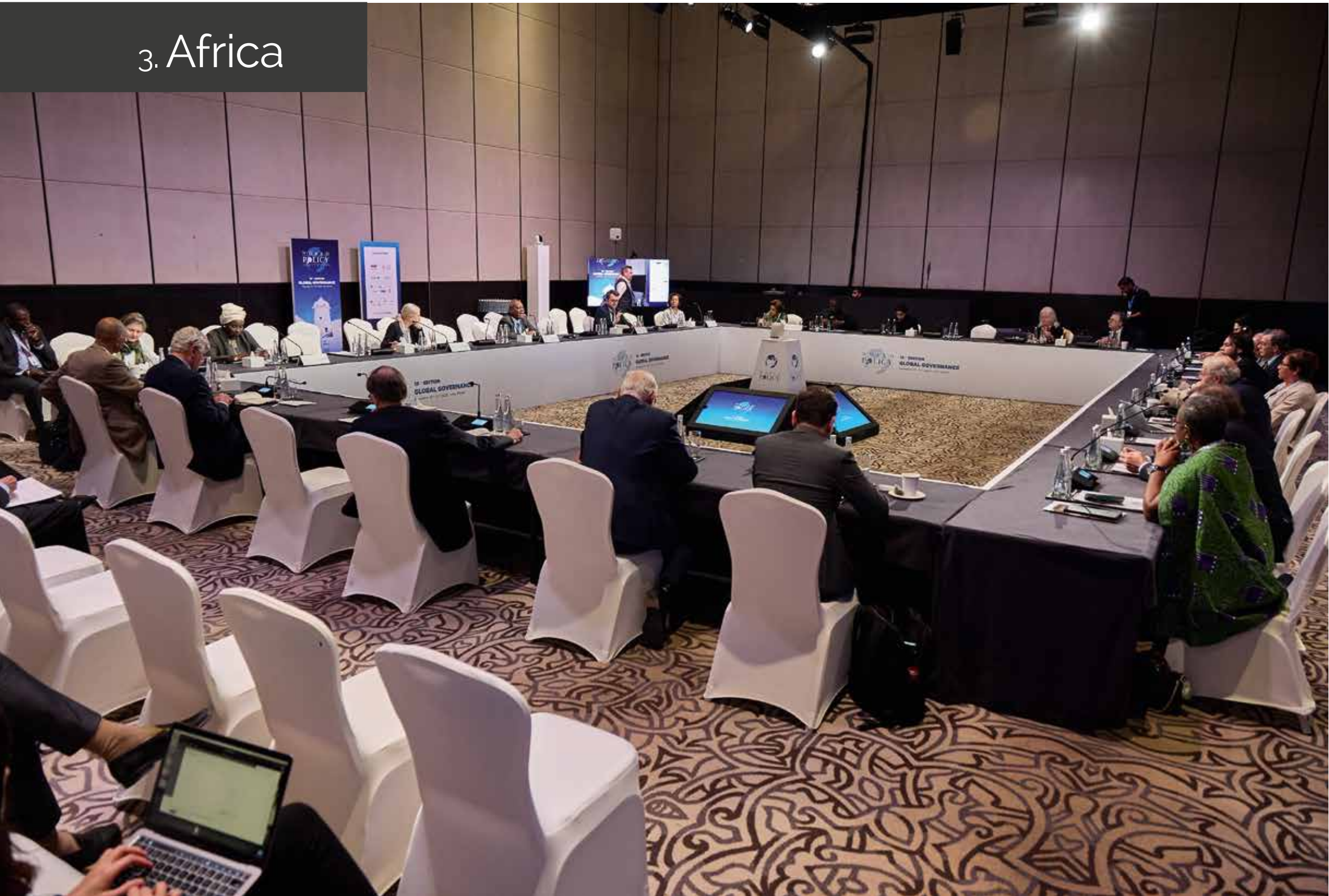
**Marc-Antoine Eyl-Mazzega**  
Director of the Center for Energy & Climate of Ifri

Is it also an issue of governance? For example, you mentioned the IEA. We also had this conversation, but since we had it India has been invited to become a member of the IEA. Yes, they are working on changing the treaty establishing the IEA, and in the same organization there are a number of other BRICS countries that are on the table. There is at least this forum. It is a little bit more than a forum in a way. Then of course there is COP. I like the idea of this kind of energy Security Council. I think that is quite interesting. Now, who would you put on there? The largest consumers and the largest producers? Then there is nobody in Africa. Then, therefore, you have to make exceptions, but then all of a sudden you have 100 countries around the table or 80 or 70. Then what do you do? Do you listen to 70 presentations? Have you ever attended a UN General Assembly meeting? It is just insane. You have three days of presentations because every country has, I do not know, five or seven minutes, and then you listen to these things. There is, therefore, an issue of how exactly that would play out and then what it would actually be able to do. Would we discuss the gas problems in Europe with the Russians? The Russians would give their narrative, then the Europeans would say, 'This is an insane aggression', and then after two hours we would not have moved an inch. The Russians would have said, 'No, it is the fault of the Europeans', and the Europeans would have said, 'No, it is the fault of the Russians'. I think there is this issue, which should not be underestimated, that the big problem of global governance is also the effectiveness to act. We have a chance to have some institutions that somehow work, so maybe let us try to improve that. [...] The other aspects that could be discussed are of course the clash of industrial policies. This is an uncooperative world we are entering into. There is short term protectionism. One understands why, but then in the longer term it will of course probably slow down some developments, or at least increase costs for some, while others who have more money might be able to cope better. Then, yes, on the climate governance I would just like to emphasize the issue that again we could discuss in such a format the need for a global carbon price.





# 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

I would like to say this. Since the African countries declared their independence, their successive governments have been in charge of building States that did not exist, because their boundaries were arbitrarily drawn up at the Berlin Conference. So the first need was to build a nation-state and then the new societies' socio-economic foundations. Sixty years on, has the mission been accomplished? What are the challenges? Nothing is out of bounds. Everyone comes with his or her own concerns and we will try to identify the issue in the observation, and the issue in perspective. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the proportion of young people in all our countries has skyrocketed. I was reading recently that there is a mass of young people there, and things are simmering a little. The author concluded that a volcano is waiting to erupt. We have had signs of this in recent years. I think that this is the perspective in which we can try to see all the issues that will be brought up.



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

As far as the evolution of the situation in the Sahel is concerned, a few lessons can be learned about what has worked and what has not. Many countries in the Sahel have tried policies. Some have utterly failed, and others seem to be working: 1/ The conflict in the Sahel, which is spilling over into other West African states, must not be thought of in terms of international terrorism; 2/ Not to deny the internal roots of the conflicts. It is important to say this, because in the end the outside actors and state actors tend to deny them; 3/ The military-security response is indispensable – we must not be naïve – but not enough. The other part of the response is not necessarily to say "we are going to increase aid"; 4/ These security responses must not lead to more insecurity. Some poorly calibrated military responses in the Sahel countries have actually led to increased violence in certain areas; 5/ Thinking that the international community's disorganized response is solely the responsibility of the international community. Here again, this is worth thinking about, because in reality, and we all saw this at the very beginning in the first years of what is happening in Mali, if aid and wartime aid is considered income like any other, it is in a country's interest, if it wants to continue having an income, to have many sources that are not very well coordinated with each other; 6/ The mistake of thinking that this is a temporary crisis that will be resolved in five years. We are experiencing a kind of historical break of several dimensions that combine with each other. There is indeed the question of international terrorism. Nonetheless we can read these revolts as uprisings of the peripheries against the political centers; 7/ Even though most of the population in the Sahel is horrified by and against the violence of the Salafi jihadists, it is not at all clear that a significant part of the Sahel's population do not agree with their ultimate political goal, that is, to replace the existing political system with something based on religious lines.



**Cheikh Tidiane Gadio**  
President of the Institute for Pan-African Strategies,  
Peace-Security-Governance, Special Envoy of the OIF,  
former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Senegal

I wanted to say a few quick words about security, development and leadership. It is my profound belief that Africa's number one problem is the lack of leadership. Africa has not had a development strategy since 1960 and the lack of strategy is related to our leaders' lack of vision. The grave security crisis is a good illustration of the lack of leadership on the continent. The elimination of Gaddafi and the destabilization of Libya was like kicking over an anthill where all these people scurried out to head for the Sahel. At the time, we warned our Western friends, "what you are doing in Libya will have immediate consequences on the Sahel and West Africa". Of course, we were not listened to. [...] The other big problem today is that there are two foxes in the chicken coop. There are the terrorists, but there are also our Russian friends. Our Russian friends have entered the game, almost without our knowing it. They have occupied the Internet. They have sometimes activated some of their local supporters, who have abundantly used the weapon of fake news. When there was a coup in Burkina Faso at 11 a.m., by noon young people were waving thousands of Russian flags in the capital. Can it be believed that this was spontaneous? And the first person to support and defend the coup happened to be the boss of the famous Wagner group. Today, Russia's "Africa Strategy" seems to be scoring points in some countries and with some of our youth leaders. Why are our leaders taking so long to grasp the gravity of the aggression taking place against African peoples, sometimes with mass massacres that resemble a genocidal pattern of systematic elimination? Why don't they understand that this must be stopped? With this absolute urgency before us, we are told that the industrialization of Africa is the solution to our problems. All well and good. Africa must be industrialized. But we have not solved the fundamental challenge that is the precondition of all development: security! The basic criteria for development have not been met anywhere on the continent.





### 3. Africa



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

Africa has made remarkable progress and begun to overcome its weaknesses. But Africa has been hard hit by Covid and by the climate crisis, a cruel twist of irony since it is the continent most impacted by but the least responsible for this crisis. How can Africa grow stronger, defend its interests and free itself from all forms of neo-colonialism? From this perspective, what can Europe do with Africa? There is an external and internal consensus on emphasizing the incredible energy of African youth, whose creativity I admire. African women are achieving amazing things in the circular economy. Europeans can learn many lessons from African know-how and traditions, especially in agroecology. There is obviously a long way to go to develop agroecology, industrialize Africa and promote better governance. A state functioning with rules and respect for the rule of law is essential for sustainable progress. The EU should be devoting as much attention and priorities to Africa as it does to Eastern Europe. This is very difficult. There was already an imbalance well before the war in Ukraine, but the war has made it worse. The EU must realize that in today's world, its interests, and the interests of all its member states, lie in working with Africa to develop a strategy to prevent us from being caught between the interests of the two superpowers. This is not just a matter of financial and economic aid. An equal-to-equal economic partnership that focuses on training, health and education must be invented. The EU must overhaul its asylum and immigration policy. I am convinced that in Europe, but also in Africa, we have no other choice but to develop, each of us keeping our interests in mind, a common strategy to meet the challenges of today's world. Otherwise, we will be crushed.



**Aminata Touré**  
Representative of the Senegalese National Assembly, former Prime Minister, former President of the Economic, Social and Environmental Council of Senegal

I am going to put myself on the other side of the equation. Africa also offers reasons to hope. When we became independent in 1960, life expectancy was 40, I believe. Today it is 63 and rising. That is an indicator. Another key indicator involves women: when you want to move forward, investing in women is a matter of common sense. Africa's 54 countries were taken as a whole, it would be the world's eighth largest economy. This means that Africa generates wealth and could generate more if we managed to make our voices heard. [...] Funding is at the heart of the matter, but nobody wants to address the issue because obviously it is a complex issue. It is time to get to the bottom of it if we really want to tackle the problem. The middle class is growing at a brisk pace. The ADB now puts the figure at 226 million. There are more mobile phones in Africa than in the United States and Canada combined. Telephone banking is much more widespread in Africa than in some other parts of the world. Of course, at a time when people need electricity, industrialization, etc. African leaders cannot tell them, "Listen, we are going to protect the climate. We are not going to use the gas that has just been discovered." This will be a very thorny issue, especially since Africa is the continent that has contributed the least and suffers the most from climate change and needs funding. It is important for our partners to understand this. [...] Africa will and must invest in its women, its youth and its institutions. This is my last word: strong institutions, constitutions that presidents must respect. No more third terms. They must be abolished everywhere, starting with my country, Senegal, where I hope Macky Sall will not seek another term.



**Juliette Tuakli**  
Chief Executive Officer of CHILDAccra Medical, United Way Worldwide Chair Immediate Past (IP), Mercy Ships Africa Ambassador, Medical Director

The global health crisis and poverty are pushing a green and digital transformation in Africa. The impact of inequitable distribution of energy and shortages of energy on health and education is considerable in our continent. An estimated 600 million people in Africa have had no experience of electricity, that is half of the entire population of Africa. However, the prospects for expansion of access to grid-based electricity are slim each year and yet our electricity consumption will more than double over the next 20 years, driven by growing per capita income, increased and very rapid urbanization and continued economic transformation. Renewable energy options appear particularly viable for our off-grid remote or isolated areas where electricity access remains a real and pressing challenge. I fully expect that we will leapfrog to distributed energy systems. The growth in our energy and electricity demands does however present extraordinary economic opportunity for financing mechanisms that go beyond the traditional public-private finance models we are used to, alongside multilateral and developmental assistance opportunities. Some of these opportunities would come from the African Development Bank and the African diaspora. The ADB has just agreed to partner with WHO on the Africa Connect initiative, which will strategically tap into the African diaspora's investments into health and infrastructure on the continent. The official developmental assistance to Africa in 2021 stood at USD 35 billion. However, this was just 36% of the value of remittances from the diaspora, at USD 95.6 billion, with Egypt and Nigeria representing at least 50% of all remittances into the continent. This new initiative is particularly important for us and for African-led financing initiatives that address both our clean energy and our electricity needs, which are particularly essential to our health and education.



**Lionel Zinsou**  
Co-Founder and Co-Chair of SouthBridge, Chairman of Terra Nova think tank, former Prime Minister of Benin, former Chairman of PAI Partners

When our country became independent, 10% of the people had electricity. Today we are probably close to 50%. In 1960, two million people had no electricity. The 50% who do not have it today number six million. The percentages show that progress is being made. But the number of people without power has risen from two to six million. The second most capital-intensive sector is agriculture. When you buy a pair of oxen and a multi-shank plough and own what is an average-size plot for a farmer in Africa, which is two hectares, it represents 10 years of income. The capital coefficient is at an absolutely record level. Add water and it is the same. Add the fact that infrastructure requiring capital only creates indirect jobs and when agriculture is modernized in my country, it destroys jobs. Our youth problem is also a capital problem. We have the highest capital coefficient in the economy to mobilize out of all the continents. But we have capital that does not directly create jobs. So, we have a considerable financial problem. [...] Win-win partnerships can be invented but symbolic gestures of indifference must not multiply. And in the period of crises that we have just gone through, what happened with vaccines, at least, what happened with medical equipment, what is happening with the lack of solidarity after the dollar shock and a number of countries from Ethiopia to Ghana, and even Kenya, having considerable currency difficulties, the lack of logistical support, the lack of support on some essential food supplies, have undermined trust and optimism. That is why I said there are reasons for anger. There are reasons for bitterness. But the lesson has been well learned. Africa, a subject of its history and not an object of pity for others, after all the crises and whatever the good intentions of Oxfam or Friends of the Earth, does not want to be lectured or make the world happy at the expense of our own interests.



LUNCH & DINNER DEBATES







### Kevin Rudd

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

Xi Jinping's visit to Riyadh is a significant one because China has embarked over the last five to seven years on an advanced economic diplomacy towards the Gulf states in particular. There is one background point, however, which is that China has a much longer standing relationship with Iran. This goes back to the 1980s, where China has been supplying the Iranians with military equipment right back to the time of the Iran-Iraq war. This is a long-standing relationship, which will be in the back of the mind of the Gulf leaders, from Saudi Arabia, from the Emirates and from elsewhere, as they sit down with Xi Jinping. They will also be asking themselves this question: if the Iranians in the future threaten the national security of the Emirates or of the Saudis, as they have done in the past, what will China then do? [...] Xi Jinping has just secured his own reappointment as Party General Secretary for another five years at the 20<sup>th</sup> Party Congress just concluded, and Xi Jinping wants to secure Taiwan's return while he is in China's top position. That does not necessarily mean the next five years – as my judgement is that Xi Jinping will wish to remain leader of China well into the 2030s as well. The reason I emphasize the next five years is as follows, and there are two factors here: one is whether the two sides can agree on a series of management principles, protocols and mechanisms to prevent crisis, conflict and war by accident over the next five years, and that is what we have just been talking about as far as the Biden/Xi summit in Bali was concerned, but the second reason why the next five years are so important is for the medium to long term. That is, will the Americans be able to seize the opportunity, both themselves and their allies in Asia and Europe, together with the Taiwanese themselves, mindful of what the Ukrainians have done on the ground, to build deterrence in a manner which causes China, by the time you hit the late 2020s and early 2030s, to still conclude it is too risky to undertake a war by design – that is not a war by accident but a war by design – to secure its political objectives in Taiwan? That is why I regard the next five years as critical and why I also call it the decade of living dangerously, which I think it is as well.







**Laurent Fabius**  
President of the French Constitutional Council,  
President of the COP 21, former Prime Minister  
of France

COP21 was a success, not only thanks to French diplomacy but because there was an extraordinary conjunction between what I call the "three planets": the scientific planet – scientists, engineers –, the civil society planet – cities, regions, public opinion, private companies, financial institutions – and the governments planet. Before Paris, the climate warming's trend was between 3 and 4 degrees. The Paris Agreement defined objectives and commitments (1.5 degree or 2 degrees, carbon neutrality by the middle of the century, etc.): today, the trend is about 2.5 degrees. That is better than before, but not enough. Now, we must prepare for the future. There are four ways to summarize how things should be addressed. First, there is what I would call globality. The main crises today are international and interdisciplinary: for example, we know it will be impossible to address climate change if we do not make the same effort to combat biodiversity loss at the same time. Second, finance will be key. The question for the future is: how can we convince financial actors that it is an absolute necessity to invest in renewables and to disinvest from traditional emitters? This will probably be the key element for the next COP. Third, rapidity is crucial. It is necessary to emphasize short-term decisions. If we do not do that, the long-term will not be in line. Fourth, social justice – related to finance – is key. We have seen that if we want to address climate change, it is a social problem as well, for example with the Yellow vest movement that took place in France a few years ago. Regarding the upcoming COP in the UAE, you can imagine what some comments will be, about greenwashing, etc. In fact, it can be very useful because there is diversification here, and if a country like this one shows there is hope, that we really can change things, then we can get back hope for the future.



























Reem Ibrahim Al Hashimy

We are incredibly delighted to be hosting the 15th edition of the World Policy Conference and in Abu Dhabi for the second time. This is indeed a great privilege, and we are here, hopefully not only welcoming you to enjoy your time here but also to engage in substantive discussions. Because the World Policy Conference is also a platform for valuable exchange and dialogue from the shared diversity of the speakers and the attendance.

Khaldoon Khalifa Al Mubarak

It is a pleasure to have this distinguished group of people from all over the world to be here for this distinguished conference, and of course thank you so much for your kind invitation. It is a pleasure to be here today.

Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj

I like this conference, I call it the political Davos. People come from all over the world, from different universities and with very different backgrounds. It is a great place to network and to share good messages to the world's politics. I think it is a great venue and I like participating in this conference because we can be very open.

Dania Koleilat Khatib

Many thanks for the kind invitation to the WPC. As usual, it was a great pleasure to participate.

Helle Kristoffersen

I am happy to be at this conference where there are so many people from so many parts of the world because that is a great opportunity.

Dmytro Kuleba

I would like to congratulate you on organizing this excellent World Policy Conference, which brings together so many prominent voices from all parts of the world, and this is probably the most important achievement, to bring together representatives of so many regions and countries.

Prince Michael of Liechtenstein

The interesting thing about this conference is that you can learn a lot. It covers politics, economics, technology, and social issues – basically everything that moves the world. While it certainly focuses a bit more on politics and economics, this is still very valuable.

Mayankote Kelath Narayanan

It has been my privilege for over a decade to be invited to the World Policy Conference deliberations in different World Capitals and also to speak on these occasions. The subjects discussed at the WPC have evolved over time to suit the changing nature of the global discourse.

Abdulaziz Sager

It is great to see a lot of good friends and everyone together here. We understand what it takes to bring this effort together.

Tobby Simon

I want to thank you for inviting me to the WPC in Abu Dhabi and congratulate you and the team for the hospitality and excellent discussions we could participate in.

Ingvil Smines Tybring-Gjedde

The energy crisis we are now experiencing will be followed by a much more widespread crisis of CRMs. Without our own mining industry, Europe is building its renewable energy system on Chinese and Russian soil, and I think that should worry all Europeans. Thank you so much for having this topic at this conference.

Peter Beyer

The conference was a unique opportunity for intense exchange of experiences, opinions and ideas, the organization and execution was excellent, and the high level of expertise made the conference a very special one.

Yim, Hyosung

I would like to thank you for the invitation to attend this year. It was truly a new experience for me to hear, first-handedly from experts around the world, many new perspectives on a variety of topics including international relations, politics, energy and the environment. I enjoyed it very much.

Memduh Karakullukçu

Let me extend my heartfelt gratitude to you and your team for hosting us so well in Abu Dhabi and for organizing an intellectually rich agenda as always.

Josef Joffe

The meeting was perfectly organized from beginning to end. Congratulations to the Team.

Holger Mey

It was certainly a great pleasure having participated in the WPC 2022. As all those three times before that I attended, it was a fantastic setting and perfectly organized. Thank you so much for having invited me again.

Qiao Yide

I would like to congratulate you on the success of 15th WPC. It's a wonderful one. I enjoyed it very much.

Jean Alaux-Lorain

Just a few words to thank you warmly for your invitation to the WPC 2022. I particularly remember the fascinating speeches on China-US tensions on Friday evening. And it is of course always a pleasure to meet the WPC and Ifri community again!

Olivier Appert

The debates were fascinating and provided important insights into a particularly critical situation. I was delighted to be able to contribute to those discussions.

Valérie Ducrot

I really want to thank you for this conference which was a total success.

Marie-Roger Biloa

I am a regular at the World Policy Conference. It is an occasion that I try never to miss because it provides an opportunity to meet and talk with speakers from different backgrounds, and to get an accurate understanding of where the world is in terms of political, military and strategic issues.

Jacques Biot

Once again, the entire event yielded an impressive harvest of facts, insights and intuitions that will help us develop a more clear-sighted vision of the future.

Laurent Cohen-Tanugi

First of all, let me congratulate you and thank you for this new WPC edition, which I thought was perhaps even more pertinent and engaging than the previous ones. Also, this was my first visit to the UAE, and I was very favorably impressed.

Laurent Fabius

I am delighted to be at this conference, which generally speaking, has a reputation for analyzing the world as it is and not as we would like it to be.

Michel Kazatchkine

My most heart-felt congratulations for such a rewarding WPC, replete with updates, new information, remarkable guests, and an open-minded approach, which meant that the only constraint was that of time!

Pierre Monteiller

It is the diversity and quality of the speakers at this conference that makes it so valuable. The sessions are fast-paced and powerful, the speakers are excellent and often have only 10-15 minutes in a formal presentation to articulate their perspective, and yet they manage to get their main points across. Outside of that formal setting, there are opportunities to encounter speakers in a more relaxed way during dinner or over coffee to go into certain subjects in more depth. It is really valuable to have such proximity to the speakers and this is what makes this conference so rewarding in my opinion.

General Francis A. Béhanzin

The organization and oversight have been perfect in all visible areas. The participants are of a very high caliber. The various subjects broached in the plenary and in the workshops were pertinent. Discussions have been of a very high quality. The atmosphere is very friendly, and time passed all too quickly.

Jean-Marie Paugam

Once again, I have great admiration for such a wonderful undertaking on the part of the WPC, which I had previously known so little about. I am struck again by your immense talent in putting the event together, but above all I have realized how closely allied I am with the thinking that you foster: evolution rather than revolution, a reasonably open world, diversity, lucid discussions, and a touch of mischievousness. I would like to express my thanks and offer my full support.

Robert Sigal

A very big thank you for your invitation to participate in this edition of the WPC; as is the case every year, I took great intellectual pleasure in it (I need hardly mention Kevin Rudd and Laurent Fabius), and the discussion you had with the Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs was genuinely moving, and I made some very useful contacts. I also was able to have an engaging discussion with the young and brilliant X Mines whom you had the excellent idea of inviting. Last but not least, the flawless organization (so congratulations to the whole team).

Alain Tchibozo

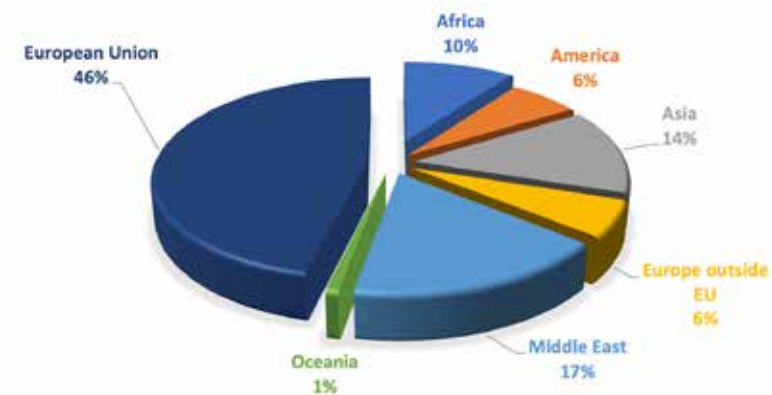
There is genuine substance in the speeches, which are delivered with panache and in a very interesting way. This is a very good conference.

Nicolas Véron

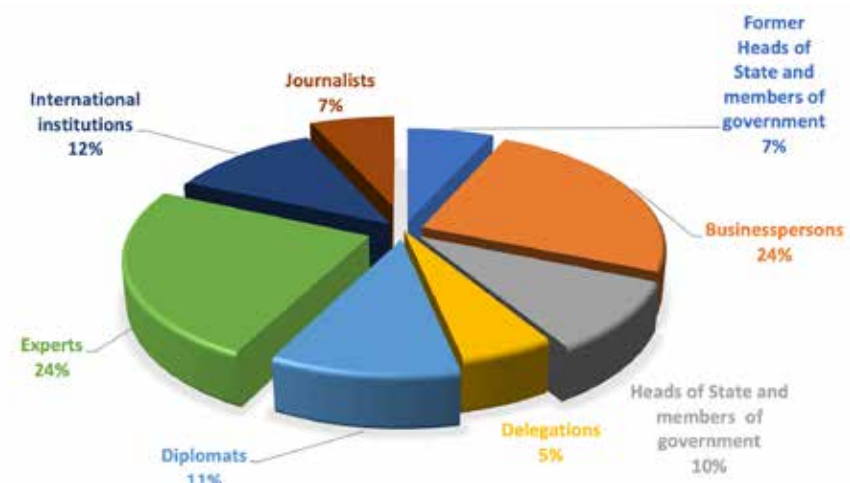
The more uncertainty mounts, the more we need these debates, and the more relevant the World Policy Conference and other venues of the same type are, particularly because of the hallmark of this conference, which is to avoid single-mindedness, be that US-centric or China-centric, and to manage to create an in-between space, a third space outside of this sort of polarization, which has become much more pronounced in recent years between the United States and China. I think it is this that makes this conference very valuable at the current time.



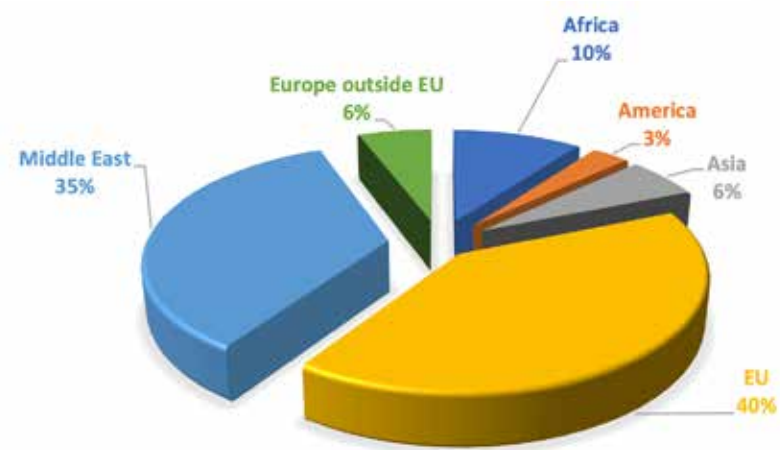




Participants – Geographical breakdown  
(240 participants from 52 countries)



Participants – Breakdown by function  
(240 participants from 52 countries)



Geographical breakdown of main published articles  
(total: 69 articles)

INVITED GUESTS







Abdelatif, Soumeya

Medical doctor, Director of companies. First Vice President of the Robert Schuman Institute for Europe, she also served as auditor of the Institute of Advanced Studies in National Defense (IHEDN).

Adamakis, Emmanuel

Elder Metropolitan of Chalcedon. Former Vice President and President of the Conference of European Churches, he also served as Director of the Office of the Orthodox Church to the European Union in Brussels. 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 World Bank and the Department for International Development of the UK.

Akita, Hiroyuki

Commentator of Nikkei. He writes commentaries, columns, and analyses 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 Awar, Saeed

Managing Director and Head of Middle East at Rothschild & Co. Before that, he worked for Linklaters. He also serves as Independent Director of the Board of ADC SPAC and Xcube. He is an Advisory Council member of the Dubai International Chamber of Commerce.

Al Bowardi, Mohammed

Cabinet member and Minister of State for Defence Affairs of the United Arab Emirates. Managing Director and Board member of the Environment Agency- Abu Dhabi, he is also Deputy Chairman of the Mohamed bin Zayed Species Conservation Fund, and Vice Chairman of Mubadala Development Company and Dolphin Energy Limited.

Al Dhaheri, Mohammed

Deputy Director General of the Anwar Gargash Diplomatic Academy.

Al Ghafri, Amer

Senior Director of Space Engineering Department at the Mohammed Bin Rashid Space Centre. Project Manager of MBZSat, he also was in the main MBRSC Space projects as head of AIT of DubaiSat-1, and as Deputy Project Manager of DubaiSat-2.

Al Hashimy, Reem Ibrahim

Minister of the State for International Cooperation of the UAE. Former Chairperson of the Federal Competitiveness and Statistics Authority, she is CEO of Expo City Dubai Authority. She also manages the Vice President's Office for Political Affairs.

Al Hosani, Farida

Official Spokesperson for the health sector in the UAE. Manager of Communicable Diseases Department of the Abu Dhabi Center of Public Health, she is also Adjunct Associate Professor at the College of Medicine and Health Sciences at the UAE University.

Al Mahmood, Marwa Rashid

Senior Executive of the International Organizations Unit of the Ministry of Finance of the United Arab Emirates. She is responsible for following up the implementation of joint activities with international organizations of which the Ministry of Finance is a member at.

Al Mazrui, Abdullah

Chairman of UAE Chambers of Commerce and Industry. Former Managing Director of the National Bank of Abu Dhabi and former Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bank of Tunisia and the Emirates, he is currently the Chairman of the BOD of Emirates Insurance Company.

Al Mheiri, Mariam

Minister of Climate Change and Environment of the UAE. Former Minister of State for Food and Water Security, she was responsible for monitoring national food stocks, investing in food technology, and following up international relations.

Al Mubarak, Khaldoon Khalifa

Group Chief Executive Officer and Managing Director of Mubadala. Founding Chairman of the Abu Dhabi Executive Affairs Authority, he 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 Neyadi, Salem

UAE Ambassador to the Organisation internationale de la francophonie (OIF).

Al Saud, Prince Faisal bin Farhan

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia. Ambassador of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques to Germany, he was also Advisor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Senior Advisor at the Embassy of Saudi Arabia in Washington, and Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors of Alsalam Aerospace Company.

Al Sayegh, Ahmed Ali

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

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

Associate within the venture capital arm of BPI France. A French civil servant, he worked in the merger & acquisition team of BNP Paribas based in Singapore and in the life sciences division of software editor Dassault Systèmes in France.

Almarar, Khalifa Shaheen

Minister of State of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation in the United Arab Emirates. Former Assistant Minister for Political Affairs, he also served as 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 Académie des sciences morales et politiques, he was the founder and first Director of the Department of Cognitive Studies at the ENS. He is chiefly interested in cognitive science and artificial intelligence, their impact on 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.

Andrillon, Florent

Global Head of Capgemini Invent Sustainability Services. He advises organizations from different sectors on their climate, environment, and energy transition transformation projects. He also worked with many companies in the energy and utilities sector.

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 (IEP) of Lille and Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne University. He holds a Ph.D. in political geography from the University of Rouen.

Appert, Olivier

Chairman of France Brevets, Scientific Advisor of the Center for Energy and Climate of Ifri. Former President of the French Energy Council, he previously was Chairman and CEO of IFP Energies Nouvelles, and Director of the International Energy Agency's Long-Term Cooperation and Policy Analysis Directorate.

Aslan, Ali

Internationally renowned TV presenter, talk show host, conference moderator, emcee and journalist. He has also been a moderator of international conferences & summits, including for the UN, the EU, the G20, the World Bank, the IMF and the OECD. He has interviewed numerous leading personalities from all over the world.

Bădica, Octavian Bogdan

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Romania to the United Arab Emirates in Abu Dhabi. Former Head of Controlling and Reporting for the Private Healthcare Network Regina Maria, he also served as Consultant for PricewaterhouseCoopers in Romania.

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, he also served as Group Chief Financial Officer of Crédit Agricole and Société Générale.

Barakat, Maha

Director General of the Frontline Heroes Office in the UAE. Senior Advisor to Mubadala, and Chair of the RBM Partnership to End Malaria. Former Director General of the Health Authority Abu Dhabi, she also held several positions at the Imperial College London Diabetes Center (ICLDC) in Abu Dhabi.

Bark, Taeho

President of Lee&Ko Global Commerce Institute, Vice President of Seoul Forum for International Affairs. Former Minister for Trade of Korea, he also served as Chairman of the International Trade Commission of the Korean government. He is Professor Emeritus of the Graduate School of International Studies at Seoul National University.

Barrault, François

Founder and Chairman of FDB Partners. Chairman of IDATE DigiWorld, he has had unique and diversified entrepreneurial and corporate experiences in the technology sector. He served as President and CEO of Lucent EMEA and then as International CEO and Corporate Officer, and as CEO of BT Global Services.

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. His Holiness served as Assistant Dean at the Patriarchal Theological School of Halki and then as Director of the Private Patriarchal Office of Ecumenical Patriarch Dimitrios.

Béhanzin, Francis A.

Former Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security of ECOWAS. Auditor and lecturer at the Institut des hautes études de défense nationale de Paris (IHEDN), he is also a member of the Human Rights Commission of Benin.

Bel Hadj Soulami, 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 and London. He previously served as Senior Advisor to BNP Paribas Global Markets.

Besnainou, Pierre

Honorary President of the French Judaism Foundation. Former President of the European Jewish Congress and of the French Unified Jewish Social Fund, he is also a member of the Board of Governors at the Shimon Peres Center for Peace and of the Weizmann Institute France.

Beyer, Peter

Member of the German Bundestag. Former Spokesperson of the Committee of Inquiry on Afghanistan and Coordinator of Transatlantic Cooperation of the Federal Government, he is an active member of Atlantik-Brücke in addition to numerous organizations in his district.

Biloa, Marie-Roger

Chair and Chief Executive Director of The Africa International Media Group and its branch MRB Productions. Media Consultant and Advisor on African affairs, she is also a frequent TV guest (TV5Monde, France24, BBC, Aljazeera, RFI, i-Télé, ARD, ZDF) to comment on current news and African politics.

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, he is also Trustee to several international scientific academic institutions, and 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 Governors Board of the American Hospital of Paris, he is also Co-President and Co-Founder of the European-American Press Club.

Bouquot, Geoffrey

CTO and Group Vice President Corporate Strategy & External Relations of VALEO. Former Technical Advisor for Industrial Affairs at the Office of the French Minister of Defense, he was also Project Manager at the Aerospace & Defense Unit, French Government Shareholding Agency.

Bréchet, Christian

President of the Global Virus Network. Former 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.

Brown, Andrew

Junior Environmental Policy Analyst at the OECD. Young leader in resource and environmental policy, he also worked in the US Fish and Wildlife Service specializing in promoting wildlife conservation and sustainable use of natural resources.

Cabestan, Jean-Pierre

Senior Researcher Emeritus at the French National Centre for Scientific Research, attached to the French Research Institute on East Asia of the National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations. He is also Associate Researcher at the Asia Centre and the French Centre for Research on Contemporary China in Hong Kong.

Callonico, Guillaume

Senior Director in charge of geopolitical risk and cross-sectoral risk management at La Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec (CDPQ). At the same time, he teaches political and geopolitical risk management at the University of Montreal and is the author of articles and book chapters on the topic.

Chalmin, Philippe

Founder of Cercle Cyclope, a Europe's leading commodity market research institute. Professor at Paris-Dauphine University, consultant for various international organizations (OECD, EEC, UNCTAD). He was a member of the Council of Economic Advisors in the Office of the French Prime Minister.

Charafeddine, Raed

Central and commercial banker. Former First Vice Governor of the Central Bank of Lebanon, he is a high-level senior finance professional with profound expertise in public and private sectors in the Middle East and Africa, as well as 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.







Coatanlem, Yann

Chief Executive Officer of DataCore Innovations LLC. Member of the Board of the Paris School of Economics, he also chairs Club Praxis, the think tank that promotes the use of Big Data in policy making, in particular in revamping the tax and welfare system.

Cohen-Tanugi, Laurent

Member of the Paris and New York Bars. Founder and Managing Partner of Laurent Cohen-Tanugi Avocats. He served as Chairman of the French governmental task force on 'Europe in the global economy'.

Cordero, Jonathan

Head of Corporate Development at Eurasian Resources Group (ERG). He also worked for Bryanston Resources in Zug, Switzerland, and has served as a Board member at various companies, including TSX-listed Africo Resources.

Cotte, Basile

Senior French civil servant training at the École des mines de Paris. He had the opportunity to work for Morgan Stanley in London, then joined Neoen in Paris, before finally working for Euronext.

Cozon, Stanislas

Executive Vice President of Capgemini. Former Managing Director in charge of global industry sectors within Capgemini, he started his career at the 'Inspection générale des finances' (French Treasury).

Daly, Elena

Founder and Principal of EM Conseil. She started her career at Sullivan & Cromwell and Cleary Gottlieb. She served in General Counsel, strategy and risk-related senior positions at alternative investment funds at Citigroup, Fortress Group and Nomura International PLC.

Darsalia, Lasha

First Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Georgia. Former First Deputy Minister at the State Ministry for Reconciliation and Civic Equity, he was the Chief Negotiator from Georgia to the Russian Federation in the Geneva International Discussions (GID).

David, Dominique

Advisor to the Executive Chairman at Ifri, Editor of Politique étrangère and Co-Director of the annual report Ramses. President of the Austro-French Centre for Rapprochement in Europe, he was Deputy Director of the Institut français de polémologie, and Secretary General of the Fondation pour les études de défense nationale (FEDN).

Delcourt, Antoine

Ambassador of the Kingdom of Belgium to the United Arab Emirates. Former Deputy Head of Mission at the Embassy of the Kingdom of Belgium to the People's Republic of China and to Mongolia, he also served different positions such as Coordinator for the Middle East and Northern Africa regions.

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, she held various positions in the Organisation internationale de la francophonie, and has become a specialist in democratization, crisis and peace-building processes, especially in Africa.

Dorgnac, Catherine

Head of Middle East, Turkey and Central Asia at Bpifrance, the French Public Investment Bank. Prior to this, she headed the Middle East department of MEDEF International. She also held several positions in European Union agencies and the Project Finance team of the legal firm Clifford Chance in Paris.

Dossou, Robert

Lawyer at the Paris Bar and currently practicing at the Bar of Benin, President of the African Association of International Law. Former Chairman of the Bar, he was also a member of Parliament, Minister of Planning and then Minister for Foreign Affairs, and President of the Constitutional Court of Benin.

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. External Advisor on Investments to the Prime Minister, he was also Director of the European Integration and International Projects at the Ministry of the Economy, Trade, and Energy, and Director of the Project Management Unit for the Trans Adriatic Pipeline.

Ducrot, Valérie

Executive Director of the Global Gas Centre (GGC). Former Manager of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) Gas Centre, she has also occupied several positions in the French energy company named today ENGIE.

Duero, Arash

Managing Director of UAE-based Big Picture Strategy LLC. He is also a Principal at Strategic Minds Company, a founding company of the Berlin Advisors Group (BAG), where he heads its energy, infrastructure, and commodities operations.

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 (BOAD). Former Country Manager of Natixis' Corporate and Investment Banking activities for the United Kingdom, he combined this responsibility with that of Head of Global Markets for Europe, Middle East and Africa (EMEA).

Elbegdorj, Tsakhiagiin

Former President of Mongolia. Commissioner of the International Commission against Death Penalty (ICDP), Patron of the World Sustainable Development Forum (WSDF), he is also a member of the World Leadership Alliance – Club de Madrid and President of the World Mongol Federation.

Elia, Roula

Attorney at Law and political columnist on TV. Lawyer and a legal consultant to many associations and civic organizations, she was delegated as 'Lawyer and Journalist' to attend hearings in the Special Tribunal of Lebanon in The Hague, Netherlands (STL).

Erlanger, Steven

Chief Diplomatic Correspondent, Europe, for The New York Times, based in Brussels. Former London, Paris and Berlin Bureau Chief of The New York Times, he has served in numerous postings for The Times in Jerusalem, Prague, Washington, Moscow, Bangkok and New York.

Etourneau, Matthieu

Co-Founder and CEO of Royal Technologies Ltd. Representative of MEDEF International in the United Arab Emirates, he was also Managing Director for the Middle East of French insurance company Siaci Saint-Honoré, and he held various positions both in the private sector and the public administration.

Eyl-Mazzega, Marc-Antoine

Director of the Center for Energy & Climate of Ifri. 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.

Fabius, Laurent

President of the French Constitutional Council. President of the COP 21, he held several governmental positions in France such as Prime Minister, Minister for the Budget, Minister of Industry and Research, Minister for the Economy, Finance and Industry, and Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Development.

Felbermayr, Gabriel

Director of the Austrian Institute of Economic Research (WIFO). Former President of the Kiel Institute for the World Economy (Institut für Weltwirtschaft – IfW), he also worked as an Associate Consultant with McKinsey & Co, Vienna, and he held various teaching positions.

Figures, Tim

Associate Director EU & Global Trade and Investment of the Boston Consulting Group. Former Policy Director for Make UK, he also served as the Ministerial Advisor on EU affairs and trade to the UK Secretary of State for Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy.

Flahault, Antoine

Director of the Institute of Global Health at the University of Geneva. Deputy Director of the Swiss School of Public Health, he previously served as Co-Director of the European Academic Global Health Alliance, President of the Agency for Public Health Education Accreditation, and Founding Director of the French School of Public Health.

Foucher, Michel

Member of the Center for Higher European Studies (National Institute for Public Service, former ENA). Senior Advisor to the Compagnie financière Jacques Coeur, he was French Ambassador to Latvia, and served as an Advisor to the French Foreign Minister as well as a Special Envoy to the Balkans and the Caucasus.

Frieden, Jeffry

Professor of Government at Harvard University. He specializes in the politics of international economic relations.

Gadio, Cheikh Tidiane

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

Galas, Godefroy

Project Manager in the Operations Department of the ANSSI, the French national cybersecurity agency. Previously, he worked for the industrial companies General Electric, Alstom, TotalEnergies and Vesuvius, as well as for the private equity fund Astorg. As a Corps des mines Engineer, he is a French high civil servant.

Gargash, Anwar Mohammed

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

Genutgen (van), Saskia

Associate Director at MacroScope Strategies. Non-Resident Research Fellow at the Royal Dutch Defense Academy and Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the Middle East Institute (MEI) in Washington DC, she also served as Strategy and Policy Advisor at the Netherlands Ministry of Defense.

Germay (de), Nicolas

Vice Chairman of the WPC. Former Vice Chairman of the Franco Indian Chamber of Commerce, he is also Chairman and Founder of Alandia Industries.

Gervais, Victor

Senior Consultant based in Abu Dhabi. Former Senior Researcher and Program Director at Trends Research and Advisory, he also served as Advisor to the Senior VP Middle East & North Africa at the Airbus Group in Paris, and Senior Research Fellow at the Anwar Gargash Diplomatic Academy in Abu Dhabi.

Girard, Renaud

Senior reporter and international columnist 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 the Revue des Deux Mondes.

Gourdault-Montagne, Maurice

Former Ambassador. Former Secretary General of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was Spokesperson for the Ministry, Private Secretary for the Prime Minister, Senior Diplomatic Advisor to President Jacques Chirac, and Sherpa of G7/G8. He held several diplomatic positions abroad, especially in Germany, Japan, China, and the UK.

Gruffat, Jean-Claude

Vice Chairman of the American Hospital of Paris Foundation. Chairman of the Competitive Enterprise Institute, he serves on the Board of Atlas Network and is a member of the Leadership Council of United Way Worldwide. He also holds a position at the investment banking firm of Weild Capital LLC.

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 Europartenaires. Former President of the Anna Lindh Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures, she also served as President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French National Assembly, 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. Acting President of the Management Board of Banca Românească SA, he has extensive experience in top management positions in the Romanian banking sector. He is also Associate Professor at the Academy of Economic Studies in Bucharest.

Halferty Hardy, Kerry

Co-Founder of Alcuin Advisors LLC. Former Chief Development Officer of the American Hospital of Paris, she advises companies and international NGOs both as a consultant and as a Board member. She worked in the public, private, and non-profit sectors in Europe and the Americas.

Handley, Peter

Head of the Energy-Intensive Industries and Raw Materials Unit in the European Commission's Directorate-General for Internal Market, Industry, Entrepreneurship and SMEs. Former UK government official, he also served as EU Trade Negotiator and worked at the Secretariat General.

Hategeka, Emmanuel

Ambassador of the Republic of Rwanda to the United Arab Emirates. Former Deputy CEO and Chief Operating Officer of Rwanda Development Board (RDB), he also served as the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Trade and Industry, and in many positions of responsibility in the private sector.

Hecker, Marc

Director of Research and Communications at Ifri, Editor-in-Chief of Politique étrangère. Ph.D. 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).

Horii, Akinari

Special Advisor and a member of the Board of Directors of the Canon Institute for Global Studies. Former Assistant Governor of the Bank of Japan, he is also a member of the Audit & Supervisory Board of Tokio Marine Holdings, and a member of several non-profit entities.







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.

Hur, Kyung-wook

President of the Korean Bretton Woods Club. Chairman of the Board of the Korea Center for International Finance, he served as Ambassador of Korea to the OECD, Vice Minister for the Ministry of Strategy and Finance, Secretary to the President for National Agenda, and Senior Economist for the International Monetary Fund.

Itoh, Motoshige

Professor Emeritus at the University of Tokyo. Former member of the Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy, he has been in various positions advising the Prime Minister as well as Japanese government organizations.

Jacquet, Pierre

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

Joffe, Josef

Editorial Council of the German weekly Die Zeit and Professor of Practice/ International Affairs at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. He co-founded American Purpose and American Interest and is a regular contributor to the op-ed pages of the US press like The Wall Street Journal.

Karakullukçu, Memduh

Founding Board member and First President of the Global Relations Forum, Chairman of Kroton Consulting. His policy work focuses on technology, geoeconomics and geopolitics, including issues related to energy security, nuclear power and proliferation, autonomous weapons, automation and employment, financial regulation and challenges to global economic development.

Kastouéva-Jean, Tatiana

Research Fellow and Director of Russia/ NIS Center of Ifri. Before joining Ifri, she taught international relations for the French-Russian Master at MGIMO University. She heads the trilingual electronic collection Russie.Nei.Visions.

Kazatchkine, Michel

Special Advisor to the Regional Office of WHO for Europe and Senior Fellow at the Global Health Centre of the Graduate Institute for International and Development Studies in Geneva. Former Executive Director of the Global Fund to fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, he served as French Ambassador on HIV/ AIDS and communicable diseases.

Keller, Daniel

President of Servir, la communauté des alumni de l'ENA et de l'INSP. 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.

Kepel, Gilles

Chair of Middle East and Mediterranean studies at École normale supérieure in Paris. Specializing in the contemporary Arab world and Islam in the West, he teaches at the University of Paris Sciences & Lettres, and he is Chair of the Middle East Freethinking Platform of the Italian Switzerland University in Lugano.

Kervasdoué (de), Jean

Professor Emeritus of the Chair of Economics and Management of Health Services at the Conservatoire national des arts et métiers (CNAM), Founder of the Pasteur/CNAM School of Public Health. Former consultant to the OECD, he served as Under Secretary at the French Ministry of Health in charge of hospitals.

Kim, Heungchong

President of the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP). Chairing the Korea National Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation, he is also the Chair of the Economy and Trade Division of the Korea-China Committee for the Future from the Ministry of Foreign 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.

Koen, Vincent

Deputy Director of the Country Studies Branch in the OECD Economics Department. Former Department's Economic Counsellor, he also served as the main author of the OECD Economic Outlook, as OECD G10 Secretary, as well as economist at the International Monetary Fund, in the Research and European departments.

Koleilat Khatib, Dania

Co-Founder and President of the Research Center for Cooperation and Peace Building. Visiting Scholar at the Hoover Institution, she is a member of the Steering Committee and an Advocacy Consultant for the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia's (ESCWA) National Agenda for the Future of Syria (NAFS) program.

Korsia, Haïm

Chief Rabbi of France. Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, he served as a member of the National Consultative Ethics Committee, General Jewish Chaplain of the Army and the Polytechnic School, Director of the General Chaplain of the Air Force and General Secretary of the Association of French Rabbis.

Kotti, Randy

Engineer of the Corps des mines. He completed his military service within the Defense Mission of the French Embassy in the Ivory Coast before joining Neoen in Australia, an independent renewable energy developer. He was also consultant for the World Bank on financial inclusion and industrial policy matters.

Kowal, Pawel

Professor at the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Chairman of the Scientific Council of the Research Station of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kyiv, he was a member of the European Parliament, and Chairman of the EU delegation to the EU-Ukraine Parliamentary Commission.

Krisnamurthi, Bayu

Associate Professor in the Department of Agribusiness of the Faculty of Economics and Management of the Bogor Agricultural University. Former Vice Minister of Agriculture and Vice Minister of Trade of the Republic of Indonesia, he is the Founder and Chairman of the Inclusive and Sustainable Agribusiness Initiatives.

Kristoffersen, Helle

President Strategy & Sustainability of TotalEnergies and member of the Executive Committee. Former President Strategy & Innovation, she also served as SVP Strategy and Corporate Affairs in Gas Renewables & Power, and SVP Strategy & Business Intelligence.

Kuleba, Dmytro

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the Council of Europe, he served as Deputy Prime Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration of Ukraine, Ambassador-at-Large at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and worked at the Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the OSCE.

Kumar, Suresh

Professor in the Department of African Studies in the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Delhi. Former Head of the Department and Coordinator of Centre for African Studies, he is the Chief Editor of the Indian Journal of African Studies and Africaindia.org.

Lablanchy, Jean-Pierre

Medical Doctor and psychiatrist. 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.

Laichoubi, Mohamed

Ambassador of Algeria. Former Minister of Labor and Social Protection and Minister of Youths and Sports of Algeria, he also served as Prefect, Deputy, President of the Finance and Budget Commission at the National Assembly (APN), and member of the Commission of Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Emigration.

Laïdi, Zaki

Personal Advisor to the High Representative and Vice President of the Commission EEAS. Professor at Sciences Po, he served as Special Advisor to Pascal Lamy, European Commissioner for Trade, and later as Strategic Advisor to the French Prime Minister from 2014 to 2017.

Lang, Nikolaus

Global Leader for the Global Advantage practice, Managing Director and Senior Partner of Boston Consulting Group's Munich office. As a global expert in connectivity, autonomous mobility, car sharing, and fleet management, he is a Founder and Director of BCG's Center for Mobility Innovation.

Langlois, Bruno

Business Development and Partnerships Director at Carbios. Carbios, with its unique technical solution, business model, and ability to make polyester (PET) circular is a perfect fit to passionately address the major issues to transition to a more sustainable economy by reducing plastic and textile waste.

Lazrak, Omar

Managing Director at BNP Paribas, Middle East and Africa. He is a 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.

Lévy-Lang, André

Founder and President of the Louis Bachelier Institute. Member of the Board of Ifri, he is also affiliate Professor Emeritus in Finance at Paris-Dauphine, Chairman of the Supervisory Board of Les Échos, member of the Supervisory Board of Rothschild Martin Maurel, and Chairman and Founder of the Fondation du risque.

Liechtenstein (Prince of), Michael

Founder and Chairman of Geopolitical Intelligence Services AG, as well as President of the think tank European Centre of Austrian Economics Foundation (ECAEF). Chairman of Industrie- und Finanzkontor, he also worked for Nestlé SA in the fields of controlling, financial management and marketing in various markets in Europe and Africa.

Lipsky, John

Senior Fellow of the Foreign Policy Institute at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. Chair of the National Bureau of Economic Research, and Co-Chair of the Aspen Institute's Program on the World Economy, he also serves as the Vice Chair of the Bretton Woods Committee and the Center for Global Development.

Maïla, Joseph

Geopolitics and International Relations Professor at ESSEC Business School. Former Director of the Direction de la prospective at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he served as associate member at the Montreal Centre for International Studies, and Dean of the Faculté des sciences sociales et économiques of the Catholic University of Paris.

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. His current projects include a film series, the goal of which is to find potential paths to a peaceful and sustainable world. He is in the process of writing a book for the same purpose.

Manasseh, Nshuti

Minister of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation in charge of the East African Community of Rwanda. Former Minister of Commerce, Industry, Investment Promotion, Tourism and Cooperatives, he also served as Minister of Finance and Economic Planning Ministry.

Mariton, Hervé

Mayor of Crest and Chairman of the Franco-British Council. Chairman of the Federation of overseas companies (FEDOM), he served as a member of the French Parliament, Minister for Overseas Territories, and opposition Spokesperson on the Finance Committee.

Menilbekov, Madiyar

Ambassador of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the UAE. Former Minister-Counsellor of the Embassy of Kazakhstan in the UAE, he also served as Third Secretary of the Department of Asia and Africa of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Third Secretary and Second Secretary of the Embassy.

Mey, Holger

Vice President of Advanced Concepts for Airbus Defence and Space. Honorary Professor for Foreign Policy at the University of Cologne, he served on the Policy Planning Staff of the German Minister of Defense, and as the Security Policy Advisor to the Chairman of the Defense Committee of the German Parliament.

Meyer, Jean-Claude

Vice Chairman International of Rothschild & Cie. Member of the Board of Ifri, he served as General Partner of Rothschild, Advisor to DATAR, an office of the French Prime Minister, and Managing Director of Lazard Frères & Cie.

Michel, Jacques

Chairman of International Public Affairs at Thomson Broadcast. Former Chairman of BNP Paribas Middle East and Africa for Corporate and Institutional Banking, he also served as Deputy CEO/Chief Risk Officer of Fortis Bank Asia-Pacific in Hong Kong, and Chief Risk Officer of Crédit Lyonnais/Calyon for Asia-Pacific.

Mladenov, Nickolay

Director General a.i. of the Anwar Gargash Diplomatic Academy. Former Head of UNAMI and UN Special Representative for Iraq, he also served as member of the European Parliament, Foreign Minister, and Defense Minister in Bulgaria.







Monteiller, Pierre

French Corps des mines Engineer. He graduated from the École normale supérieure in Paris in Mathematics and is currently training to become a senior civil servant. He worked for the hedge fund Meridiam, the pharmaceutical company Guerbet and the marketing agency M13h.

Moulin, Jacques

Chief Executive Officer of IDATE DigiWorld. Former 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 of the UAE (ULC). Former Founding Vice Chancellor for Development and Alumni Affairs of the American University of Sharjah, she has held visiting professorships at leading universities and research institutions, including the University of California and the Institut d'études politiques de Paris.

Narayanan, Mayankote Kelath

Executive Chairman of CyQureX Systems Pvt. Ltd. Former Special 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. Chairman of Phoenician Funds Holding in Lebanon and Executive Director of the Mouflon Fund in Cyprus, he served as consultant at the OECD, professor of Economics, Chairman at the National Investment Guarantee Corporation, and economic and financial advisor at various GCC countries.

Nicolet, Patrick

Founder and CEO of Linebreak 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.

Nordström, Anders

Swedish Ambassador for Global Health at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Stockholm. Medical doctor from the Karolinska Institute, he has served as Director General for the Swedish International Agency for Development Cooperation, and he established the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria as a legal entity.

Nusseibeh, Zaki

Cultural Advisor to the President of the United Arab Emirates. Chancellor of the UAEU, His Excellency also served as Minister of State for Cultural and Public Diplomacy.

Obrist, Frank

Founder and CEO of Obrist Group. He has devoted his professional career to the design of advanced machinery and to the creation of sustainable innovations. He is leading his company toward renewable technology, such as the Obrist aFuel, the world's first climate-positive energy carrier.

Okwulehie, Sam

Chairman and CEO of LATC Group. Member of the Global Advisory Board of the Commonwealth Enterprise & Investment Council (CWEIC) in London, he is also a Senior Advisor at Boston Consulting Group (BCG), and worked within the Air France/KLM & Kenya Airways group.

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.

Paal, Douglas

Distinguished Fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Former Vice Chairman of JPMorgan Chase International, he also served as an unofficial US representative to Taiwan as Director of the American Institute in Taiwan, and held positions at US embassies in Singapore and Beijing.

Paugam, Jean-Marie

Deputy Director General of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Geneva. Former Senior Research Fellow at Ifri on commercial policy, he worked with the French Treasury and with the UN system (International Trade Center).

Pflüger, Friedbert

Director of European Cluster for Climate, Energy and Resource Security (EUCERS). Founding Partner of Strategic Minds Company GmbH, Chairman of the Internet Economy Foundation (IE.F). He was a member of the Bundestag and Deputy Minister of Defense in the first Merkel Government.

Piau, Nicolas

Co-Founder and CEO of TiLT Capital Partners. First Mover Fellow of the Aspen Institute, he works in the field of energy and project development / M&A. Nicolas was SVP in charge of M&A and Corporate Development for Engie.

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.

Rafih, Rami

Managing Director and Partner in the Dubai office of Boston Consulting Group (BCG). He leads the Economic Advantage of Nations topic globally for BCG. He worked for government ministries and authorities in Europe, GCC countries, North Africa, and Asia.

Regnier, François

Country Head for BNP Paribas for the United Arab Emirates. Multinational Clients Coverage Coordinator for the Middle East region, he was also Chief Operations Officer for BNP Paribas London Branch, and BNP Paribas' Chief Compliance Officer, UK, before coming to the UAE.

Ribeiro de Souza, Livia

Co-Founder and Chief Technology Officer at Mimicrete, a spin-off from Cambridge University developing self-healing cementitious materials. She focuses mostly on the large scale manufacturing platforms and extending the utilization stage of construction products.

Ricquier, Anita

Founder and Managing Director of Camelot Trust Pte Ltd. Her focus is on family wealth and businesses. She supports her clients on family governance, sustainability of business and wealth objectives in terms of risk management and succession planning.

Robin, Arnaud

French Corps des mines Engineer. Former graduate from École polytechnique and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he had the opportunity to work for Google, the French railway group SNCF and the e-commerce giant Wayfair.

Rosca, Olga

Chief of staff to Moldova's Foreign Minister Nicu Popescu. Prior, she held positions at the EBRD, in the media unit of the OSCE Mission to Moldova, at the EU Delegation to Moldova and at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg.

Rudd, Kevin

President and CEO of Asia Society. President of the Asia Society Policy Institute, he served as Australia's Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. He is also Chair of the Board of the International Peace Institute.

Sager, Abdulaziz Othman

Saudi expert on Gulf politics and strategic issues. He is the Founder and Chairman of the Gulf Research Center, a global think tank based in Saudi Arabia with a well-established presence and worldwide network of partners and offices in both the Gulf region and Europe.

Sakamoto, Haruka

Primary care physician and Associate Professor at the Department of Hygiene and Public Health of Tokyo Women's Medical University. She works at the Department of Global Health Policy at Graduate School of Medicine of the University of Tokyo, and at the WHO's Western Pacific Regional Office and Gates Foundation Tokyo Office.

Sano, Tadakatsu

Attorney at law at Jones Day. Former Director General of the Trade Policy Bureau and Vice Minister for International Affairs, he also worked at the Japanese Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, and served as Chief Executive Assistant to Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama.

Saran, Samir

President of the Observer Research Foundation (ORF). Member of the India-CEO Climate Action Group, Global Risks Advisory Board, and the Regional Action Group of the World Economic Forum (WEF), he served as a Commissioner of the Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace.

Schmid, Dorothee

Head of the Turkey/Middle East program at Ifri. She started the "Contemporary Turkey" research program, to follow the emergence of Turkey as a global power. Her present research focuses on Turkish diplomacy, new regional conflicts and their impact on Middle East economies.

Schweitzer, Louis

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, and Civil Servant at the Budget Department.

Senik, Dmytro

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the United Arab Emirates. He held several positions within the Ukrainian government: Deputy Foreign Minister, Chief Digital Transformation Officer, Chief of Staff to the Foreign Minister, Principal Assistant to the Deputy Foreign Minister, as well as Advisor to the Foreign Minister.

Servan-Schreiber, Franklin

Co-Founder and CEO of Transmutex. Former Assistant Director of ELLE magazine in New York, he also served as Head of the user interface research lab for Sony USA Corp, Director of Communication at the International Olympic Committee in Lausanne, and Advisor to the Executive Chairman at the World Economic Forum.

Severino, Jean-Michel

Chairman of the Supervisory Board of Investisseurs et Partenaires, member of the Académie des technologies and French General Inspector of Finance. Former Director in charge of international development at the Ministry of Cooperation and Development, he was Vice President of the World Bank for East Asia, and CEO of France's International Development Agency (AFD).

Sheetrit, Meir

Former member of the Israeli Knesset. Former Minister of the Interior, he also was Minister of Housing and Construction, Minister of Finance, Minister of Justice, Minister of Intelligence Affairs and the Committee of Atomic Energy, Minister of Transportation and Minister of Education, Culture and Sports.

Shek, Daniel

Former Ambassador of Israel to France. Former Director of European Affairs, Spokesman of the Foreign Ministry, he 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 "Track II Environmental Forum".

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.

Simon, Tobby

Founder and President of Synergia Foundation, a strategic think tank. Commissioner with the Global Commission for Internet Governance (GCIG) and member of the Trilateral Commission, he also served as Advisory Board member of the Center for New American Security (CNAS).

Sinapi-Thomas, Lucia

Executive Director of Capgemini Ventures. 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.

Stawek, Jakub

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Poland to the United Arab Emirates. From 2004, he worked in Polish diplomatic missions in Sanaa, Algiers and Riyadh. He is also the author of two books: Yemen – World of Tribal Values (2008); Arabic and Polish Diplomatic and Political Vocabulary (2016).

Stuewe, James

Director of the Explosives Regulatory Division, Natural Resources Canada for the Government of Canada. He worked at the heart of the Canadian federal public service in both the Privy Council Office and Treasury Board Secretariat. He has also worked in consulting for Deloitte and the Royal Bank of Canada.

Sur, Serge

Agrégé in Public Law, Professor Emeritus 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.

Taneja, Narendra

Energy expert, advisor and commentator. Founder President of the prestigious World Energy Policy Summit (WEPS), he was Chairman of the Energy Security Group of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) and Chairman of the Energy and Green Economy Working Group of the BRICS Business Council.

Tchibozo, Alain

Chief Economist of the West African Development Bank (BOAD). A Senior Financial Analyst with European banks and investment banks, he also worked with the Crédit Agricole Group where he held the position of Head of the team of financial analysts responsible for monitoring European banks.







Torero Cullen, Máximo

Chief Economist of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Former World Bank Group Executive Director for Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay, he also led the Division of the Markets, Trade, and Institutions at the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI).

Touré, Aminata

Senegalese politician and Human Rights activist. Former Prime Minister, she also was 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

Vice Chairman of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques. Former European Chairman of the Trilateral Commission, he is Honorary Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bruegel Institute. He also served as President of the ECB, Governor of Banque de France and Undersecretary of the French Treasury.

Trinkler, Patrick

Founder and CEO of CYSEC. He played an active part in the world's first exit in quantum technologies, and has specialized in creating business value from security for governments, banks, the industrial sector and telco, using his deep experience in security

Tuakli, Juliette

Medical Director, CEO of CHILDAccra Medical Group in Ghana. She co-founded the MOREMI/UN Women Girls' Leadership & Development program. She also spearheaded Women's Initiative for Self-Empowerment. Former Chairman of the Board of Trustees for United Way Worldwide, she joined the Board of the Global Vaccine Network.

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.

Vassilenko, Roman

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Former Assistant to the Head of Prime Minister's Office, he worked as Chief Inspector of the Secretariat of the Secretary of State, Consultant of the President's Chancery, and Deputy Chief of Staff to the Secretary of State.

Védrine, Hubert

Founder of Hubert Védrine Conseil and President of the Institut François Mitterrand. Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, he was Diplomatic Advisor to the Presidency of the Republic, Spokesman, and Secretary General. He was Civil Administrator in the Ministry of Culture, and member of the French Council of State as maître des requêtes.

Véron, Nicolas

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

Wadagni, Romuald

Senior Minister in charge of Economy and Finance of Benin. Former Audit Manager and Director of Professional Practice for all of Deloitte's activities in French-speaking Africa, he has an expertise and knowledge of European, American, and African economic issues. He plays a major role on the West African stage.

Wang, Jisi

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

Weymuller, Bruno

Member of TotalEnergies Professeurs Associés, and of the French Energy Council. Former Executive Vice President at TotalEnergies in charge of Strategy and Risk Assessment and Chief Financial Officer of Elf Aquitaine, he worked at the Ministry for Industry, and at the Prime Minister Raymond Barre's cabinet.

Yaha, Mohamed Abdellahi

Chairman and CEO of Maurinvest Group. Chairman/CEO of MAURILOG, a logistics services & transport company for Industrial Projects, Oil & Gas and Mining activities in Mauritania, he served as Minister in charge of the Promotion of Private Investments.

Yim, Hyosung

Vice President at the Corporate Strategy Center of Hyosung Corporation. He is also currently responsible for managing and coordinating the hydrogen business within Hyosung. Prior to this, he was a stock analyst at Daiwa Securities Capital Markets Korea, and Senior Researcher at the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP).

Yim, Sung-joon

Senior Advisor at Lee International IP & Law Group. Former President of the Korea Foundation, he served as Korean Ambassador to Canada and Egypt, and Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs. He also served as the National Security Advisor to President Kim Dae-jung.

Youssouffa, Estelle

Member of Parliament of the French National Assembly, she sits in the Foreign Affairs Commission. TV journalist, and communication and international affairs consultant, she worked, among various international companies and institutions, for the World Bank as well as the African Development Bank. She created a conference called "The Leaders' Seminar".

Yurgens, Igor

Professor of Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO). Former Chairman of the Management Board of the Institute of Contemporary Development. Former Vice President of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, he was also Honorary Consul General of Monaco in Moscow.

Zinsou, Lionel

Co-Chair of SouthBridge, Chairman of Terra Nova think tank as well as the Fondation de l'École normale supérieure. Former Prime Minister of Benin, he served as Corporate Development Director and member of the Executive Committee at Danone, and joined the Rothschild Bank as General Partner.

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 Ph.D. in Mathematical Economics from the University of California at Berkeley.





OPENING SPEECHES  
FULL VERSIONS







### Reem Ibrahim Al Hashimy

Minister of State for International Cooperation of the United Arab Emirates

I will be delivering my remarks in English despite the pressure of speaking French in an eloquent manner. Ladies and gentlemen, distinguished guests and speakers, dear friends, a very warm welcome to the United Arab Emirates. We are incredibly delighted to be hosting the 15<sup>th</sup> edition of the World Policy Conference in Abu Dhabi for the second time. This is indeed a great privilege, and we are here, hopefully not only welcoming you to enjoy your time here, but also to engage in substantive discussions. Because the World Policy Conference is also a platform for valuable exchange and dialogue from the shared diversity of the speakers and the attendance, it is very clear that whether in government or in business, the most pressing global issues must be addressed in that spirit of collaboration and cooperation.

We are after all, in a country that was founded on the basis of hundreds of different nationalities and thousands of different people contributing to its success and its ethos. That success really does come from the ability to look towards the future but also the recognition of the value of different and diverse perspectives. That is why you see in the UAE such a multicultural, multi-dimensional perspective being brought to the table in a very Arab environment, but also in a very global environment at the same time. As we exchange goods, trades, practices, and ideas with countries from all around the world, we use that as a learning point on how we as a nation and as a people can continue to grow and evolve. The path forward for us has never been a solitary path, it has always been in accord with walking and working with the international and global community.

As we look today, in 2022, at the challenges of tomorrow and the problems that we are all facing today, we must give an honest assessment of where and why we are where we are. We must study it, analyze and understand it and then we must through serious collective efforts, look at ways in which we can improve it. This diverse group of speakers and distinguished voices on the agenda, demonstrate that the WPC is truly casting a wide net, not to just bring people to talk and converse, but also to bring people to dialogue and to build different forms of what that future could look like.

2022 was an unexpectedly very challenging year, certainly as we continue to recover from the pandemic, there is much work that needs to be done. Also, the lessons we have learned from that pandemic have not fully registered. In addition to that, the war in Ukraine has not only exposed geopolitical fault lines and caused a huge humanitarian crisis in Europe, but it has also thrown into the spotlight the urgency of matters such as food security and supply chain vulnerability, especially amongst developing countries and food-vulnerable populations. It highlights the fact that international institutions need to be more adapted to the challenges of our time.

This week's agenda examines these issues at great length and great depth, and I am grateful for the presence of the members of the diplomatic corps, who are here with us today, because these systemic forces and trends that are shaping our international political and economic order are ones that need to be brought to the table in full conversation but also in diverse perspectives. Having said that, another challenge looms strongly and that is climate change. As you know, the United Arab Emirates will be hosting COP28 next year and we do so in the spirit of also wanting to have a COP that is meaningful and impactful and that brings diverse and different thoughts to the table from all around the world, and in particular, the countries of the Global South. How we manage to deal with a just energy transition by also ensuring prosperity and stability for people around the world, how we manage to do that in an equitable manner that also considers the growing and important role of countries from other continents, whether it is Africa, Asia, or South America. As we grapple with this challenge of climate change, how do we do so in the light of new geopolitical rivalries that could jeopardize international cooperation, my direct portfolio, as we have always known it? We were speaking before coming onto the stage that over the course of the last decades, there have been international institutions that were formulated post-World War II. As we look at changing environments but also changing new dynamic challenges that are brought to the table, these institutions need to be able to continue to provide the solutions that the pressing nature of our time demand.

The path forward in the UAE is clear, it can only happen through constructive dialogue, but we do not meet with each other to simply talk to one another, we must meet to also ensure that we are bringing more to the table by being innovative and inventive and bold. We do have to look at ways where we also do not become echo chambers where we simply repeat and agree with one another about what the path forward needs to look like. There is a strong conviction in the UAE that the strength of the output can only come through diverse opinion and also through a clear intent that we are delivering on impact and not simply on output. Everyone can and must be part of the solution, and everybody has a duty to contribute. Sometimes these efforts start with a strong foundation and rich, shared history or cultural legacy. At other times, a hand must be extended and a certain degree of faith must be placed on a new relationship. Regardless of how we begin, international cooperation is also based on the recognition that everyone has something to offer that you do not, and that the collective wisdom has the capacity to chart a path forward that is necessary in uncertain times. The solutions for today's urgent problems and tomorrow's approaching ones begin in the mind and are made real through rigorous discussion and partnership between states and at all levels of government and society. Through this, we hope to step into the future, confident in our ability to collectively meet its challenges and seize on opportunities.

My best wishes to you all for a successful and productive conference. Thank you so much for your time and attention.

### Thierry de Montbrial

Founder and Executive Chairman of Ifri and the WPC

Since the 14<sup>th</sup> World Policy Conference in Abu Dhabi on October 1, 2021, the instability of the international system has further increased. The situation has improved on the health front, although uncertainty lingers regarding the emergence of new, more or less dangerous and contagious variants of Covid-19. But the countless effects of the social and economic crises it caused are still felt, especially in supply chains. These effects are multiplied by the direct and indirect consequences of new disruptive factors, mainly the war started on February 24, 2022 with Russia's aggression in Ukraine, but also in a currently more muted way, with the growing tensions around Taiwan. Incidentally, I prefer to speak of the Ukraine war rather than the war in Ukraine, for the same reason that seven decades ago we spoke of the Korean war and not the war in Korea. The Ukraine war has and will continue to have innumerable consequences at the global level, which will be felt in the short, medium and long term.

The combination of shocks – above all the Ukraine war, with the profound disruption it has already caused in sectors such as food and probably more permanently in energy – has accelerated inflation, which I myself took very seriously last year. Over the past half century the only way to fight inflation in the short term has been to raise interest rates and thus to go through a recession. Of course, there is also the old method of price controls, possibly disguised as a "buffer", which consists in making the State pay a portion of bills (mainly energy) with a corresponding increase in the public deficit. But this method does not overcome the problem of the adjustment of supply and demand. In the longer term, inflation can be warded off by investment, but with the risk, as at present with President Biden's plan, of encouraging protectionism and distorting competition laws.

We are now in a more serious situation than the one that followed the oil shocks of the 1970s, whose security consequences in the Middle East are still remembered. In the 1980s, the United States was preparing for wars against oil-producing nations. Today, things are different in this respect, if only because of the energy autonomy that the United States has achieved since then and the relative retreat of the world's leading power following its numerous, generally ill-fated, interventions since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The lack of clarity in US policy in the Middle East is in fact currently one of the sources of uncertainty specific to the region, particularly with regard to Iran. However, the situation should become clearer if the Ukraine war continues, making the energy decoupling of Europe from Russia irreversible, with the long-term consequence of increasing Europe's security dependence on the United States. It is also possible that this is the desire of the world's leading power in the face of China's rise.



The year 2022 will also be characterized around the world by a significant increase in extreme weather phenomena, such as the catastrophic floods in Pakistan. From now on, no one can deny the extent of the climate change that is underway with its inevitable consequences in all areas, for example in the health sector and due to the potentially massive increase in migration. From this standpoint also, there are negative effects from the Ukraine war, if only in terms of hindering roll-out of the measures needed to slow down global warming. This brings us to global issues such as public health and climate. It is vital to ask the following question, which can be formulated very simply: despite the intensification of the China-US rivalry, which increasingly appears to be irreversible, will the two superpowers of the 21<sup>st</sup> century manage to cooperate for a better governance of humanity's common good, which is crucial for the future of the Earth? Nobody can deny the importance of this question anymore. Unfortunately, the answer is not straightforward. Evidently, a scenario involving armed conflict between the two superpowers over Taiwan is becoming increasingly plausible according to the most respected analysts and commentators in the field of international relations.

This leads me back to the Ukraine war. After February 24, the war was quickly perceived by Western public opinion, i.e. largely by NATO and European Union countries, as a war of good versus evil, and even "democracy" versus "dictatorship". A little more than ten months later, this perception has not changed much. The diplomacy of President Biden, who on November 29 announced the second edition of the "Democracy Summit", bears witness to this. For his part, President Putin denounces what he views as an imperialist and decadent West. And he is not alone in this view. Even though almost all UN member states have recognized the aggression against Ukraine, most reject such a binary opposition, viewed as overly simplistic, between democracy and dictatorship and have a more nuanced assessment of who is responsible for this delayed confrontation between East and West, a veritable final battle in a cold war which failed to end with the collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991. Although their core interests are not at stake in this battle, they are directly impacted by its consequences, often to a significant extent. The majority of states do not want to be forced to choose sides, no more than in the context of the US-China rivalry, which forms an all-pervading backdrop. In terms of the legitimacy of international law, some have expressed surprise and even denounce the "double standard" in the legal treatment given to the 2003 US war against Iraq compared with Russia's war against Ukraine today. And this is not the only example. The issue of just how democratic developments in international law have been deserves to be examined dispassionately, and some leading jurists are beginning to do so. This is a crucial question for the medium to long-term future of the international system, and the WPC could take it on board for its future editions, as it endeavors to do with anything that could significantly impact the course of international relations.

In the short to medium term, it is in the general interest of society, if not of the international "community", to take into account the legitimate interests of middle and small powers, which requires Ukraine and Russia to engage in the pursuit of a negotiated peace, within the framework of international law as it now stands, by which I mean positive law and not natural law, and not in any case derived from any sort of legitimate global "Constitution". However, there are forces fueling the conflict, even if it means increasing the risk of escalation and making largely unforeseeable long-term upheavals more likely at every level.

This is a brief outline of the context in which this 15<sup>th</sup> edition of the WPC is taking place. Our ambition remains unchanged. It continues to work in favor of a governance that safeguards the chances for a "reasonably open" world, away from the two extremes of, on the one hand, a return to division into blocks that are radically separated by ideology, and on the other hand, the Fukuyama-style "flat world" dreamed of following the Cold War by liberal globalist ideologues, the implementation of which, over a twenty year period – let us say from the dissolution of the USSR to the "Arab Spring" – has turned the world upside down, for better or for worse. It is against this false set of alternatives that the middle powers stand, and their viewpoints are of the utmost interest to the friends of the World Policy Conference. Despite the Ukraine war, I am convinced that the European Union member states themselves do not wish to be trapped in choices that could, in the long run, drag them back to the darkest moments of 20<sup>th</sup> century history. The current mission of the European Union is to consolidate itself as an area of peace, prosperity and social justice, in order to better exercise its role as a global player. It is destined to grow, but not at the cost of weakening itself as a result of the proliferation of functional inefficiencies that weaken it and even threaten its existence. For similar reasons, it is vital that it reduces its

external dependence in matters of security and manages to show itself capable in the coming years of taking the lead in the reconstruction of a European security system worthy of the name, and therefore one that is based on realism. Alongside this, it must develop a far more ambitious and coherent policy vis-à-vis its neighbors, particularly Africa and the Middle East.

This 15<sup>th</sup> edition of the WPC will address various facets of the issues I have just outlined, and I hope that our work will demonstrate a healthy mix of both realism and idealism, without which nothing generous can be achieved.

I would like to thank the United Arab Emirates, who are welcoming us magnificently, and who in doing so are showing us their support.

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

Archbishop of Constantinople – New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch

Your Eminences,

Your Excellencies,

Honored participants,

Dear Thierry de Montbrial,

Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends,

We would like to extend our warmest thanks to the organizers of this new edition of the World Policy Conference – For a Reasonably Open World for once again inviting us to take part in this essential work.

The war in Ukraine, which was provoked by Russia's unjust aggression in February 2022, is the worst geopolitical and humanitarian crisis to strike Europe since the end of World War II. Large numbers of Ukrainians, Russians, and others have been sacrificed and an entire country destroyed. Should we have seen a disaster of this kind coming?

International relations experts' attempts to explain the situation refer back to the conditions in which the Cold War ended. Was the West wrong to take advantage of the implosion of the Soviet Union to assert its sway in the East? Did the shifting European power balance reawaken old Russian fears of encirclement? On the other hand, how could the West turn a deaf ear to the people who had experienced Soviet oppression when they sought their independence? How could it fail to act in solidarity with Eastern European countries in response to its past unjust abandonment of them to Moscow's domination under the zones of influence system established at Yalta?

These questions are certainly worth debating. And yet our Church's vision goes beyond these current issues. Its perspective is more deeply rooted in history in general, and in ecclesiastical history in particular. We believe that the source of our troubles lies in errors in questions of faith. That is why we use the term orthodoxy for a faith that is true and right.

The Orthodox Church played a key role in the emergence of the two separate yet intertwined realities of Russia and Ukraine. Today's tragedy is unfolding at a double crossroads, where Europe meets Asia. The first of these crossroads is the isthmus between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, a vital axis for trade between Northern Europe and the Mediterranean. Running perpendicular to this corridor, in what is now Southern Ukraine, is a second corridor that lies open to the movement of peoples and through which successive invasions have swept. Trade enabled the formation of political powers and opened the region up to civilization and to the outside world. Waves of invasions and covetous neighboring powers have often defeated its political structures and inflicted tremendous suffering on the population. It is this dialectic of construction and destruction that explains the emergence of a Ukrainian identity.





The political map of what is now Ukraine has changed repeatedly over the centuries, from the Kyivan Rus in the 9<sup>th</sup> century to Catherine II in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when most of Ukraine was incorporated into the Russian Empire. Over the centuries, Ukrainians have been subjected to domination by a series of foreign powers: Russian, Polish, Mongol, Lithuanian, and Austrian. The 20<sup>th</sup> century was particularly harsh for the people of Ukraine. They suffered the great famine of the Stalinist era before finding themselves in the midst of the armed confrontation between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany during the Second World War.

That history explains their desire to differentiate themselves from Russia and forge a connection to Europe and its values. It also helps us understand the importance of religion in both the foundation and the liberation of the Ukrainian consciousness. As early as the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the Ecumenical Patriarchate introduced Christianity and Byzantine civilization to the people of the region from Constantinople. It played an essential role in organizing the religious communities that formed around the Metropolis of Kyiv and later the Patriarchate of Moscow.

However, Moscow has not always respected its teachings on the rules that govern the organization and functioning of the church, teachings inherited from the ancient Christian tradition and which reflect all the administrative and philosophical wisdom of the Mediterranean world. The Russian Empire sought to submit the church to its will as part of an effort to instrumentalize religious sentiment for its own political and military ends. For example, after Constantinople fell to the Ottomans in 1453, Moscow set its sights on replacing the Ecumenical Patriarchate, proclaiming itself "the Third Rome". This longstanding policy on the part of Moscow has sown division in the Orthodox world.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Moscow's instrumentalization of religion was mingled with the innovative ideas of German nationalism. The new ideology of Panslavism, an instrument of Russian foreign policy inspired by Pangermanism, took on a religious component: the idea that churches should be organized along the lines of ethnicity, with language serving as the main ethnic marker. This is what the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople condemned in 1872 as the heresy of ethnophyletism, a form of ecclesiastical racism. It flagrantly contradicts the universal message of the Gospel, as well as the principle of territorial governance that defines the organization of our church.

However, this heresy served Moscow's ends by distancing Slavic-speaking Orthodox Christians from the influence of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. This strategy aimed to create, initially within the Ottoman Empire and later in the form of an independent state, a political force that would support the Russian drive towards warm-water seas. It was responsible for the hatred between Christians in the Balkans, which led to the wars and atrocities of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Under the Soviet Union, religion was marginalized and repressed. Communist ideology took on the role previously played by instrumentalized religion in the tsarist empire. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, religion has once again been pressed into the service of ideology. The Russian Orthodox Church has aligned itself with President Vladimir Putin's regime, particularly since the election of His Beatitude Patriarch Kirill in 2009. It actively promotes the Russkiy Mir, or Russian World, an ideology which claims that language and religion define a coherent ensemble made up of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, other territories of the former Soviet Union, and the diaspora. Moscow — as both a political and a religious power — is seen as the center of the world, with the mission of fighting the decadent values of the West. This ideology serves to legitimate Russia's expansionism and its Eurasian strategy. The connection between the ethnophyletism of the past and Russkiy Mir of the present is clear. And so religion has become the backbone of the Putin regime's ideology.

The autocephaly of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine, granted in 2019 by the Ecumenical Patriarchate, significantly worsened relations with the Russian Orthodox Church. Those tensions had already been expressed when the Patriarchate of Moscow decided not to participate in the Great and Holy Council of the Orthodox Church, which met in Crete in 2016.

The invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022 pushed this polarization to new extremes. Patriarch Kirill's stance on the war, which has been ambiguous, to put it mildly, and his support for President Putin's policies have incurred sharp criticism both within the Orthodox world and outside it. The Orthodox faithful in Ukraine who had chosen to remain under the authority of Moscow have also expressed their disapproval.

And so the division in the Orthodox world has deepened and broadened. Some Churches are in agreement with the Ecumenical Patriarchate while others, whose countries are too dependent on Russia, blindly support the Patriarchate of Moscow, and still others prefer complicit silence. At the same time, the Russian Church has used the resources of the Russian State to assert its influence on the canonical territory of other Churches, thus violating the most fundamental rules of organization of the Orthodox Church. Its interference in Africa is presented as a punitive measure against the Patriarchate of Alexandria for its recognition of the autocephaly of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine. It is clear that this situation makes it very difficult for the Church to play its role as a peacemaker.

What does that mean for the broader debate outside ecclesiastical circles? It once again shows the growing importance of religion as a factor in world affairs. Ideologies are crumbling one after another. The end of Communism left a void throughout the part of the world that had lived under its dominion, as well as among those in other regions who had placed their hope in its promises. The crisis of globalization and liberalism is also creating profound frustrations and dangerous resentments. As materialistic ideologies collapse, spirituality is making a comeback. And yet the return of faith may be dangerous if it is not expressed in ways that draw on the religious wisdom of the great civilizations of the past.

Errors in discernment — heresies — are not harmless phenomena that only interest a few clerics and scholars. On the contrary, they have extremely serious consequences, both spiritual and practical, for our lives. The source of the problem is the instrumentalization of religion by players who often have no true faith of their own.

The Russian Orthodox faithful are a great treasure for Orthodoxy and for the world. Russian Orthodoxy has made tremendous intellectual, spiritual, and artistic contributions. It has unfortunately been the victim of interference by Russian political leadership. Soviet oppression inflicted immense damage, depriving entire generations of the benefits of faith and the wisdom of the Church. Today's neo-imperial regime, in an effort to shore itself up, has drawn on what it sees as a precious political asset: the renewed religious fervor of the Russian people. Unfortunately, it has been able to involve some Orthodox clergy in this effort. Above all, it has revived and strengthened the heretical approach of the Tsarist regime, in a context where understanding of ecclesiastical rules is weak, in part due to the spiritual decay of the Soviet period.

The consequences are very serious. The ethnoreligious fanaticism inculcated in Russian youth makes peace and reconciliation a distant hope. The Orthodox world is divided and this fragmentation is projected onto poor countries where people hoped to find solace in their faith. And above all, it is doing harm to the Russian Church. Because sooner or later, the Russian people will see the errors of a Church that is subject to objectives that have nothing to do with its original mission.

Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends,

International relations experts sometimes ignore or marginalize the role and importance of religion, whether it is sincere or manipulated. We have, however, entered a period in which religion will be increasingly important. Theologians and others who specialize in questions related to how Churches function will need to be more open to other perspectives and develop dialog with other disciplines. It is also important for specialists in the social sciences, political science, and international relations to overcome their hesitancy to explore religious issues in depth. We cannot understand the new world that is emerging before our eyes if we do not understand religion. Thank you for your attention!



## Haïm Korsia

Chief Rabbi of France

Dear friends, I feel quite moved to be speaking after His Holiness Bartholomew I<sup>st</sup>, and first I would like to thank Thierry de Montbrial for making the dream of Psalm 133 a reality: "Behold, how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!" I would also like to thank the United Arab Emirates for hosting this event celebrating diversity and fraternity. It is not just something you preach, but also practice. Spending a few days with you here is enough to make me realize that it is possible to share, to live together and to be oneself while making room for those who are different.

It was also brave of Thierry de Montbrial to give the floor to a high authority such as His Holiness Bartholomew I<sup>st</sup> and to a modest rabbi, which may seem surprising in such a gathering at a time when some might think that religions sometimes sow division, war and fragmentation. The exact opposite is true. As Thierry de Montbrial explained perfectly when he introduced this official opening session, it is important to see aspirations, dreams and future prospects. All religions advocate the diversity that alone can lead to unity, which is actually the opposite of uniformity. Uniformity is an illusion, for we can never all be the same. To speak about unity, it is therefore necessary to speak about difference. Religions represent a way for everyone, each in his or her own way, to turn to the same person, to God, without wanting to get rid of others. No possibility of eliminating the faith of others has ever been imagined. There have been occasional, tragic, unbearable wars, but never a religious plan to prevent others from existing. There can be no unity without respecting and combining differences. Otherwise, the opposite is achieved although the word is rather similar: uniformity. Diversity is essential, and I was glad to hear Thierry de Montbrial say at the beginning of his talk that diversity also means including as many women as possible in the round tables. Thank you, dear Thierry de Montbrial, for recalling that, while it is sometimes hard to make dreams come true, they are always something to reach for.

In this morning's first round table, I enjoyed the interesting debate about gardens; French gardens and English gardens. Bertrand Badré even anticipated what I had intended to discuss with you: the Garden of Eden. I wanted to talk about two biblical gardens: the Garden of Eden and the garden in the Song of Solomon. The Garden of Eden is a place where there was only one human, so that throughout history, nobody could claim to have issued from a lineage that is more worthy than anyone else's. If one thinks that he or she is superior to others, just remember that we all have a common ancestor and we are all brothers and sisters in humanity. The garden is what unites us all. It belongs to every one of us. There is a wonderful story in the Talmud explaining how if someone cannot see beyond the end of their nose, it destroys everybody's dream. A group of men are in a boat when one of them starts drilling a hole in the floor under his seat. His companions say, "What are you doing? We are all going to sink!" "This is my seat," comes the reply. "I paid for it so I can do whatever I want with it." They tell him that if he makes a hole, all of them will go under. At the end of the day, destroying something, even if it is yours, by locking yourself up in the four cubits of your world wrecks everybody's dream.

The Bible's second garden is in the Song of Solomon. "I have tended all the vines," King Solomon says, "every vine of every one of my subjects, but my own vines I have not even planted." Today we must contribute, by working on our own congregants, to what Judaism magnificently calls the repair of the world. To repair the world is to tend one's garden, but also to tend our own garden, our religion, our world, our country, our society, perhaps working to inspire others, accepting to be inspired by the work of others, but in any case to always be with each other. When I was in the room just now with my neighbor Pierre, I had a strange feeling. We saw, dear Thierry de Montbrial, how hard it was to hold this important meeting in person during the pandemic, and now we are glad that we can all be physically together again. Yet even though we are all in the room together, Pierre was looking at the screen instead of the speaker, which I thought made sense because you can see the speaker better that way. But when we only look at the screen, we only focus on the person speaking and miss the interactions between all the speakers. Sometimes we do that in everyday life. We focus on a particular thing, forgetting that we have a share in it. We concentrate on what we are doing, forgetting that others have an impact on who we are and what we do. We lose sight of the big picture that is humanity. As the Bible says, do not form

clans, do not set yourselves up against each other, because you are all brethren in humanity.

I am not some kind of starry-eyed dreamer. Thierry de Montbrial rightfully recalls that this is not about being hopelessly pollyannish. It is about being realistic, but aiming for an ideal that lifts us up and impels us towards brighter days. When Michel Rocard went to New Caledonia to meet the leaders of the independence movement there, he brought with him high-ranking freemasons and the president of the Protestant Federation of France, a pastor who, through his knowledge of the various Protestant denominations in New Caledonia and his ability to bring people together, if only for one occasion, could move the peace process forward. In our history, in France, religions can bring people closer together because faith allows us to meet each other in trust. Trust is one of the best things religion can lead to: trust in what lifts us up and trust in others. Faith can sometimes open up possibilities.

Opening up possibilities means affirming that, like other stakeholders, we have a responsibility for the world. It means first of all protecting the dignity of all. That is our duty with what is happening in Ukraine. Not accepting the attack, not accepting the breaking of the law, not accepting lies. I want to tell you about a personal experience that may not seem like much in the greater scheme of things, but, in my opinion, was tremendously important to many people. French military personnel were sent to Krakow to pick up Ukrainian refugees there. After their Transall cargo planes landed, I was called about a dire situation. The soldiers had received no instructions on what to do about pets. Some of the refugees had lost everything, had left everything behind, and in their flight, had protected their families and pets. For some, pets were their only links with their former lives. The Consul General in Krakow called me saying she did not know what to do, that the soldiers had no instructions and would not let the pets on the plane. I immediately alerted the Air Force general staff and was told that of course they could come, so the soldiers let them aboard. I am sharing this story just to say that sometimes when systems are too stiff, too standardized, it is important to see the big picture and what you want to achieve. What do we want to produce? Connection. At one point or another, religions find this calling in any situation. Their essence lies in the very word, which is derived from the Latin religere, to bind or tie together.

The first duty, then, is to protect everyone's dignity. The second is to help and support, what all religions are doing for Ukraine by welcoming refugees to every country. Some have done more than others. Poland has been extraordinary with all its churches and religions. When the rabbi of Warsaw was a guest speaker at the French rabbinical congress, he told us about everything he had done and we helped him welcome the flood of refugees, some of whom were passing through Poland on the way to other countries.

The last point is to offer everyone hope, transcendence and possibilities. In his superb opening address, Thierry de Montbrial asked us to strive "towards a reasonably open world, far from the two extremes: on the one hand, the return to two blocs divided by ideology; on the other, the flat world of Fukuyama". From my perspective, exactly the same can be said about religion. As Thucydides wrote, "Virtue has two opposites: vice and the excess of virtue". For the religious world, virtue is dialogue, exchange and respect. Vice is the rejection of dialogue and the excess of virtue would be a form of syncretism, a way of saying that everything is equal, a rejection of diversity, a return to a kind of uniformization and syncretism that is actually another form of relativism. If everything is the same, then nothing is important. That is wrong. The aspirations of all, the faith of all and the hope of all are essential. They are the building blocks of our societies. Each breath of thought is vital to keep the world in balance, and if only one of them is missing, the whole world goes awry.

The Hebrew word for France is *Tzarfat*. A *tzarfat* is a crucible in which goldsmiths melt down different metals to obtain a unique alloy. If just one of them is missing, the alloy is not the same. All of the world's religions, diverse societies and philosophical and spiritual contributions are essential and vital, for without just one of them, it would cease to be the same. It would be out of balance. We must therefore foster a form of mutual enrichment, teaching each other not with the idea of conversion in the back of our minds, but simply to move forward and produce collective intelligence.

Dear friends, today, December 9, is an important date in France. It is the 117<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the law on the separation of Church and State. Separation is not the same thing as repudiation. It is what we do with our children. We bring them up so that they can make it on their own.





When they at last venture out into the world, do they break off their ties with us? Do we turn our backs on them? Of course not. We transcend and transform the relationship. This is why religions must learn to act in the world with other stakeholders, with those who think, who produce the collective intelligence I spoke about, not in opposing reason and science – His Holiness Bartholomew I<sup>st</sup> was right about this in his talk – but in exchanging with them.

This may be the idea behind the Tower of Babel story, which begins in chapter 11 of Genesis, the first book of the Bible: "And the whole Earth was of one language, and of one speech." The story is not about mixing languages, which happens later. It is primarily about handling a single mindset, a tempo and words, that powers want to impose on others. I believe that the original intention of the World Policy Conference was to foster a different way of thinking about the world, without letting anyone impose anything with a one-size-fits-all language, as some would like to do. In Genesis, the whole world spoke the same language, which led to uniformity but not unity. So God created various tongues that people had to learn in order to cooperate with each other, overcome their differences and find ways to achieve things together. To change the way the world thinks is necessarily to change something in our world, too. Now, as a Frenchman, I like revolution, but experience has taught me that sometimes a better way is evolution, slow transformation, adapting to new situations, being flexible about the world's demands, needs and expectations, which religions do marvelously well if they can count on women and men like you, who also think about religion in the world, in the balance of the world and in the general economy of the world. We also share this future.

In conclusion, dear friends, I would like to spare a thought for the Ukrainian people and recall that time is of the essence. In his moving poem "The Convict", Jules Supervielle wrote: "In the forest without hours, a tall tree is cut down, a vertical void trembles in the shape of a shaft near the stretched-out trunk. Seek, seek birds, the place of your nests, in this high memory, while it still whispers." Let us not wait until it is too late for the Ukrainian people's urgent cry to be heard.





### United Kingdom – Reuters – 11/12/2022

The UAE, which imports 90% of its food, took the decision at an annual government meeting last month to support local production while continuing to embrace open trade policy, Mariam Al Mheiri told the World Policy Conference in Abu Dhabi.

### France – RFI – 11/12/2022

Géopolitique à Abou Dabi où s'est tenue, ce week-end, la 15<sup>e</sup> édition de la World Policy Conference. Trois jours d'échanges sur les événements marquants de 2022, un monde de plus en plus fragmenté et de nouveaux défis à affronter : dérèglement climatique, crise énergétique, suite de la pandémie, tension croissante entre Washington et Pékin sur la question de Taïwan, sans oublier bien sûr l'agression russe de l'Ukraine, événement majeur de l'année.

### France – BFM TV – 11/12/2022

La Chine est encore bien loin d'évincer les États-Unis auprès des monarchies du Golfe. Mais les échanges à la « World Policy Conference », organisée aux Émirats arabes unis du 9 au 11 décembre, illustrent un rapprochement accéléré.

### Spain – Atalayar – 12/12/2022

La nueva retórica de Berlín y el resto de capitales europeas "obedece en parte a intereses propios: tratar de encontrar nuevos proveedores de gas o de petróleo", reconoció Gargash durante su intervención en la World Policy Conference de Abu Dabi. La claridad con la que se expresó el que fuera ministro para Asuntos del Consejo Nacional Federal emiratí le llevó a enviar un mensaje nítido a sus socios europeos: "Necesitamos ver acciones... tiene que ser a largo plazo y estratégico".

### Italy – Tempi – 16/12/2022

Il patriarca ecumenico di Costantinopoli, Bartolomeo I (Archontonis), è intervenuto il 9 dicembre scorso ad Abu Dhabi, durante la 15<sup>ma</sup> edizione della World Policy Conference, organizzata dall'Institut français des relations internationales (Ifri), che ha visto la partecipazione di molte alte personalità della politica, del mondo diplomatico e della cultura.

### Austria – mena-watch – 14/12/2022

»Hat der Iran eine einsatzfähige Atomwaffe, ist alles möglich«, meinte er während der World Policy Conference in Abu Dhabi, als er auf ein solches Szenario angesprochen wurde. »Wir befinden uns in einem sehr gefährlichen Raum in der Region. Die Zeichen sind im Moment leider nicht sehr positiv«, sagte Faisal.

### Mexico – El Siglo – 12/12/2022

"Creo claramente que, si Irán obtiene un arma nuclear operativa, todas las apuestas están cerradas", dijo el jefe de la diplomacia saudí en un panel en el foro World Policy Conference de Abu Dhabi, en Emiratos Árabes Unidos.

### Switzerland – Le Temps – 10/01/2023

Thierry de Montbrial, président de la World Policy Conference récemment réunie à Abou Dabi, interroge le prince Faisal bin Farhan Al Saud, ministre saoudien des Affaires étrangères : « Que pensez-vous des Accords d'Abraham ? » Le ministre : « S'il n'y a pas d'État palestinien, il sera difficile à l'Arabie saoudite de se joindre aux Émirats arabes unis et autres signataires desdits accords. »

### Canada – Saltwire – 10/12/2022

What we're hearing, especially from the Germans and others, about reengaging with the Gulf, I am encouraged but I would warn that it should not be transactional," Anwar Gargash, the diplomatic advisor to the president of the UAE, told the World Policy Conference in Abu Dhabi.

### Greece – Orthodox Times – 11/12/2022

Το Σάββατο, 10 Δεκεμβρίου 2022, δεύτερη ημέρα των εργασιών του Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου του "World Policy Conference – For a Reasonably Open World" οι μετέχοντες είχαν την ευκαιρία να επικοινωνήσουν διαδικτυακά με τον Εφρχ. Υπουργό Εξωτερικών της Ουκρανίας κ. Dmytro Kuleba, ο οποίος αναφέρθηκε στην επικρατούσα κατάσταση στην Ουκρανία και απάντησε σε πλήθος ερωτήσεών τους.

### Senegal – Xibaaru – 10/12/2022

Aminata Touré, députée à l'Assemblée nationale sénégalaise, était présente à la 15<sup>e</sup> édition de la World Policy Conference (WPC). L'ancienne Première ministre intervenait lors de la plénière « Geoeconomics and Development in a Fragmented World » pour évoquer la place du continent africain dans la géopolitique mondiale.

### Israel – The Times of Israël – 12/12/2022

Le ministre des Affaires étrangères saoudien, le prince Faisal bin Farhan Al Saud, a indiqué dimanche que les voisins du Golfe de la république islamique réagiraient si Téhéran devait fabriquer une arme nucléaire. « Si l'Iran obtient une bombe nucléaire, tout est possible », a déclaré Al Saud aux journalistes à la World Policy Conference qui était organisée à Abou Dabi, selon Reuters.

### South Korea – Maekyung – 26/12/2022

이달 9~11 일 프랑스 국제관계연구소(IFRI) 주최로 아랍에미리트(UAE) 아부다비 세인트레지스 사디아트 아일랜드 리조트에서 개최된 '제 15 회 세계정책콘퍼런스(WPC)'에서는 세계 공급망 분절과 경제 블록화 현상을 두고 치열한 논의가 이뤄졌다.

### Japan – Nikkei – 10/12/2022

ウクライナのクレバ外相は 10 日、停戦交渉の際にはロシアの安全保障を考慮すべきだとしたフランスのマクロン大統領の最近の発言を批判した。フランスによる支援に感謝の意を示す一方、ロシアの立場に配慮する発言は「理解できない」と反発した。著名シンクタンクのフランス国際関係研究所（IFRI）がアブダビで開催中の「世界政策会議」にオンラインで参加し、ウクライナの現状について述べた。

### Saudi Arabia – Al Khaleej 365 – 12/12/2022

القطيبيّة، القضية بشأن التّأثير المملّكة موقف فرحان بن فيصل الأمير الخارجيّة وزير أكد - الوسيدي محمد - الرياض أبراهام اتّفاقيات بشأن سؤال على رده خلال وذلك

أبو ظبي الإمارة العاصمة في العالميّة السياسات مؤتمر في الخارجيّة وزير مشاركة خلال ذلك جاء

### Lebanon – Annahar – 12/12/2022

برئاسة الدولية للعلاقات الفرنسي المعهد ينظمه الذي "العالمية السياسات" مؤتمر # أعدّه كثيف برنامج أيام، ثلاثة مدى على واقتصادية سياسية شخصية ٢٥٠ من أكثر اجتمعت حيث ظلي، أبو الإماراتية# العاصمة في مونبريال، دو تيري والتكنولوجية والعسكرية السياسية المتغيرات ظل في العالم تواجه التي الضمّة التحديات حول بناء حوار دولية وأكاديمية الأوكرانية الروسية الحرب إلى وصولاً كورونا، جائحة بروز منذ الماضي الثلاثة الأعوام في شهدها التي الصحية وحتى العالمي الاقتصاد# مستقبل على كما العالمي ىالغو توازن خريطة على وتداعيات تأثير من ورتيته طرحته وما

### Poland– TVN24 – 12/12/2022

Wszyscy znajdujemy się w niebezpiecznej sytuacji w naszym regionie. Można oczekiwać, że państwa regionu zaczną szukać sposobu na zapewnienie sobie bezpieczeństwa - oznajmił Faisal, odnosząc się do krajów Zatoki Perskiej, podczas konferencji World Policy Conference w stolicy Zjednoczonych Emiratów Arabskich, Abu Zabi.

### Belgium – The European Times – 15/12/2022

The World Policy Conference is a kind of Valdaïs club, but of the Western democracies, chaired by the head of the French Institute of International Relations Prof. Thierry de Montbrial and bringing together authoritative political scientists and diplomats from the East and the West. Patriarch Bartholomew was also invited to speak at the fifteenth edition of the forum that year.

### UAE – Al-Ain News – 09/12/2022

العاصمة في أيام 3 مدار على تتعدّد والتي 15 إلى دورته في العالمي السيفيات مؤتمر الجمعة، اليوم أبو ظبي، في انطلقت لافت دولي بحضور الإمارة

قائم بالاندا تشييده الذي التّقدم إن المؤتمر، افتتاح في الدولي، التعاون لشؤون الإمارة الدولة وزير الهاشمي، ريم وقتل المختلفة النظر ووجهات القيم احترام مبدأ على

### Benin – 24 heures au Bénin – 13/12/2022

Le Bénin a été invité à présenter ses réformes à la 15<sup>e</sup> édition de la World Policy Conference (WPC) tenue à Abou Dabi du 9 au 11 décembre 2022. Excellents échanges avec Thierry de Montbrial sur les problématiques économiques et sociales présentes au Sahel et en Afrique de l'Ouest à l'occasion de la 15<sup>e</sup> édition de la World Policy Conference.

### Romania – Stiripesurse.ro 12/12/2022

Dacă Iranul obține o armă nucleară operațională, situația este imprevizibilă", a declarat prințul Faisal bin Farhan Al Saud într-un interviu acordat pe scenă la World Policy Conference din Abu Dhabi, când a fost întrebat despre un astfel de scenariu.

### Rwanda – The NewTimes – 10/12/2022

Manasseh said this during a plenary session on "The Sahel and West Africa: Geopolitics and Geo-economics" at the 15<sup>th</sup> Edition of the World Policy Conference taking place in Abu Dhabi, UAE from December 9 to 11, 2022. He said the consequences of insecurity in Sahel affect many countries. "The terrorist threat is affecting and dangerously spreading beyond the Sahel region. As we all know terrorism has no borders."





“

**Bertrand Badré**

In a world that is fragmenting, we must give preference to those factors that are centripetal, rather than centrifugal, to those that bring us closer together. The idea of a new tax for the whole planet does not seem absurd to me today.

“

**Aminata Touré**

There is a desire to redefine a more just and equitable world, especially for Africa, which has suffered under a great deal of aggression and brutality throughout its history. This debate must be framed and conducted, and solutions must be found.

“

**Haïm Korsia**

The principle of mixing different people and making them think together is the only possible answer to the impulse that exists in all societies to shut oneself off. These days, people are shut off in silos with other like-minded people. The great difficulty for our society today is this silo effect brought about by system algorithms.

“

**Alain Tchibozo**

Currently, there is a profound deficit in terms of food sovereignty and if we do not improve productivity and provide more resources, in 30 years the number of starving people will have doubled. This is a danger for our regions, and also for everyone else, because distressed populations migrate, and this is never a good thing.

“

**Jean-Marie Paugam**

The WTO's position is that we will come out of this better collectively, wherever possible, rather than individually. We are trying to promote transparency and open markets to enable this cooperation to take place.

“

**Marie-Roger Biloa**

The African positions are in retreat for historical reasons that have to do with the relations that Western countries have with Africa, which must be understood in order to be able to get Africans on board with shared causes.

“

**Basile Cotte**

The session on West Africa and the Sahel was particularly interesting because it showed that not everything revolves around Europe and that we must take into account issues that are far more global.

“

**Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean**

The countries that make up the various parts of the post-Soviet space are now stressing the need for multilateralism, their relationship with Europe, the role of international organizations and the rules-based international order. Russia is rejecting all these things, and no longer wants them and seeks to overthrow them in order to recreate something else.

“

**Nikolaus Lang**

I think there are six components to any reaction to these crises. The first is a new idea: to include geopolitics in our decision-making process. The second is to be vigilant regarding the resilience of supply chains. The third is to be trained and equipped in cybersecurity. The fourth is to continue to invest in talent. The fifth is to invest in innovation. Finally, the sixth is clearly to continue to invest in sustainability.

“

**Renaud Girard**

The diplomatic approach of the UAE is an interesting one. They have taken a step back in the war in Yemen and on their differences with Qatar, since they don't want problems with their neighbors. They are an important mediator in the modern world, since it was they who stewarded the prisoner exchange between Russia and the United States, without claiming to be something they are not, i.e. a great power.

“

**Philippe Chalmin**

The most pronounced factor regarding the end of abundance is perhaps simply that of our atmosphere. This is perhaps where we truly come up against our limits. And this is where the debates on climate change are essential because, up until now and for two centuries, we've had a predatory model of economic development in which we failed to reflect on what would be left for the future.

“

**Reem Ibrahim Al Hashimy**

These platforms truly facilitate greater communication and dialogue, bringing people from all around the world together to share their diverse opinions on what is happening today and where we can go in the future as a collective community.

“

**Sam Okwulehie**

I believe that we are now in a state of permanent crisis; the term 'permacrisis' has even become a buzzword in the business world. It seems that one crisis follows another, leaving us with the question of how we can become more resilient to these kinds of shocks, which appear to be ongoing and endless.

“

**Peter Beyer**

We also need to consider what comes after the war in Ukraine, particularly with regard to our security architecture in Europe, NATO, and beyond. It is crucial that we start to think about this and develop ideas and concepts for the future.

“

**Douglas Paal**

Chinese will tell you 'Ukraine was an independent country, but Taiwan is part of China, so it is not the same under international law'. The US would say 'Ukraine is a landlocked country which had a long relationship with the Russians and the Soviet Union, and has been violated in all sorts of ways. China had no capacity to do the same thing to Taiwan presently.

“

**Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj**

There is a dividing line between democracy and authoritarian regimes that runs through Asia, Europe, Africa, and the Americas. If Ukraine is successful, it will provide encouragement to people who want to live freely and independently. Conversely, if Ukraine loses the war, it will encourage authoritarian governments, and for that reason, we cannot afford to lose.

“

**Amer Al Ghafri**

In order to benefit humanity, we need to engage in dialogue and develop intuitive and innovative policies that can ultimately help everyone. It is important to recognize that we do not live in isolation, but rather as part of nations with diverse cultural and religious backgrounds. We must take this into account and engage in discussions that will allow us to move forward together. This is what makes this conference so important.

“

**Meir Sheetrit**

Almost everything, from navigation to satellite communication, television, and the internet, is now facilitated by space technology, but many people are not aware of this fact. Space has become the new medium through which the world can expand its possibilities and services, and it is now more accessible and cost-effective for many countries and people.

“

**Thierry de Montbrial**

This year is particularly complicated. I think that this edition has been a great success because we had good people speaking about most of the subjects in a realistic way. That is, we set aside ideology and tried to understand the big issues and potential outcomes.





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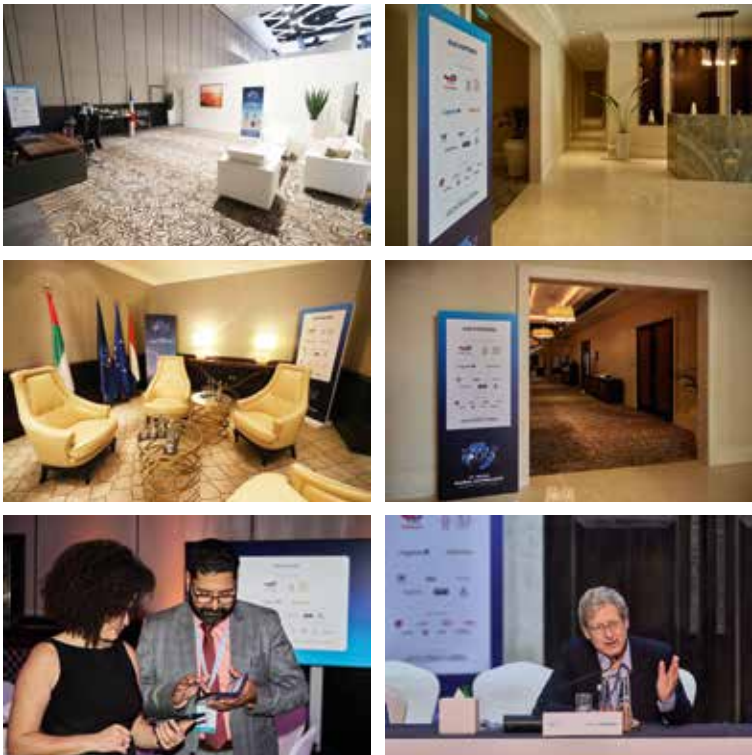






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Thierry de Montbrial  
Founder and Chairman

Nicolas de Germay  
Vice Chairman

Song-Nim Kwon  
Executive Director

Florent de Chantérac  
Executive Producer

Guillaume Foucault  
Head of Communication

Contact:  
Dr. Song-Nim Kwon : +33 (0)1 40 61 72 81  
E-mail : kwon@worldpolicyconference.com

For more information:  
www.worldpolicyconference.com  
www.worldpolicyconferencetv.com





#### Credits

Artistic and editorial direction

**Song-Nim Kwon**

Processing of data and proofreading

**Charlotte Canal**

**Laura Rocchi**

**Lucie Skopek**

Graphic realisation and layout

**Studio Ellair**

Photo credits

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