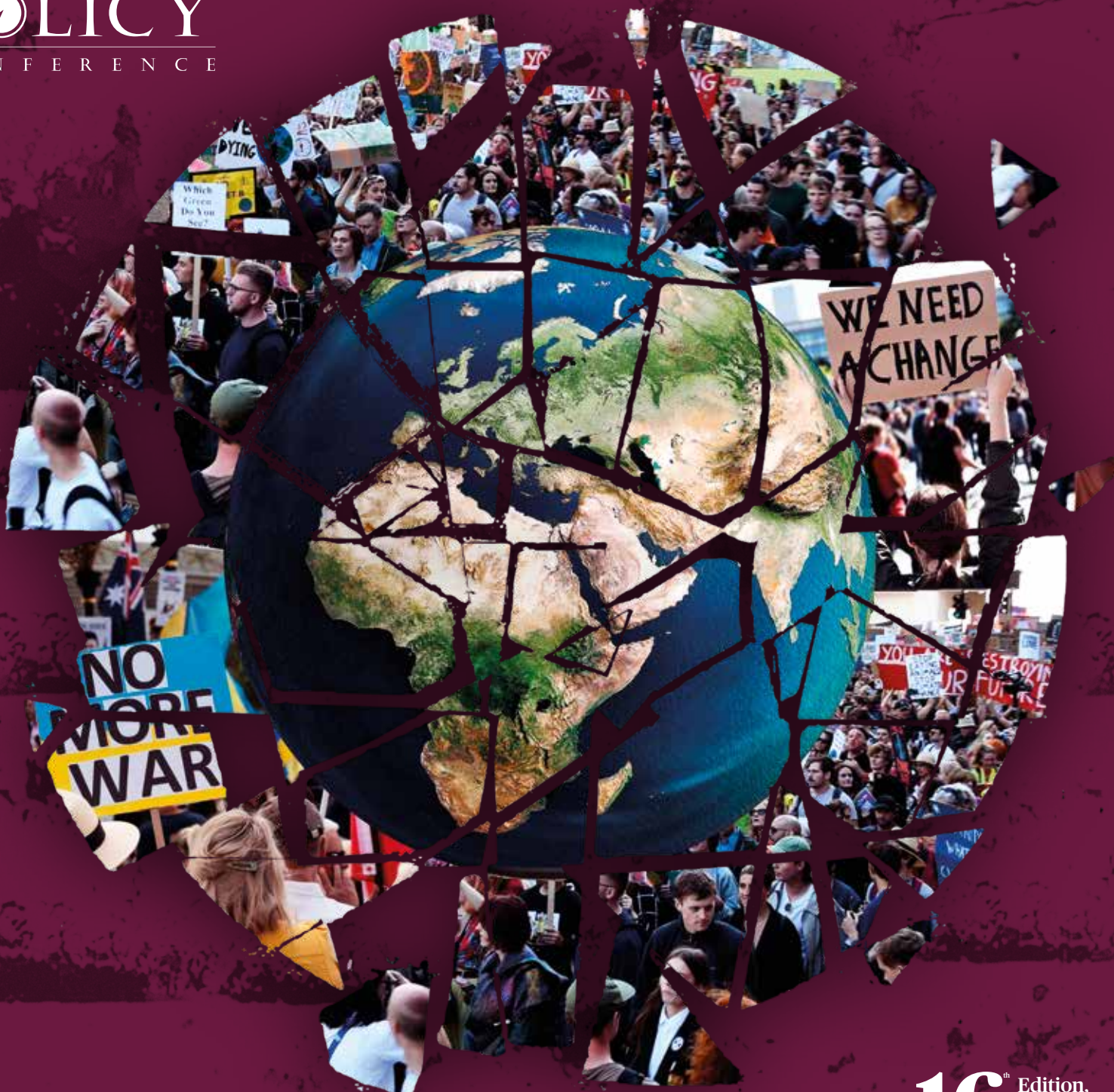


WORLD
POLICY
CONFERENCE



16th Edition,
Nov. 3-5, 2023
Abu Dhabi, UAE
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WORLD POLICY CONFERENCE

SIXTEENTH EDITION
NOVEMBER 3-5 2023
A B U D H A B I
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES



WORLD
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Foreword



It is my pleasure to present the report on the sixteenth edition of the WPC, which took place in Abu Dhabi from November 3 to 5, 2023, a report produced by Executive Director Songnim Kwon. Our conference took place less than a month after the start of a new war in the Middle East following the heinous attack on Israel by Hamas.

Also, we want to believe that the extraordinary technological advances underway, such as in the fields of climate and health, hold more opportunities than risks for the preservation of a minimum of international order, without which the prospect of a third world war would become ever more real. With this in mind, economic and technological cooperation will play an increasingly important role in our conference. The same can be said for major societal issues, such as the peaceful coexistence of religions. The session on this topic at this 16th WPC aroused a great deal of interest and even emotion among our members.

Year after year, the international system seems to be moving further away from the ideal of global governance capable of ensuring peace and prosperity within a framework that also pursues a path towards greater justice. This new war began as the one in Ukraine continues to drag on. However, as I said in my introductory remarks, which you can read hereinafter, the WPC is holding fast to its goal of promoting the idea of a "reasonably open" world that allows the middle powers to defend their idea of the planet and their interests without being crushed by the great ones. This is by no means straightforward. Some middle powers may be tempted to take advantage of the situation, while others risk becoming direct or collateral victims of the crises currently tearing the planet apart and those that could arise in East Asia, for example.

Of course, no individual or organisation can claim to have enough influence to change the course of events. But we all have a responsibility, and we must all keep the flame of hope burning.

Thierry de Montbrial
 Founder and Executive Chairman
 of Ifri and the WPC
 March 3, 2024

**Friday, November 3**

08:00 – 09:00

Opening session**Noura Al Kaabi**, Minister of State of the United Arab Emirates**Thierry de Montbrial**, Founder and Executive Chairman of Ifri and the WPC**Message of Emmanuel Macron**, President of the French Republic.**Delivered by Laurence Boone**, Secretary of State for European Affairs

09:00 – 10:00

Plenary session 1: The Major Mid-Term Issues of the Global Economy in an Adverse Geopolitical Context

Chair:

Jean-Claude Trichet, President of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, former President of the European Central Bank, Honorary Governor of the Banque de France

Speakers:

Gabriel Felbermayr, Director of the Austrian Institute of Economic Research (WIFO), former President of the Kiel Institute for the World Economy (IfW)**Sébastien Jean**, Senior Associate of Ifri, Professor of Economics at CNAM University**John Lipsky**, Senior Fellow of the Foreign Policy Institute at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS)**Marcus Noland**, Executive Vice President and Director of Studies at the Peterson Institute for International Economics

10:00 – 11:30

Plenary session 2: Is a New World Economic Order Still Conceivable in a Foreseeable Future?

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, former Prime Minister of Senegal**Qiao Yide**, Vice Chairman and Secretary General of Shanghai Development Research Foundation**Lee Hye-min**, Senior Advisor of KIM & CHANG, former G20 Sherpa of Korea, former Ambassador for International Economic Affairs of the Republic of Korea**Pierre Jacquet**, Professor of Economics at the *École nationale des ponts et chaussées* (ENPC), member of the *Cercle des Économistes***Vladislav Inozemtsev**, Director of the Center for Post-Industrial Studies in Moscow, Special Advisor to Middle East Media Research Institute's Russia Media Studies Project in Washington, DC.**Yann Coatanlem**, CEO of DataCore Innovations LLC, President of Club Praxis

11:30 – 12:00

Plenary session 3:**Conversation with Leung Chun-ying**, Vice Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, former Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of China

12:00 – 13:00

Lunch

13:00 – 14:15

Plenary session 4: Geopolitics and Global Trade: What Can Be Done Today?

Chair:

Nikolaus Lang, Managing Director and Senior Partner, Global Leader GA Practice Area of Boston Consulting Group

Speakers:

Nicolas Terraz, President of Exploration and Production, member of the Executive Committee of TotalEnergies**Penelope Naas**, Non-Resident Senior Fellow of the Atlantic Council, former President of International Public Affairs and Sustainability at UPS**Bark Tae-ho**, President of Lee&Ko Global Commerce Institute, former Minister for Trade of Korea**Jay Triesdale**, CEO of Veracity Worldwide

14:15 – 15:00

Plenary session 5: Climate Change: Is There Still a Collective Will?

Chair:

Ali Aslan, International TV Presenter and Journalist

Speakers:

Mariam Al Mheiri, Minister of Climate Change and Environment of the United Arab Emirates**Laurent Fabius**, President of the French Constitutional Council, President of the COP 21, former Prime Minister of France

15:00 – 15:30

Plenary session 6:**Conversation with Dmytro Kuleba**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

15:30 – 16:15

Plenary session 7: Reconfiguration of the International System: Short and Long-Term Perspectives in the Eurasian Region

Chair:

Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean, Research Fellow and Director of Ifri's Russia/Eurasia Center

Speakers:

Roman Vassilenko, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan**Vahan Kostanyan**, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia

16:15 – 17:30

Plenary session 8: 2024: A Critical Electoral Year

Chair:

Virginie Robert, Foreign Desk Editor at *Les Échos*, Vice President of the European-American Press Club in Paris

Speakers:

Isabelle Lasserre, Diplomatic Correspondent for *Le Figaro***Jean-Claude Gruffat**, member of United Way Leadership Council, board member of Atlas Network, Managing Director of Weild and Co LLC New York**Hiroyuki Akita**, Commentator of *Nikkei*, Japan**Igor Yurgens**, Chairman of the Management board of the Institute of Contemporary Development in Moscow

17:30 – 18:45

Plenary session 9: Food Security in a Context of Political Turbulence

Chair:

Jean-Michel Severino, President of Investisseurs & Partenaires

Speakers:

Máximo Torero Cullen, Chief Economist of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), Assistant Director General for the Economic and Social Development Department of the FAO**Sam Okwulehie**, Chairman and CEO of LATC**Kamel Abdallah**, Managing Director and CEO of Canal Sugar**Park Yong-joo**, Chief Marketing Officer and Head of Global Business Operations at PlanTFarm

19:00

Dinner debate with Kevin Rudd, Australia's Ambassador to the United States, former President of the Asia Society Policy Institute, former Prime Minister of Australia**Saturday, November 4**

08:30 – 09:45

Plenary session 10: Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Dependencies

Chair:

Patrick Nicolet, CEO of Linebreak Ltd., former Group Chief Technology Officer of Capgemini

Speakers:

Daniel Andler, Professor Emeritus at Sorbonne University, member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, philosopher**Kazuto Suzuki**, Director of the Institute of Geoeconomics at International House of Japan, Professor at the Graduate School of Public Policy at the University of Tokyo, Japan**Ameena Al Sumaiti**, Associate Professor of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science at Khalifa University in Abu Dhabi**Tobby Simon**, Founder and Chairman of Synergia**François Barrault**, Founder and Chairman of FDB Partners, Chairman of IDATE DigiWorld

09:45 – 10:45

Plenary session 11: Semiconductors and Geopolitical Trends: An Opportunity to Strengthen Relationships

Chair:

Paul Boudre, Silian Partner, former CEO of Soitec

Speakers:

Handel Jones, Founder and CEO of International Business Strategies (IBS)**Max Masood Mirgoli**, Executive Vice President of worldwide strategic partnerships at Imec**Helmut Gassel**, former Management board member of Infineon

10:45 – 12:00

Plenary session 12: Innovative Leaders: How Can Carbon Credit Contribute to Net Zero?

Chair:

Lucia Sinapi-Thomas, Executive Director of Capgemini Ventures

Speakers:

Annette Nazareth, Chair of the board Integrity Council for the Voluntary Carbon Credits (ICVCM)**Matt Atwood**, Founder and CEO of Aircapture**Kristinn Ingi Lárusson**, Head of Business Development and Commercialization of Carbfix**Sam Gill**, Co-Founder and President of Sylvera**Maryam Al Mansoori**, General Manager of Rebound

12:15 – 13:30

Lunch

13:30 – 14:45

Plenary session 13: The West after the Ukraine War

Chair:

Terry Martin, Journalist, TV news anchor

Speakers:

Tsakhagiyn Elbegdorj, former President of Mongolia**Bogdan Klich**, Senator in the Polish Parliament, Chairman of the Foreign and EU Affairs Committee in the Polish Senate**Zaki Laïdi**, Personal Advisor to the High Representative and Vice President of the Commission EES**Norbert Röttgen**, member of the Deutscher Bundestag and member of the Foreign Affairs Committee

14:45 – 16:15

Plenary session 14: Geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific between Security Concerns and Economic Opportunities

Chair:

John Andrews, Author, journalist and contributing editor to *The Economist*

Speakers:

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**Yuichi Hosoya**, Professor of International Politics at Keio University in Tokyo**Kim Chang-beom**, Vice Chairman and CEO of the Federation of Korean Industries**Hervé Mariton**, Mayor of Crest, Chairman of the Franco-British Council, Chairman of the Federation of Overseas Companies (FEDOM)**Mayankote Kelath Narayanan**, former Senior Advisor and National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister of India (Manmohan Singh), former Governor of West Bengal**Douglas Paal**, Distinguished Fellow at the Asia Program Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

16:15 – 16:45

Plenary session 15:**Conversation with Anwar Gargash**, Diplomatic Advisor to the President of the United Arab Emirates

16:45 – 19:15

Parallel workshops**Workshop 1: Economy and Finance**

Chair:

Jean-Claude Trichet, President of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, former President of the European Central Bank, Honorary Governor of the Banque de France

Speakers:

Masood Ahmed, President of the Center for Global Development, former Director of the Middle East and Central Asia Department of the IMF**Bertrand Badré**, Managing Partner and Founder of Blue like an Orange Sustainable Capital, former Managing Director and Chief Financial Officer of the World Bank Group**Akinari Horii**, Special Advisor and member of the Board of Directors of the Canon Institute for Global Studies**Pierre Jacquet**, Professor of Economics at the École nationale des ponts et chaussées (ENPC), member of the Cercle des Économistes**André Lévy-Lang**, Founder and Chairman of the Louis Bachelier Institute, former CEO of Banque Paribas**John Lipsky**, Senior Fellow of the Foreign Policy Institute at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies**Jean-Claude Meyer**, Vice Chairman International of Rothschild & Cie**Workshop 2: Energy, Climate and Technology**

Chair:

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

Speakers:

Nicolas Terraz, President of Exploration and Production, member of the Executive Committee of TotalEnergies**Jean Abiteboul**, President of GIGNL (International Group of Liquefied Natural Gas Importers), Non Executive board member of Tellurian, Inc. (AMEX: TELL), Founder and Chairman of JA Energy Consulting**Narendra Taneja**, Chairman of Independent Energy Policy Institute in New Delhi**Igor Yurgens**, Chairman of the Management board of the Institute of Contemporary Development in Moscow**Xavier Ploquin**, Investment Director and Chief of Staff to the CEO of Meridiam**Valérie Ducrot**, Executive Director of Global Gas Centre**Marc-Antoine Eyl-Mazzega**, Director of the Center for Energy & Climate of Ifri**Workshop 3: Economic and Social Issues in the Middle East**

Chair:

Abdulrahman A. Al Hamidy, Director General and Chairman of the Board of Executive Directors at the Arab Monetary Fund

Speakers:

Mona Makram Ebeid, Egyptian Senator, Advisor to the UN High Representative for the Alliance of Civilizations, former member of Parliament**Abdulrahman Al Neyadi**, Director of Policy Planning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UAE**Raed Charafeddine**, Central and Commercial Banker, former First Vice Governor of the Central Bank of Lebanon**Ernesto Damiani**, Professor at Khalifa University for the Department of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science, Director of the Center for Cyber-Physical Systems (C2PS)**François Gouyette**, former Ambassador of France to the UAE and to Saudi Arabia**Memduh Karakullukçu**, Founding board member of the Global Relations Forum, Founding Partner of Kanunum, Chairman of Kroton Consulting**Kamel Abdallah**, Managing Director and CEO of Canal Sugar

19:30

Cocktail

20:00

Gala dinner**Sunday, November 5**

09:00 – 10:00

Reports from parallel workshops

10:00 – 11:00

Plenary session 16: In Search of Hope for a Better World

Chair:

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

Speakers:

H.H. Bartholomew 1st, Archbishop of Constantinople - New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch**Mohamed Abdelsalam**, Secretary General of Muslim Council of Elders**Haïm Korsia**, Chief Rabbi of France

11:00 – 12:30

Plenary session 17: Are We Ready for the Next Pandemic?

Chair:

Michel Kazatchkine, Special Advisor to the World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe

Speakers:

Antoine Flahault, Director of the Institute of Global Health at the University of Geneva, Director of the Swiss School of Public Health**Els Torreelle**, Visiting Policy Fellow at the UCL Institute for Innovation & Public Purpose in London**Maha Barakat**, Assistant Minister for Health and Life Sciences at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UAE**Haruka Sakamoto**, Primary care physician and Senior Fellow at the Tokyo Foundation for Policy Research**Jacques Biot**, board member and Advisor to companies in the field of digital transformation and artificial intelligence, former member of the executive committee of Roussel-Uclaf and Pasteur Mérieux Serums and Vaccines

12:30 – 13:30

Lunch

13:30 – 14:45

Plenary session 18: Securing Critical Minerals for the Clean-Tech Transition

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 Emeritus at Paris-Dauphine University**Jonathan Cordero**, Head of Corporate Development at Eurasian Resources Group (ERG)**Christophe Poinssot**, Deputy CEO and Scientific Director of the *Bureau de recherches géologiques et minières* (BRGM)**Nicolas Piau**, Co-Founder & CEO of Tilt Capital

14:45 – 16:15

Plenary session 19: Middle East: What in the Next Few Months

Chair:

Terry Martin, Journalist, TV news anchor

Speakers:

Nabil Fahmy, Dean Emeritus at the American University in Cairo, former Foreign Minister of Egypt**Dorothee Schmid**, Head of the Turkey/Middle East program at Ifri**Itamar Rabinovich**, Vice Chairman of the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) in Tel Aviv, Distinguished Fellow at the Brookings Institution**Volker Perthes**, Under-Secretary General and Head Independent Strategic Review of UNAMI (United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq)**Renaud Girard**, Senior Reporter and International Columnist at *Le Figaro***Mohammed Baharoon**, Director General of the Dubai Public Policy Research Center (b'huth)

16:15 – 18:00

Plenary session 20: Where Is Africa Heading?

Chair:

Amir Ben Yahmed, Chief Executive Officer of Jeune Afrique Media Group, President of Africa CEO Forum

Speakers:

Lionel Zinsou, former Prime Minister of Benin, Chairman of SouthBridge**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**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)**Jean-Michel Severino**, President of Investisseurs & Partenaires**Robert Dossou**, International Law, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Benin, former President of the Constitutional Court of Benin

18:00

Envoi



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Noura Al Kaabi

Minister of State of the United Arab Emirates



“Before we start, we must acknowledge the devastating events happening in our region. Since the war in Gaza broke out, we express our deepest condolences for the loss of civilian lives, and our thoughts go to those who have lost loved-ones as a result of this conflict. Tragically, the loss of civilian lives in Gaza continues to this day. The ongoing damage being perpetrated upon the people has created a humanitarian catastrophe that is unfolding before our very eyes in real-time. We are working relentlessly to reach an immediate and full humanitarian ceasefire, so that life-saving aid can be delivered to the Gaza strip. Every effort must be made to protect civilians and to immediately put an end to this conflict, which we are witnessing as the result of a decades-long failure to make progress towards a political horizon that ends the occupation and brings peace to both Palestinians and Israelis alike. As we continue working to stop this war, we cannot ignore the wider context and the necessity of turning down the regional temperature that is approaching a boiling-point. The risk of regional spillover and further escalation is real, as is the risk that extremist groups will take advantage of the situation to advance ideologies that will keep us locked in cycles of violence.

*Full version page 136

Thierry de Montbrial

Founder and Executive Chairman of Ifri and the WPC



“The third idea driving the WPC is that of the medium-size power. When I founded this conference, I made it clear that the event would not be “Western” in spirit in the sense of the alliances that were sealed around the United States after the Second World War, or even from the point of view of cultures or civilizations. On the contrary, I see no contradiction between being attached to one’s own culture or civilization and the respect that is due to those of others. Bearing this in mind, it troubles me when I hear the president of the United States say that his country is the natural leader of the “democracies” against the “autocracies”, because he does not define what a “real” democracy or autocracy is. As this ambiguity clearly does not apply to China in his eyes, such a stance means it is hardly possible to make any significant headway in areas of common interest, like the fight against climate change or pandemics. The WPC rejects simplistic political classifications, and its point of view is not aligned with that of the great powers, whatever they may be. It gives voice to the “middle powers”, i.e. States that, without necessarily being endowed with large resources, are nevertheless determined to devote some of them to making a positive contribution to global governance.

*Full version page 137



Message of Emmanuel Macron

President of the French Republic



“My message for the opening of this conference is very simple: we are living in a period of proliferating crises. War has come back to roost in Europe and the Middle East. Terrorism threatens the Sahel more than ever. The Covid-19 pandemic has dealt a globalization major setback. And yet we have no choice but to cooperate. Let us be clear: cooperation is not so much a moral imperative as an existential one. For who today can still say that climate change is not a threat to our collective security? In the age of generative artificial intelligence, who can still say that the emergence and spread of new technologies across borders is not everyone's business? Lastly, who can still believe that the extreme poverty and inequality growing around the world are not sowing the seeds of tomorrow's conflicts? For all these reasons, the polarization of the world is not an option. But let us be clear: Immobility plays into the hands of those who want to see a divided world. We must invent a new form of global governance. And you have a role to play, because the world needs new ideas. International institutions need to be rethought. The United Nations Security Council is powerless because it has not given a voice to those who could bring their weight to bear in safeguarding collective security.

*Full version page 138





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The Major Mid-Term Issues of the Global Economy in an Adverse Geopolitical Context



CHAIR:

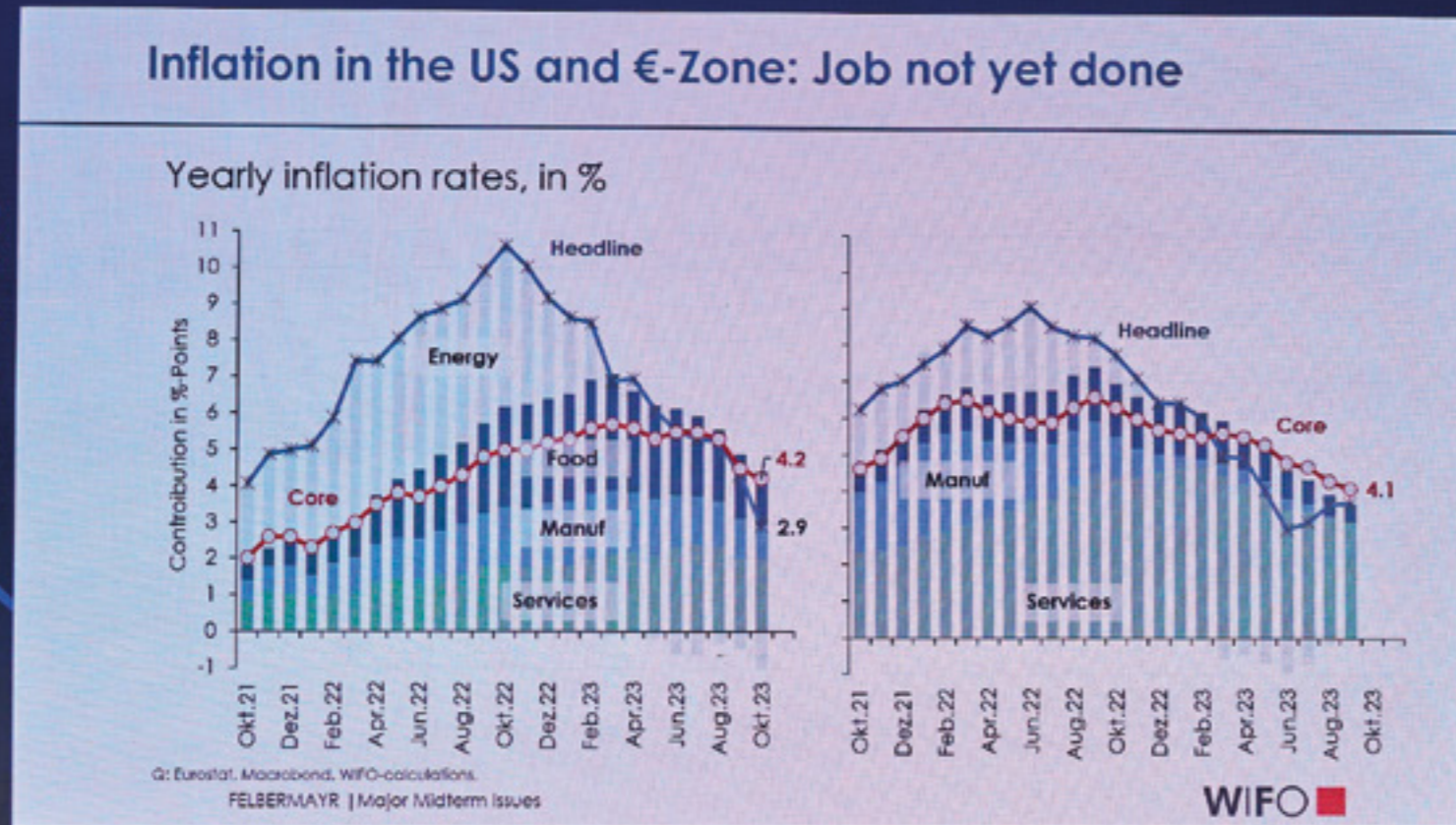
Jean-Claude Trichet

President of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, former President of the European Central Bank, Honorary Governor of the Banque de France



Gabriel Felbermayr

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



I would just highlight that technology is a major driving-force, and we are experiencing something particularly striking with the emergence of artificial intelligence. This is only the start; science and technology are progressing very rapidly. Allow me also to underscore climate-change and the green-transition. We are on a single spaceship; planet Earth. We recognize that we must all care for the Earth, without exception, and if there is any domain where it is absolutely clear that all countries must take care to cooperate; it is certainly this one. We must take care of the single spaceship on which we live. Another point to highlight is on global trade: what happens in global trade and hedging of the global value-chain. The change of attitude here is very striking, with many pursuant counterproductive consequences, both in regards to global growth and inflation, if we do not optimize the global value-chain as we did before. We also have, of course, the fight against inequality. This fight is globally ubiquitous across both advanced and emerging economies in all countries. A final note on inflation, which is one of the big challenges we are faced with today: I am reasonably confident that the central banks will regain control when the time comes. By 2025, we will probably have core-inflation of around 2% in the medium-term, in order to avoid over-dependence on volatility of prices.

The Eurozone is not growing. The third quarter is just in, and the Eurozone is on the brink of a recession. The United States is surprising us with relatively high growth rates quarter on quarter in the third quarter of 2023. The analyzed growth-rates amount to almost 5%. This is significant. In times where we need to cool down our economies to eliminate inflation, this looks both red-hot and unsustainable. China, the engine of growth for so many years, is not growing steadily; it is now up and down, and resembles the American experience. The United Kingdom looks very much like the Eurozone. The world, as such, is growing at the rate of about 3% in this and next year; certainly more slowly than what was seen prior. Given recent system-shocks, this comes as no surprise. What we should take away from this is not only divergences across the Atlantic, China and Europe, but a relative lack of collapse. Resilience is what we should see here. The FIAT recession, if it comes to the Eurozone, will be a mild one. We are not facing an imminent disaster.

Next year, we anticipate some improvements in the Eurozone and United Kingdom, a decline in the United States, and a sideways shift in China. The biggest issue for us economists over the last two years has been inflation. The good news is that headline inflation is coming down in both the Eurozone and United States. [...] I would also like to bring attention to the enlargement of the BRICS group to six more members. This is significant and under-discussed: there are implications on the world financial system, as the BRICS group have their own bank and are setting up more autonomous currency systems. With respect to numbers, the share of the BRICS+6 in global GDP enlargement is not changing significantly, but what it does is bring in countries that have been outside of the inner circle of policy-making, such as Iran, into the BRICS. I believe this is a challenge for the world order as we know it, and I hope this does not lead to more polarization.



The Major Mid-Term Issues of the Global Economy in an Adverse Geopolitical Context



Sébastien Jean

Senior Associate of Ifri, Professor of Economics at CNAM University



John Lipsky

Senior Fellow of the Foreign Policy Institute at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS)



Marcus Noland

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

We must therefore live within a framework of economic and financial inter-dependence. Of course, the tense geopolitical situation, as well as economic interdependence, creates a strong temptation to leverage inter-dependencies for political proposals: in other words, to weaponize them. This is a defining feature of the present situation. This is a difficult objective. Economic and financial exchanges are defined by a principle of mutual benefit, taking place because they are beneficial for both parties. This means that it is very difficult for one to leverage these in a weaponized manner. This is possible only in cases where the relationship is pronouncedly asymmetric. I think that this is why, in recent examples of weaponization of economic dependencies, we observe the overwhelming importance of finance, information and knowledge. These are interdependent activities that rely upon concentrated networks. Note the monetary system and the role of the dollar, international banking transactions and the role of the SWIFT system, information with social networks, or high-tech semi-conductors with intellectual properties. In each of these cases, you have complex networks with several shock-points taking a central importance, many of which have been recently leveraged. A recent paper defined this situation as one of geo-finance, to reflect the fact that it is marked by the increasing politicization of information and financial flows. This differs somehow from what we used to think of as geo-economic competition in the 1990's or 2000's which mainly took place within the framework of multilateral institutions. Here, in many cases, this competition and weaponization is in breach of international commitments.

Based on the IMF's latest World Economic Outlook, global growth is slowing, and is expected to remain subpar for the coming 5 years or more, while inflation is not expected to return to its pre-pandemic rate until 2025. In these circumstances, the actual evolution of inflation will be a key to the outlook. A slow retreat in inflation would underscore current central bank warnings about "higher for longer" policy rates. In addition, sustained high interest rates would feed financial stability concerns, reflecting potential losses on financial institution's securities holdings. A second concern reflects the sustained increase in public debt. Here again, the outlook for inflation will be crucial, as sustained high interest rates will exacerbate the pressures of high debt burdens by adding to budgetary strains. A third issue is international trade. Since the global financial crisis, growth in global trade has trailed global GDP growth, reversing a sixty-year trend. A combination of sanctions, a move toward industrial policies and a post-pandemic concern about supply-chain security has limited trade openness. Unless these trends are reversed — and at this point there is little reason to expect this — slow growth in trade will hinder global GDP growth. Another factor that will slow global growth will be the likelihood of sustained weakness in China's economic expansion. These challenges will test the G20 Leaders and the International Financial Institutions ability to manage successfully in the current circumstances. At the same time, it is widely agreed that there is a need for greater attention being paid to global public goods — addressing climate change, environmental degradation, pandemics and food security. Whether the current system of international institutions plus multilateral organizations can meet these demands is a challenge that will be faced in the next few years.

With respect to climate change, I will focus on electric vehicles, as this is where much of the current trade action is. The US legislation creates consumer incentives, builds out the charging infrastructure, and encourages domestic production. The way it did so was by having strong domestic preferences, which caused problems with our partners. One thing to bear in mind concerning this legislation is that the IRA is 1000 pages long. The congress did not know every detail of what it was voting for when it enacted it, and it has all sorts of unintended consequences. One of these was to make those consumer incentives apply to American-built automobiles, but not those from Korea or the EU who, understandably, became upset. A certain enterprising bureaucrat at the department of treasury, who probably deserves some sort of Nobel prize in applied economics, discovered that there was a provision written for trucks, which are normally leased, which if reinterpreted, could be applied to cars, and that the Koreans and Europeans could continue to export to the US and benefit from consumer subsidies. Likewise, the legislation incentivized use of non-Chinese minerals in the production of the batteries for those cars, and due to our vision that essentially endorses production and free-trade partners, it has created a strange phenomenon in Washington where Korean firms who build the batteries are lobbying the US government to conclude free trade agreements with Indonesia, Philippines, Argentina, and other potential supply sources. It appears akin to a software-patch, so to speak, and it would not be surprising if the congress went back and revisited some of these provisions, if the congress could actually act, that is, which, given the dysfunction, remains an open question.



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Is a New World Economic Order Still Conceivable in a Foreseeable Future?



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
Former Prime Minister of Senegal

It is difficult today to discuss the economic outlook without talking about changes in the structure of international relations and what that means for economics. The topic for this session 'Is a new world economic order conceivable in the foreseeable future?', begs another question, which is, 'Is the current international economic order a stable one?' One could argue that the international economic order is already changing and already fraying. Therefore, the question is not so much whether we can conceive of a new world international economic order, but how we cope with the pressures and changes that are happening now, sometimes in a not orderly way. Perhaps we are moving from an international economic order to a period of international economic disorder, during which countries will conduct their relationships without a globally agreed set of rules – either the ones that have governed those relationships for the past six or seven decades or an agreed new set that will govern economic relationships for the coming few decades. Instead of one grand new scheme replacing another, it may be a patchwork of mini-schemes that govern dimensions of international economic relations among subsets of nations. My main takeaway is that hankering for preserving the order in which we used to live is not a meaningful approach because when we discuss that order, we mostly discuss the many problems it has created. I do not think we yet have agreement on the kind of order want, let alone where we will end up. There are also some open questions about how long and how disorderly the transition process will be. We should also consider whether international economic disorder is linked to domestic political dysfunctionality in many traditional democracies. Can we make much progress on one without dealing with the other? In any event, what is crucial is how during this transition process we can make progress on the common challenges which cannot wait for this lack of clarity to be resolved – or else this will create disorder of a whole different magnitude.

Economically, obviously, in Africa – I can take Senegal as an example – we do have a very old relationship with France, but how is it now that France is being phased out in many countries? If you follow the economy – Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, being the case in point – what did not go right for that to happen after such a long relationship? Well, what happened is the hope for development did not happen, so why would you entertain a relationship? It is like a wife in a couple, somehow. If you are unhappy, why would you keep that going? Are you going to replace it with something new that will be better? It remains to be seen, obviously, but when you have new partners and new players in the economic field – I am talking about Brazil, China, and whoever is there – you attempt to look the other way. In a nutshell, definitely, do we have to go through disorder? It looks like it, and we are in the middle of it. By the way, when you talk about change, most of the time it is because it has already happened. What we need to see is more equality, more justice, more representation of women and young people, more race diversity. That is also an issue. We really need to look into the new world we want to build through what we are doing now – discussing, but discussing very honestly – and having the courage to put issues on the table. We are unhappy with the state of international affairs. That is what it is, and how are we going to work together and make sure that we do have the dresses and the suits that fit everybody and everybody's happy with?

16th EDITION GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

November 3-5, 2023 • Abu Dhabi



SESSION 2 • FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 3 • 10:00 – 11:30

Is a New World Economic Order Still Conceivable in a Foreseeable Future?



Qiao Yide

Vice Chairman and Secretary General of Shanghai Development Research Foundation



Lee Hye-min

Senior Advisor of KIM & CHANG, former G20 Sherpa of Korea, former Ambassador for International Economic Affairs of the Republic of Korea

We can see the current order is still there but, at the same time, we have already seen signs of change or decoupling happen. In the World Economic Outlook, the IMF's annual report, the word 'fragmentation' was mentioned 172 times in this year's version while, five years ago, 'fragmentation' was only mentioned once. That is a very interesting phenomenon. Therefore, we can summarize two reasons for this happening: the first factor is internal to the economic order, by which I mean the economic pattern or weight that is already changing. The second factor is external, like geopolitical tension, the US/China conflict, and the war. Therefore, I can imagine or think there is four possible scenarios for evolution of the international economic order. The first scenario I will summarize as 'business as usual'. The second scenario is one where the economic order has somewhat improved. The third scenario we can say is a substantial new order. The last scenario is one of total disorder and total fragmentation. The second and third scenarios are more likely to happen. Scenarios one and four are less likely to occur. I do not totally exclude the latter, however if the world totally fragments, it will be a disaster.

I would like to highlight two very significant challenges, focusing on trade. First is the breakdown of the international cooperation system and, at the same time, the collapse of the rule-based trading system. The WTO's fundamental principle of MFN is dead. The WTO's dispute settlement mechanism continues to remain paralyzed with the non-functioning of its appellate body. New international rules cannot be agreed upon, even though we need new rules on digital and climate change, because the global cooperation system has broken down due to the intensifying US/China conflict and Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Because of the impossibility of producing a consensus on global issues, we can see the recent trend of fragmentation of the international rules on climate change and digital economy in particular. [...] Since the government cannot produce the rules, we can see more active roles played by the private sectors and NGOs. The second challenge is the strengthened government intervention in the economy. Deglobalization since the financial crisis of 2008 and Covid-19 has significantly strengthened government regulations. Climate change and digitalization of the global economy require a stronger government intervention, as we need new rules on these issues. The direct impact of the strengthened government intervention is increased subsidies by the major economies to the detriment of the middle power countries. The problem with the subsidies is this thought – trade and industry – because government decisions determine competitive outcomes, not market forces. Thereby substantially reducing efficiency. We can see the invisible hand of the market is giving way to the visible hand of the State.



Is a New World Economic Order Still Conceivable in a Foreseeable Future?



Pierre Jacquet

Professor of Economics at the *École nationale des ponts et chaussées* (ENPC), member of the *Cercle des Économistes*



Vladislav Inozemtsev

Director of the Center for Post-Industrial Studies in Moscow, Special Advisor to Middle East Media Research Institute's Russia Media Studies Project in Washington, DC.



Yann Coatanlem

CEO of DataCore Innovations LLC, President of Club Praxis

An international economic order is a negotiated agreement that balances national interests with international cooperation. The emerging set of global rules and institutions is not stable over time. As shown by Martin Daunt in his book *The Economic Government of the World*, global governance since the early 20th century seems to follow a recurring cycle: negotiated agreements eventually lose legitimacy, leading to an interregnum during which new problems and ideas are discussed, finally resulting in a new "order". We are currently in the third such cycle: the "neo-liberal" order appearing with Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, evolving into a form of financial capitalism, has lost social and political legitimacy: it failed to deliver shared prosperity, to address crucial collective issues such as climate change or biodiversity, to provide for health and economic security, and to preserve peace globally. In the current geopolitical context, unlikely to facilitate international agreements, we are bound to muddle-through until a new, mobilizing, global project emerges. Lessons from history are sobering because such projects typically emerged during or after major wars. To paraphrase the philosopher William James, what is today the "moral equivalent of war"? Unfortunately, current candidates (the Sustainable Development Goals, Net-Zero, ...) seem unlikely to deliver the kind of collective momentum and sense of direction that are needed. Politics, in the sense of the kind of "high politics" that elaborates a common vision, has come back. The urgency is to continue discussing and shaping ideas, which requires listening to each other and recognizing differences.

It looks premature to talk about any New Economic Order for several reasons. First, there are competing economic models of relatively equal power arising in the world which excludes any universal set of rules that may govern such a system. Second, it seems unclear, to say the least, that some new economic power may dethrone the current leader, the United States, and so lay foundations for any new order. Third, the world economy looks quite different and regionalized these days for benefiting from any universal regulation that might be imposed. The fourth, and final argument is that in the times of unprecedented technological change, many factors can influence the world economy in a way that challenges the current trends and can prove wrong all dreams about its further organization. I believe that for at least several decades the global economy will experience an age of creative destruction with the cutting-edge technologies making it less predictable than at any other stage in human history, so therefore we should talk not so much of a new order than rather of a set of frameworks which can somehow help us to make the current developments a bit more orderly. This is the best we may dream of.

If we really want to build a new vibrant multilateral organization, we need to meet, in my view, two conditions. One is to define clear mutual benefits, and the second is to have strong, equal, players. How do we achieve mutual benefits? I think part of the problem we are all facing is that, in a way, we are flying blind here. We must do a better job at understanding and mitigating externalities. Let me give you two concrete examples of what I think are achievable goals with hopefully enough consensus. One is to curb excessive concentration of corporate power pretty much everywhere in the world. The OECD countries, as you know, have already achieved a minimum corporate tax. I think the challenge now is to tackle the issue of tax optimization and, in particular, of transfer pricing mechanisms. The second point is that deglobalization makes it harder to achieve our decarbonization goals, not easier. The WTO economists were able to assess that 40% of the decline for solar panel prices was due to economies of scale that were obtained through international free trade. In contrast, if we do not have this kind of economic efficiency, we are even less likely to meet our decarbonization targets. The second condition is to have strong players. Going forward, the future looks very bleak for Europe, because it is essentially missing the technology revolution. Just one statistic that is very revealing: in Europe, private companies invest about USD 50 billion a year in technology R&D; in the US, it is five times this amount. The second weak player, for completely different reasons, will be emerging markets. First, we need to be more equitable when assessing externalities. Second, we need a more global capital allocation of climate change investment.

GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

November 3-5, 2023

Conversation with Leung Chun-ying



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



Leung Chun-ying

Vice Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, former Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of China

Taiwan is important because China has been saying that Taiwan is the core of Chinese national interest. Taiwan was ceded to Japan and no-one has ever disputed that Taiwan was part of China. Alongside Taiwan, Liaodong Peninsula was also ceded to Japan. Liaodong Peninsula is now part of China, so why is Taiwan not? Liaodong Peninsula is now Liaodong Province of China. Today, as ever, the 1.4 billion people in China will never allow the ruling party, the Chinese government, to let go of Taiwan. This is an important issue for the international community to understand, and Taiwan should not be encouraged in any way to ever think about independence. That is a very important part of any equation in the world order involving China. I think we could use a lot more people-to-people dialogue between the two sides, which is something that I have been facilitating myself. People need to see for themselves what political and socioeconomic life is about on the mainland. That is something that we are not doing enough of. China has never given up the option of using force to reunify the country, if necessary. [...] As one of the Vice Chairmen of CPPCC's National Committee, I do not feel that the last 10 years have been more authoritarian. In Beijing, we had two and a half days of very full and very intensive discussion on green development. Government people were there. They were asked questions. We had 300 people at the plenary sessions. Then we had nine subgroup discussions. I do not think it is a manifestation of authoritarianism at all.



Geopolitics and Global Trade: What Can Be Done Today?



CHAIR:
Nikolaus Lang
 Managing Director and Senior Partner, Global Leader GA Practice Area of Boston Consulting Group



Nicolas Terraz
 President of Exploration and Production, member of the Executive Committee of TotalEnergies

As leaders constantly ponder and ask questions about the future of geopolitics, BCG has developed a few scenarios that describe what the world could look like in 2030. These scenarios range from “Back to the Future” at one end to “Global Escalation” at the other, with “Limited Stalemate” and “Multipolar World” in the middle. The developments of the past 12 months have shown strong movement, around the world, of independent positioning beyond the traditional two-bloc model, suggesting that the “Multipolar World” scenario is the most likely scenario. The dynamics noted above will reshape global trade flows throughout the next decade. Global trade is projected to grow by 2.3% per year through 2031, but this is just one-third of the annual growth rate we saw from 1990 to 2010—the era of free trade. The Russia-EU trade route is expected to diminish substantially, driven by the energy sanctions, and a decrease in China-US trade is also projected. On the other hand, we are expecting the North Atlantic trade to boom considerably. Strong trade growth—higher than the projected world average of 2.3%—is forecasted in the Global South with \$1 trillion of additional trade emanating from Southeast Asia, India playing an important role, and Mexico winning big on nearshoring/friendshoring. With these dynamics in mind, BCG has identified five no-regret moves for corporate leaders to make: diversify supply chains; enhance the organization’s ability to navigate price volatility and inflation; prepare the organization to work in a fragmented world; turbocharge its capabilities for handling cybersecurity-related risk; and build geopolitical muscle in the corporate boardroom.

In this changing global trade pattern, one key factor is the energy transition and the need to address climate change. In TotalEnergies, we believe that our role, our mission, is to provide more energy with less emissions. Why more energy? because there is a growing population needing more energy; but we want to supply this energy in a manner that is safer and that makes energy as affordable as possible. When I was talking about controlling the cost of our activities, it is also a way to make energy supply affordable to people. By doing this, we are working in partnerships with national oil companies in the countries in which we operate. It is the case here with ADNOC, for instance, where we cooperate on the identification and elimination of methane emissions from our operations. We also seek to develop multi-energy projects. We have a large multi-energy project in Iraq that we launched recently, where we develop the production from an existing oil field, but we also gather and process natural gas for local power generation; we built a largescale one-gigawatt solar power generation plant to supply the local communities in the Basrah area, and we also build a large seawater treatment plant. Typically for us, this kind of multi-energy project is a way to contribute to the transition in a manner that is positive for the countries in which we operate. It is also a way for us to manage risk and to diversify what we are doing.



Geopolitics and Global Trade: What Can Be Done Today?



Penelope Naas

Non-Resident Senior Fellow of the Atlantic Council, former President of International Public Affairs and Sustainability at UPS



Bark Tae-ho

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



Jay Truesdale

CEO of Veracity Worldwide

The administration made some kind of surprising announcements last week about digital trade that I think were quite confusing, given where the US is on digital trade. People are asking, "Will a Biden 2.0 be more open to trade?". I am not convinced, if you look at Biden's record as a senator, in his voting record, you will see that he has got a very mixed record with regards to trade. I know a lot of people are pinning hopes that maybe Biden, if he stays on, or wins re-election, will do something ambitious. I just am not convinced that that is where we are going. I think that where we are today is probably the best-case scenario for the US with regards to trade. Let me conclude with companies. I think what also became really clear out of this is that companies did not know where all their risks were. Generally, risks are generally not what the last crisis was. It is something new, usually something that surprises you and, while it might occasionally be a black swan, what hits you is usually something that is within your control. Supply chains were an issue, not necessarily because of other things, but because it did not really rise to the C-suite in the past. Being able and sitting down and doing creative scenario planning, looking at some of the issues in a much more thoughtful way, I think, are really important for companies.

Major countries are utilizing subsidies, trade and investment measures to achieve their national objectives in various areas, including national security, economy, technology, society, and more. However, some of these measures may violate the multilateral trade norms of the WTO. Nonetheless, the world trade governance, particularly the multilateral trading system of the WTO, is not effectively addressing these issues. We now find ourselves in a world where major nations are adopting various unilateral actions focusing on their domestic political agenda to achieve economic, as well as non-economic, objectives. The negative consequences of these unilateral actions on the world trade will progressively escalate. If this trend continues, world trade order will remain fragmented, increasing uncertainty in the global trade environment. Under these circumstances, it will be practically impossible for all WTO members to discuss sensitive issues. We should note that the WTO allows member states to take unilateral actions as long as fair and non-discriminatory implementation is guaranteed. Considering all this, it would be crucial for countries with similar interests and positions to engage in transparent and unbiased discussions on various issues, including new commercial rules, and come up with agreements. Of course, these agreements should be open to non-participating countries that may wish to join later. Many trade experts consider this 'open plurilateral agreement' as the second-best option for addressing important issues at the WTO. In conclusion it should be noted that serious efforts from major trading nations are urgently needed to respond to this crisis situation in the world trade environment and mitigate uncertainties in the global trade environment.

First and foremost, I would say taking the framework of turbo-charging risk management. They are seeking to build a taxonomy to map the various risks that they face. Financial firms have done this over the course of the last 25 years increasingly well, in part due to regulatory requirements that have been placed on them. Non-financial institutions are relatively new at this and, when they think about risk mapping, typically, they think about operational risk; they think about tax-related risk; they think about jurisdiction-related risk. They do not think about geopolitical risk. This is very new on the agenda. What we have been encouraging our clients to do is to very much identify where they have exposure in this respect. However, that is not the only step you can take when it comes to risk. You have to prioritize your risks. You have to dimensionalize what you think might come to pass and what you need to focus on. There are all kinds of ways you can dimensionalize risk – obviously whether it is going to come into your life; whether there is a likelihood or a probability of that risk occurring; and also what its impact will be. In the upper right, you can start to then focus on what the things are that you should begin to work on. You should definitely build crisis management capabilities around those risks in the event that you have to deal with them. Many companies may have something on the table, something on the shelf, but they do not actually do the work of testing themselves. Finally, they have to be real with themselves to know where their gaps are to be able to build the capabilities that are required in the event these risks actually were to come to pass.

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November 3-5, 2023 • Abu Dhabi



CHAIR:
Ali Aslan
International TV
Presenter and Journalist



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



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

By the way, COP28 is going to try to solve four things. First of all, it is about the just energy transition and, because ourselves as a country are going through this transition, we understand we need political will; we need money; we need to build up the national capacity; we need to diversify. We know from experience what it means when we talk about a just energy transition – and everyone needs to do it in their own ways because every country is different, is at a different level, has accessibility to certain financial funds or no funds. It is really complicated. The second thing we will be looking at is fixing climate finance. That is a huge deal. That is the enabler in everything we are trying to do and, of course, His Excellency Sultan, the COP28 President Designate, is really pushing for the USD 100 billion commitment, the Loss and Damage Fund is another area that needs to be fixed. The whole financial institution needs to be relooked at so that money can be accessible, available and affordable and needs to go to the places it needs to go to. The other aspect we are looking at is making sure that nature, people, livelihoods are in the center of COP28. It is so important to think of the food systems, to think of health, to think of nature, make nature our ally – how can we use the force of nature to our benefit? We need to do that. Then, of course, the inclusivity. We are trying to make the COP28 the most inclusive COP ever done. What I mean by this is the indigenous people, the women, the youth, faith-based organizations, all coming together because what they have in common is about doing more to respect nature. Bringing them all together and making sure that all voices from across the world are here is our commitment.

2015 COP21 in Paris served to set the 1.5°C commitment, amongst other objectives, on the basis of the convergence between the recommendations of the scientific community, the concerns of civil society, and the interests of states. The international context is different today: diplomatic relations are more complex, the climate situation is worsening, and we are off-track from previous commitments. This year's COP28 in Dubai is set in the continuity of preceding COPs. Its success relies on reaching multiple objectives: (1) concluding the first global stocktake, to evaluate current national contributions and define further actions; (2) committing to (at least) triple renewable energy and phase out fossil fuels, in particular reduce drastically methane emissions; and (3) reforming the international financial system to support developing nations, starting with operationalizing the Loss and Damage fund and achieving the USD 100 billion per year target promised in 2009. In spite of their problems, COPs are the best actual platform to provide a coordinated and multilateral response to the climate crisis. Their continuity is essential and rests on many factors, including the ability of the Presidency to establish trust with all parties, to set concrete, achievable and ambitious targets, and to impulse hope in the process. While the important COP30, which will be hosted by Brazil, is already set, it is crucial that the uncertainty around COP29 be lifted to ensure the follow-up of preceding COPs, and to ensure its preparation.

Climate Change: Is There Still a Collective Will?

Conversation with Dmytro Kuleba



Dmytro Kuleba
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

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

I think that there is no room for deadlines when it comes to the fight for territorial integrity and sovereignty of any country. If you are attacked on the street, and you clearly see that the attacker has the intention of killing you, you are not saying to yourself, 'I am going to fight for five minutes but, if I see that I am failing, that I cannot beat him off, I will simply give up', right? This is simply not how people nor states think. I want peace. Ukraine wants peace, more than anyone else in the world, but not at the cost of Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Just last night, Ukraine was attacked with 36 Russian drones and missiles. They are undertaking offensive operations in the east of Ukraine and this is not how you behave when you want peace. This is not how you behave when you want to stop the war. To be honest with you, we are not making the timeline calculation. We are focused on sorting out problems, mobilizing support, ramping up production of weapons, increasing resilience of our economy. We will fight as long as it takes for Ukraine to win because, if Ukraine does not win, there will be no lasting peace. I am in Berlin now and I was reminded of the famous words by Helmut Kohl, who once said, 'The end of war does not necessarily mean peace.' This is something that people should always remember while considering different options about the end of the war in Ukraine. We need the end of the war that will bring peace and not another war, another aggression by Russia. This is why the basis of this peace should be the peace formula proposed by Ukraine, based on international law and the UN Charter.





Reconfiguration of the International System: Short and Long-Term Perspectives in the Eurasian Region



CHAIR:
Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean
Research Fellow and Director of Ifri's Russia/Eurasia Center



Roman Vassilenko
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan



Vahan Kostanyan
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia

As Kazakhstan which is a peace-loving country that does not have problematic relations with any country, we naturally want the solution as soon as possible. We are prepared to help, to serve as a negotiating platform if Russia and Ukraine want our services. We maintain relations with both Russia and Ukraine, so we keep the bridges, and the doors open. [...] On the national level, it is, as always, ensuring sustainable economic growth in the very challenging environment. Thankfully, we have a positive growth of around 4% this year. However, we are not complacent, and we need to make sure that this economic growth is spread and the benefits benefit as wide a scope of the population as possible. On the regional level, I already mentioned several things, but perhaps I should highlight that the biggest challenge or opportunity that we face on the regional lies in the word 'connectivity'. This is the buzzword right now. We want it to be developed. We see this Belt and Road, this Global Gateway, the PGII by G7 all as complementary and as benefiting not just our region, but all these outside players. On the global level, I think the biggest challenge is how to make sure that the United Nations system works again. Our President addressed this issue in numerous statements, including at the United Nations General Assembly, stating that the role of the General Assembly needs to be strengthened as the most representative body and the Security Council needs to be reformed. And the voice of the middle powers, of which Kazakhstan is one, should be strengthened.

Nobody knows better than us the horror of war. We witnessed it back in the 90s and in 2020. We are still witnessing the consequences of the recent military aggression of September 19, 2023, as a result of which Nagorno-Karabakh and 100,000 people were forced to displace and basically Nagorno-Karabakh is ethnically cleansed. [...] Unfortunately, in September 2022, when Armenia's sovereign territory was attacked and was occupied, Russia and other CSTO partners of ours did not even have the political will to state that the territorial integrity of Armenia was violated. On the contrast, the European Union and EU member states came with very strong statements, but not only statements, also actions: the deployment of EU monitoring mission to Armenia/Azerbaijan interstate border. The mandate of this mission was clearly mentioned that it was deployed to Armenia/Azerbaijan interstate border, meaning that there cannot be excuses that the border is not delimited, etc., which we heard from our CSTO colleagues. This was an example of how we were trying to recreate and rebuild a new security architecture for our country. On the other hand, you are correct: we are diversifying the markets from where we are buying weapons, which are for defensive purpose only. France and India are some of our partners. We are determined to cooperate in this sphere with other colleagues as well, bearing in mind that we have a right to protect our sovereignty and territorial integrity, and we do not have any intention to attack any of our neighbors.

2024: A Critical Electoral Year



PRÉSIDENT:

Virginie Robert

Foreign Desk Editor at *Les Échos*, Vice President of the European-American Press Club in Paris



Isabelle Lasserre

Diplomatic Correspondent for *Le Figaro*



Before we start the panel, I would like to share a study with you that came out yesterday, which was published by International IDEA, an inter-governmental group based in Sweden that monitors the state of democracy. The findings are really appalling because it shows that in 2022 the world has entered the longest democratic recession ever observed, which means that for the sixth consecutive year democratic values are losing ground everywhere. Declines have occurred in the very foundations of democracy revealing weaknesses in the electoral processes, in the ability of legislators to act as checks on executive overreach and also difficultly for people in accessing the institutions of justice. This institutional weakness is confounded by continuing declines in core democratic rights including freedom of expression, freedom of association and assembly and freedom of the press. Of course, Europe is not immune because according to the report the rule of law has weakened and it will not surprise many of you but in Hungary and Austria, where freedom of expression falters, access to justice is more difficult in the UK as well as France, where the freedom of assembly is also fading. Last year many factors were deteriorating in Poland. The recent election won by the opposition might pave the way for improvement. It is not an overstatement to say that globally democracy now faces pressure everywhere with authoritarian regimes tightening their grip and too many elected leaders adopting authoritarian tactics to claim control. Meanwhile, you have misinformation campaigns, political polarization and rising inequality that erode people's trust in democracy. You will probably agree with me that it is of paramount importance that democracies show their resilience, not all political regions are equal and next year's elections will indeed show if the democratic process is able to rebound.

2024 will be an incredible year in terms of the elections organized absolutely everywhere, in India, the world's biggest democracy, South Africa, Iran, Brazil, Nigeria, Taiwan, Russia, maybe Ukraine of course, the European elections in Europe and the USA. I will try to understand if all these elections will represent continuity or rupture with the major geopolitical trends we have seen in the world in recent years. My guess is that it will be continuity [...]. Of course, you might say that there is a big exception, which is the American election and if Trump is elected there is a perspective of major consequences first on aid for Ukraine and second, the future of NATO. However, even that is uncertain because can we really expect Donald Trump to sell-off the future of the Western world by cutting aid to Ukraine from one day to the next? I am not really sure. My point is that even if Trump is elected and comes back to Washington next year, this election will only accelerate the existing geopolitical trends. These trends do not favor the Western world at all and if you liked 2023, you will definitely love 2024 because on the menu we have the use of force being generalized, which month after month is replacing the rule of law. We will have the continued collapse of the international order from 1945 and with it the international institutions that were a guarantee of peace, such as the UN as well as the disarmament treaty. We will also have new challenges to the Western world, the continued decrease in democracies and increase in autocracies. We will have the continued split of the world into two parts, not camps but parts that are more like families, the Global South and the Global North. This trend will continue and be boosted whatever the results of the elections in India, South Africa and Russia or even the United States.

2024: A Critical Electoral Year



Jean-Claude Gruffat

Member of United Way Leadership Council, board member of Atlas Network, Managing Director of Weild and Co LLC New York



Hiroyuki Akita

Commentator of *Nikkei*, Japan



Igor Yurgens

Chairman of the Management board of the Institute of Contemporary Development in Moscow

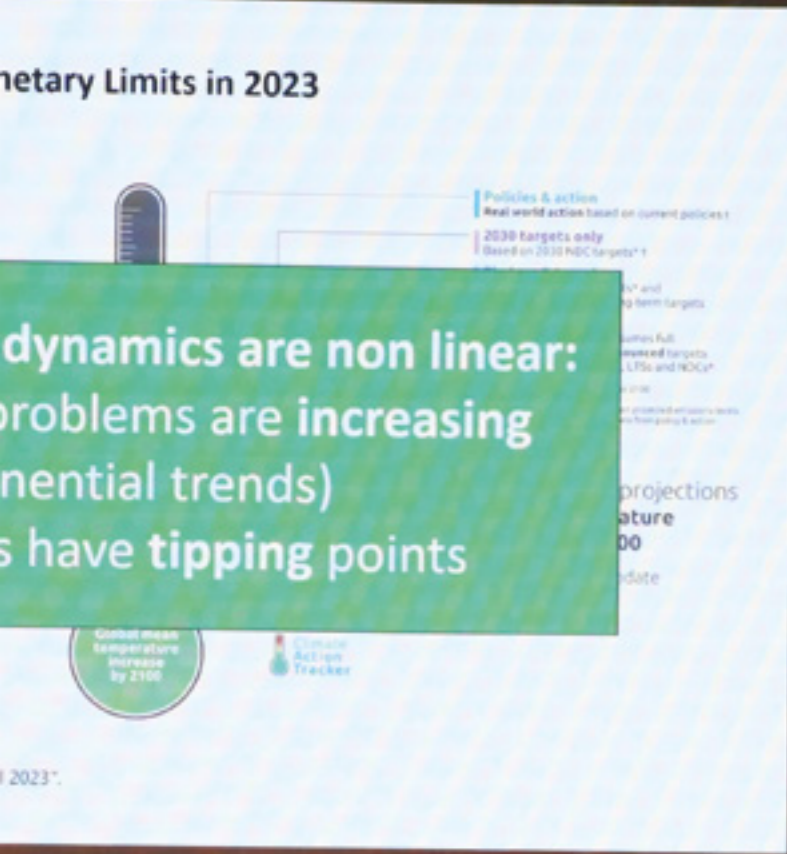
The US elections next year in November 2024 is expected by many to be a remake of 2020, with a close race for Congress and a toss up for the President. Is there a chance that we avoid another dreadful choice between Biden and Trump? The oldest President in American history, and a past President twice indicted for impeaching who could very well be convicted by a popular jury and sent to jail for the rest of his life? Some hope that a governor could be the democratic nominee if Biden faces major health issues before the election. Harris is someone even less popular than Biden in democratic circles. On the Republican side, Trump leads in the polls by wide margin against challengers Nikki Haley, and Ron DeSantis. He is likely to be the nominee but his many legal issues could prevent him from running. And next year elections will be on personalities, abortion and foreign affairs with Ukraine, Israel and possibly Taiwan, de facto on the ballot.

1/ U.S. voters have become increasingly divided between Democratic and Republican supporters, effectively creating a political civil war. U.S. presidential election in November 2024, whether President Biden or Mr. Trump wins, would result in a further deepening polarization in the US.

2/ If Mr. Trump wins, he will bring about major changes in the global geopolitical landscape. U.S. allies and friends will be increasingly forced to explore Plan A- strategies to reduce their dependence on the U.S. "security casa."

3/ In Taiwan's presidential election in January 2024, it is hard to imagine either the ruling or opposition candidate winning the election deviating from the "common ground" of maintaining the status quo. What most Taiwanese voters want is neither independence nor proximity to China, but maintenance of the status quo.

Even if something very unexpected happens and for example, Mr. Putin says he is not running, the same young people divide into two equal categories, one that wants someone stronger from the military as their leader and the other that is strongly against any military influence and with a desire for peaceful, civil development of the Russian Federation. Here you have a split even among the young category of voters, forgetting about the older ones who would vote 60% for someone with a military background as their leader. Both categories and both age groups would vote for more social justice and they talk about progressive income tax, which has been discussed for decades and there is still a flat 13% rate. They also talk about the oligarchs around the Kremlin and that they are running the country rather than the people, etc. Whoever wins, should take this into very serious consideration. [...] 80% of those who vote will vote for Mr. Putin, which is how it is organized, but there is also genuine support for the figure who is currently leading the country. There are very strong and influential people around Putin who are visible on the political stage of our country, who ask why we need an election anyway. 80% is a given, the support is a given, we are fighting a war, so why bother, why attract the attention of the people. I would say that Putin will not buy this because he needs a referendum on what is going on, so he will probably need real, clean results from the different territories. Do not forget that Russia is a seventh of the world's land mass with a hundred nations and nationalities and it is very telling and interesting to know who reacts to what and how at the current stage of serious geopolitical conflict.



Food Security in a Context of Political Turbulence



CHAIR:
Jean-Michel Severino
President of Investisseurs & Partenaires



Máximo Torero Cullen
Chief Economist of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), Assistant Director General for the Economic and Social Development Department of the FAO

We have been experiencing since last year a new episode on how geopolitical food can be. Earlier this year, India decided to cut its exports on rice because of its own production problems and this decision has hit many countries, especially developing countries, even more in Africa. It is another row of events that is exemplifying a trend towards mistrust and a kind of reorientation of countries towards self-interest and disbelief in a trustful world where everybody would concentrate on optimizing production and consumption all over the world. Now being self-sufficient, independent and immunized from geopolitical threats has become, after the Russia-Ukraine events in food production this year, the world for the policymakers. Of course, we are also experiencing, as it was already the case last year, deep changes in the way industrialized countries are producing and consuming. There is this trend towards more natural, local and vegetable food in the West and at the same time, developing countries are also continuing to increase their consumption, demand and desire to move towards the food consumption standards of developed countries. On top of those areas, we have this continued renewal in technologies in the way food is produced, but also delivered, marketed, consumed, etc., which changes the global landscape. We also have this threat around climate and this big question of whether food and agriculture are going to be a climate ally or will there be a lasting conviction between producing food and fighting climate change.

Our agri-food systems need to be transformed to achieve this carbon neutralization. For this we need to improve governance of natural resources, improve productivity, which means producing more from less, improve production practices, improve consumption patterns and behavior and use cleaner energy. There is also enormous potential in land use and forest and peatland but also in soil management to reduce these greenhouse gas emissions. That is why I said that the agri-food system could be an opportunity to accelerate this process while at the same time ensuring that we produce what we need for today and tomorrow. We need to tackle at the same time the emergency situations with integrated humanitarian peace building policies, but we also need to protect our households, increasing resilience and scaling that climate resilience across agri-food systems. That is the only way we will be able to address the challenges of water and climate, and the only way we can contribute to the bigger axis of healthy diets, because today 3.1 million people do not have access to healthy diets. On the financing part there are several boxes that we need to look at. One is support to agriculture and how we can repurpose that and how we can accelerate and promote better incentives of the use of that support for agriculture, which is the repurposing agenda. Second, is of course out of the public sector but it is the private sector, international financial organizations and the traditional donors. That is the way we need to allocate resources to provide proper incentives.



Food Security in a Context of Political Turbulence



Sam Okwulehie
Chairman and CEO of LATC



Kamel Abdallah
Managing Director and CEO of Canal Sugar



Park Yong-joo
Chief Marketing Officer and Head of Global Business Operations at PlantFarm

The interesting thing to note here is, for example, why these countries should start to care and why protectionism in many parts of the world starts to impact on countries like Africa. There are very interesting themes that start to arise and it is interesting that Mr. Cullen pointed out a lot of them in his presentation. These themes include protectionism, for example, where we have seen the Indian ban on rice exports, which is starting to have a very important impact on countries like Nigeria, Kenya, all of Africa where rice has become a big staple. The interesting thing is that protectionism starts to make food a weapon because there is social unrest in these countries as a result of these situations, and problems like migration with a lot of people migrating from Africa to Europe and the Mediterranean Sea now becoming almost a cemetery. Out of the 54 countries in Africa, 12 have declared a food emergency this year as a result of protectionist, inflationary or geopolitical impacts of what is happening in other parts of the world than Africa itself. It is important to point out things like health challenges, food as a weapon, protectionism, inflation, etc., as the consequences of geopolitics in these parts of the world. [...] Next to that is technology, research, digitalization if you like. If you go around supermarkets here in the Middle East you find tomatoes, cherries, berries and the kinds of things you would never expect to grow in the part of the world are now being grown here in the United Arab Emirates, for example. That has gone a long way in securing the food system in these parts of the world and this is something that African countries then have to make a big focus to ensure that there is localization and 'near-lization' of production bases, and this has to be helped by technology, research, water conservation, etc.

In Egypt 70 million people out of around 110 to 120 million people receive some kind of food subsidy for bread. However, this model is not sustainable, governments cannot continue to run budget deficits and we had another complication with the health crisis in the region. We have the highest or second highest rate of diabetes in the world so what has happened over the years is that diabetes and heart problems start developing early, we get them in the early forties versus the fifties in other parts of the world. Again, governments responded by spending money on healthcare, first by spending people abroad and then by establishing hospitals. Now they have realized that this is also not sustainable, it is not sustainable to subsidize imported food or to continue spending money to treat sick people with chronic diseases. That is now what food security has graduated into, it is about wellness and nutrition. It is about making sure that they have the right food so that they do not get sick. Now we are working to ensure we have some kind of self-sufficiency, or at least a reasonable domestic agricultural production component and that is where we are seeing things happening. What made this happen? Technology pure and simple, without disruptive technologies we would not have been able to reclaim the desert, be able to optimize production and minimize water use, or be able to develop higher yields for cows, sugar and every area of agriculture.

The question is whether controlled environment agriculture, CEA, technology can be the solution to food crises or shortages. [...] If you give water to plants 95% of it just disappears and less than 5% is actually used by the plants. However, controlled environment agriculture uses less than 5% of the water used by traditional agriculture and we can also recycle water, so the water consumption is very low. There is another statistic showing that 30% of agricultural land has disappeared in I think the past 30 years. In controlled environment agriculture we do not damage the land, we can actually increase the productivity of agriculture by six, eight or 10 times by stacking up layers for increased production. Another good side of controlled environment agriculture is that no pesticides are used in contrast to what I think is 6 billion tons of pesticides used in agriculture. In terms of food waste, only 67% of crops harvested in traditional agriculture are edible so almost a third cannot be eaten, this compares to 97% for crops from indoor vertical farms, so we do not waste anything. 45% of fresh vegetables are wasted during transportation and about 50% are wasted because of supply chain issues. You are not going to have this kind of waste when you are producing crops locally and reducing food miles. In addition to saving on waste, we can also produce vegetables throughout the year, 365 days a year and the productivity rate is at least two times faster than traditional agriculture. One of the benefits of indoor vertical farms is that we can actually do agriculture anywhere in a city. One example is the Metro farm in Seoul where we actually converted unused space in a Seoul metro station into a smart farm.



Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Dependencies



CHAIR:
Patrick Nicolet
CEO of Linebreak Ltd., former Group Chief Technology Officer of Capgemini



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



Kazuto Suzuki
Director of the Institute of Geoeconomics at International House of Japan, Professor at the Graduate School of Public Policy at the University of Tokyo, Japan

In Artificial Intelligence because every time there is a breakthrough in technology there is a discussion about the utopian or dystopian perspective. The question is whether it will destroy or save the world and the answer is neither for the simple reason that the technology is ultimately a machine. A machine produces tasks and human beings are normally more than a collection of tasks. That is why these debates always appear but always come to the same conclusion. This has been considered on a broader scale, by Professor Carlota Perez, a British/Venezuelan economist, who has worked extensively on the cycles in technology. You can see patterns with the usual expansion and contraction, which started a long time ago, more recently with steam machines, up to the microprocessor and what we are seeing right now with Artificial Intelligence. Just to contextualize, there is no doubt this is an important breakthrough but in my view, it is no different from previous breakthroughs we have seen in technology and we will have to approach it in a meaningful way. [...] What we have tried to show you today is that there is a breakthrough with so-called generative AI or supporting large language models, as was explained, which is what has drawn attention and put it at the top of the agenda because there is a new future. It has already been deployed to manage complex systems and it can help solve some of our most pressing challenges, of which one is cybersecurity. If you like AI as it is today, you will love it tomorrow with quantum.

The dream of a machine that would be genuinely intelligent, a true thinking machine, one that would possess "artificial general intelligence" or AGI, or again "human-level intelligence" is alive again. The advent of LLMs, of Generative AI, has tipped the balance: the ability to compose on command coherent and often relevant text and images of any kind and on any topic is not only, as everyone was quick to realize, a true game-changer in terms of applications in countless domains; it also makes it more plausible that AGI might be within reach in just a few years. But this is based on two assumptions that are implausible. The first is that the current victorious trend is bound to continue until the entire repertory of kinds of problems which the human mind can solve has been conquered by AI. The second assumption is that once that happens, human-level intelligence will have been reached. As for the first, least implausible assumption, there are two grounds for caution: first, the current spectacular systems are far from perfect, and far from fully understood. They are too fragile a basis for predicting future success. The second problem is that even if the present successes do herald further progress, they don't support the idea that problems of all kinds are within reach; in fact, it is pretty clear that those which are obey some severe constraints. As for the promise that human-level intelligence is within reach, I claim that it is completely idle. I can only offer two arguments today. The first is that the most visible scientific leaders of AI today all agree on the need for some new insight, in the absence of which AI will plateau. AI today may be on the eve of a turning point similar to the neural net revolution, but it doesn't know yet where to turn. The second is the observation that human intelligence is only very partially a matter of problem solving, and I can't see how AI as presently conceived can do anything but solve problems.

For many years AI, as shown in the first video, has been a creation as well as a risk for use for military purposes. There have been long discussions about LAWS, the Lethal Autonomous Weapons Systems in the United Nations, particularly in the context of the governance on the use of conventional weapons, CCW. The problem is changing because the context is now not only AI as used for military purposes but also political purposes. [...] The most powerful and detailed regulation has been set out by the United States, where President Biden has issued an Executive Order to set up a new standard for companies to follow in the design of AI. It also specifies that the authorities just be provided with test results, consumer protected, measures to try to prevent the use of AI that may involve some discriminatory algorithms, as well as focusing on medical AI and talking about the international partnership. China also launched something called the Global AI Initiative, in the context of the other three initiatives on Global Development, Global Security and Global Civilization. China is showing its interest in getting along with Global AI governance. When we talk about AI regulation we need to set up a sectoral regulatory framework for military, prevention of electoral interference, prevention of fake news, etc. [...] I think some of the questions touch upon the demand side of AI and I think most of the regulations are now focusing on the supply side, on how to apply ethics in the way AI is designed and used. This combination of the spread of the software and the social networks that deliver those products from the demand side, now makes it much harder to regulate. One of the discussions I have had is that since it is difficult to have a single one-size-fits all regulation, we need to look at the demand side and make sure that it is regulated to ensure the proper supply of AI.



Artificial Intelligence: Opportunities and Dependencies



Ameena Al Sumaiti
Associate Professor of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science at Khalifa University in Abu Dhabi



Toby Simon
Founder and Chairman of Synergia



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

What makes it challenging for autonomous vehicles is adverse weather conditions because, for example, if it is raining the roads will be wet and in that case we need to make sure that there are no accidents. We needed the power of AI to take the weather impact into account in our planning problem and we made sure that no accidents will take place when we program our autonomous vehicles. And this has really been achieved in the Smart Operations Lab. I am going to focus on one research showcase where we actually considered Dubai. Dubai is divided into fourteen districts and we wanted to elucidate how powerful AI is in planning the charging infrastructure. To do this, we considered two types of charging, first the electric charging infrastructure and second, dynamic wireless charging, which raised the question of why we should consider the latter. The idea is that if we want the streets be fully autonomous, we also want charging to be autonomous, which is why dynamic wireless charging is really important. We considered two case studies, in the first of which we looked at optimally allocating and sizing dynamic wireless charging infrastructure and the charging stations' infrastructure as well, without using the power of AI and only focusing on the optimization. Then we developed a novel AI model, which is a hybridized model taking benefits from multiple AI algorithms, and we tackled the same problem again. We found that we were able to minimize the government infrastructure cost by 2.12% compared to the former case.

AI systems will be one of the go-to adversarial attack vector from any domain where AI augments action. That means the moment you use AI there is a vulnerability, it is a like a boomerang, it can possibly ping you back. The attack involves data poisoning and data manipulation, thereby rendering AI very ineffective. For example, let me give you a conflict scenario, let us say the field used in AI is supercharged Intel, ISR. The AI use case would be object detection, which is asset, person and reference, and the AI attack would be extraction and evasion. If you look at what the Russian's were able to do with their military fields in this current conflict, you will see a lot of this exploitation happening and mark most of the places they had kept their aircraft. The combination of AI used with HAPS (High Altitude Pseudo Satellites), using satellites would be a little more challenging but HAPS that are operate at a much lower altitude could become aerial data centers. In future, when we are moving into a theatre of autonomous warfare, we will be using more of HAPS, which will ensure quick communication to people in the field. Second, with the advent of human enhancement technology, cybernetically enhanced human beings with implants in their bodies are able to connect to a HAPS and take decisions much faster than if they were calling a command center.

We have talked a lot about AI and there are three pillars in it. Artificial Intelligence, Augmented Intelligence has three pillars: the hardware, the transmission (fiber, satellite and Mobile 5G) and the software. Why we have been talking about AI so much over the last four or five years? There are three reasons. First, technology has increased the power and speed by incredible numbers and for the first time in the industry the three pillars have grown very fast. Second, we all experienced ChatGPT in December and everybody is now talking about it and using it for letters, speeches, reports. Last, nobody really understands AI, it is complicated and it is a very good tool for journalists, the media or clickers, because of that. It can create fear like Cold War, so it has been used as material at length to scare us, so do not worry it is not scary. Scary themes generates click and attention and of course generates revenue! iPhone 1 was a revolution, iPhone 15 is an evolution. What is very interesting is that quantum is power, size, very low energy and also sensing. For example, many of you have a smart watch that analyzes your heartbeat and quantum sensing will be able to analyze the magnetic field of your heart and it will be 1 million times more accurate than anything else. The power of quantum computing, quantum technology and AI will absolutely transform the world. The main benefits of quantum AI and technology will be doing proactive maintenance on the body, exactly as we do with a car, train or plane.

Semiconductors and Geopolitical Trends: An Opportunity to Strengthen Relationships



CHAIR:
Paul Boudre
Silian Partner, former
CEO of Soitec



Handel Jones
Founder and CEO of International Business Strategies (IBS)



Max Masood Mirgoli
Executive Vice President of worldwide strategic
partnerships at Imec



Helmut Gassel
Former Management board member of Infineon

China is trying to do some mature technologies, which will be okay for a while, but there is going to be a point where China will push back and that will potentially create significant supply chain issues on a global basis. That may occur in 2025, 2026 or 2027, but it will happen. The trade war issues have some bases for national security but we question other areas. The end result is that China is making huge investments in semiconductors but there will be significant escalation of the conflict in the future. The growth of the semiconductor market right now is driven quite heavily by smartphones and datacenters, but we are going to see Edge devices being the key factor in terms of generative AI. What are the applications? Digital health is revolutionary and I have been exposed to some activities at Stanford and Harvard, and we will have major benefits in terms of a reduction or decrease in the importance of diseases, longer, more product lifetimes, etc. This is going to change society and it will take large resources and also collaboration. Food production is another area where there are going to be significant benefits from generative AI. The education system will have to change dramatically. What is being learned today will become obsolete with generative AI. What people will have will be what we call a virtual digital twin, which will have a higher IQ in terms of data analysis than the human brain. We will have autonomous transportation which will change logistics. We think that China will actually be the first market to adopt generative AI and L5 ADAS, maybe by 2035, but it is going to come. We are going to have major changes in society. We are concerned about the danger of AI but it is important to accept AI and try to accelerate the adoption because the benefits will far outweigh the limitation.

Today the semiconductor industry which is about 575 Billion dollars globally runs an 8 Trillion dollar tech economy and the projections are that it will reach a trillion dollars in sales by 2030. Thanks to innovations in integrated circuits, there is a renaissance in technology and today with AI being driven by advancements of semiconductors. The economic impact is truly amazing. It is imperative hence today that for any country to participate in the digital transformation as it is commonly said that today "DATA is the new OIL" and economic opportunities that technology can bring to any economy, all being based on advancements of Semiconductors is simply impossible to ignore. Semiconductors are today also part of national security of each modern nation as a corner stone for defense and cybersecurity and hence each country has an active plan to ensure the onshoring and manufacturing capability of semiconductors in their nation. Today each country has a CHIPS ACT to ensure they participate in the innovation that can continue more powerful chips and further be able to have the manufacturing capability in their nation due to truly important nature of the semiconductors and the industry to not only economic growth but also the national security. Semiconductor industry besides enabling AI and further computing abilities. It is also enabling new breakthroughs such as DNA sequencing in Life Sciences and companion Diagnostics and personalized medicine. Autonomous driving which is truly disrupting the car industry and how cars are being made and sold to agriculture and food production and many other areas even as far reaching as entertainment with streaming of content and more breakthroughs are around the corner and hence it is imperative for each nation to have a policy for technology and semiconductor supply chain resiliency to ensure the nation's economic and national security needs.

Beside the benefits to Europe now getting from advanced manufacturing being brought into the region, Europe has its own strength in certain areas. One is automotive, where I would say that 50% of the semiconductors for automotive are being designed and to a large extent manufactured in Europe today, so it is a very great strength. We also talked about equipment and there is this famous company everybody has heard the acronym for, ASML. ASML is so critical because they are the only company in the world that can enable so-called leading-edge technology. Again, leading-edge is only a certain portion of the semiconductor industry, a critical one with a lot of focus, also because of its potential dual use, but there are a lot of other things being done in Europe today where Europe is leading the global effort in certain areas. Material is a third one. If you go a level deeper in trying to understand what semiconductors are all about, you recognize the strengths of each region. For instance, the US owns design automation, and no chip can be made in this world without certain capabilities that only reside in the US. Japan owns certain areas of wafer capability and some materials, of this leading-edge lithography would not be possible without the chemistry coming out of Japan. This is a truly global industry. It is changing as we speak and we can take advantage of it. Every region has to look at its particular capabilities and if you are brave enough to take advantage of the current change, you can bring this industry or a portion of it into this region as well.



Innovative Leaders: How Can Carbon Credit Contribute to Net Zero?



CHAIR:
Lucia Sinapi-Thomas
 Executive Director of Capgemini Ventures



Annette Nazareth
 Chair of the board Integrity Council for the Voluntary Carbon Credits (ICVCM)



Matt Atwood
 Founder and CEO of Aircapture

More and more corporates are publicly stating their targets to net zero and are actively working on their decarbonization plans, which by the way very often translate into investments for modernizing their industrial estates. However, actively reducing CO2 emissions will not suffice, it is estimated that it will be necessary to remove 10 gigatons of CO2 per year from the atmosphere moving forward via nature-based solutions like reforestation or technology-based solutions, namely carbon capture and sequestration solutions. As a result, energy transition and decarbonization require massive investments and as outlined and stressed by the IMF recently, there is only so much that public budgets can fund on this front. Many countries like Canada, Sweden or Singapore have been imposing a tax on carbon emissions and to there are systems like carbon trading schemes are implemented in regions like Europe to foster the right behaviors. Under these systems, corporates are allocated a given number of free quotas per year based on their carbon intensity and overperformers can trade them on an exchange. The voluntary carbon market comes on top of these mandatory schemes or compliance markets. Issued on the back of carbon avoidance or removal projects, the carbon credits are purchased by corporates eager to accelerate their path to net zero, so they are a way to channel and fund projects and project developers that otherwise would not be very bankable under traditional project financing criteria. Some refer to carbon credits as the pseudo currency of decarbonization or the net of net zero.

If you think of these CCPs (CCP - *Core Carbon Principles*) as listing standards, the other element of them is that they also require not just a focus essentially on self-regulation of the product by the listings' standards, but also self-regulation of the programs that issue the credits. I believe bringing those principles to the market will create greater confidence in the market, just as we have confidence in other high integrity, robust capital markets, and that is what we are seeking. We are seeking justifiable confidence based on high integrity. Frankly, we also expect robust trading of futures on voluntary carbon markets as the markets become more standardized, and I think that will create very important price signals because it will improve hedging mechanisms for market participants. It will provide important price signals and also give project developers better ability to manage their exposure to price risk and I think this will make it less risky to launch new projects, again particularly in the Global South. By implementing the core carbon principles and encouraging market participants to embrace these high integrity credits, we are creating an ecosystem where the value of emissions reductions are appropriately recognized and rewarded and I believe this will unlock greater capital flows and drive innovation and catalyze the development and deployment of truly impactful climate solutions.

Aircapture is a US-based company that develops direct air capture technology. What we do in the simplest terms is build machines that use a fan which pulls air through the machine and the CO2, carbon dioxide from the air is collected on a surface of contactor substrates inside the machine. In about 15 minutes the contactors are "full" of CO2 and we then inject heat, typically in the form of waste steam or low-temperature steam that releases the CO2 from the contact of surface, which we then collect and try to do something useful with it. We are selling the CO2 into various different markets and converting it into different products, such as for fuels, beverage carbonation, building materials and agriculture. At present, what we are doing is we are commercializing the technology, so we have built several commercial machines based on a design-for-manufacturing at large scale development platform and we are working on selling the CO2 into a variety of different markets. What I like to often say is that the world economy runs on carbon, carbon is in the majority of the products we use, products that run the global economy. Though we are primarily working in beverage carbonation at present, we are also working on geologic sequestration projects, producing dry ice for the cold chain, CO2 is used very predominantly in agricultural purposes, we have projects converting CO2 into chemicals and fertilizers, plastics, even battery materials for the energy transition, and e-fuels and energy products such as methanol.



Innovative Leaders: How Can Carbon Credit Contribute to Net Zero?



Kristinn Ingi Lárusson
Head of Business Development and Commercialization
of Carbfix



Sam Gill
Co-Founder and President of Sylvera



Maryam Al Mansoori
General Manager of Rebound

What we do at Carbfix is we are simply imitating mother nature's way of storing CO₂. With that in mind, our mission is to significantly contribute to climate recovery by continuously innovating by way of improving how we can actually store CO₂ by mineralization. I am drinking Pellegrino sparkling water here and what we do is simply dissolve CO₂, just like this, and we inject it into the ground where it starts to mineralize into the bedrock itself. We are not injecting gases we are injecting sparkling water that has mother nature's ability to mineralize into the bedrock. There are simple chemical components in the bedrock itself and in our case we need three ingredients. First we need CO₂, second we need basaltic rock and third, we need water. What we do here is dissolve the CO₂ in water and then gently inject into the bedrock. Once it reaches the bedrock at a very low depth of an average 500 meters, it starts to mineralize so the cationic ions in the bedrock itself are released and the mineralization process takes place. The easiest way to explain is that the water is the means of transport so we can say that the water is the train and the CO₂ is the passenger and once the train reaches the bedrock the CO₂ jumps off while the water carries on. We are borrowing the water for a few minutes but the mineralization happens in less than two years instead of what usually takes millions of years, and this is a permanent solution.

If we were all to agree that if a carbon credit needs to be storing carbon for 100 years, for example, to be acceptable, that would allow the market to start engineering horizontal or vertical stacking approaches to allow different types of carbon to be used in portfolios. That would allow us to start regularizing and standardizing the market but at the moment there is no clear consensus there on what the actual quality paradigm we are working towards is. I think there needs to be a clear, accepted consensus around the quality paradigm we are working towards. On the flip side, the work of the BCMI is the demand side integrity body but again, what is needed is a much wider consensus around what we are asking corporates to do in terms of compensation. That means where they are not able to reduce their emissions to absolute zero, that we are asking them to do, what they get to claim if they compensate their emissions with carbon credits and what benefit they will actually receive for that. Are they going to get tax breaks, preferential treatment in the capital markets, are they going to be rewarded in some way because the private sector cannot act as a charity. I think that those consensuses on the supply side integrity and the demand side integrity paradigm are completely necessary to allow the market to now move forward and scale.

The plastics recycling market today definitely faces a challenge of typically this is an economy. Financially companies will not pay more to introduce recycled plastics into their finished products if the virgin plastic is cheaper. For instance, if virgin PET is being sold today at around USD 900 per ton, recycled PET is being sold at around USD 1100 or USD 1200 per ton. That is roughly a USD 300 difference and the seller of recycled plastics cannot drive the price as low as USD 900 because they would be operating at a loss and unfortunately, that is why a lot of recyclers cannot stay in business. The opportunity that credits present here is that it is an alternative revenue model. Instead of just benefiting from selling the tangible material, they can also benefit from selling the credits that are generated. While some people might push for extended producer responsibility only on the producer side, pointing a finger at just one entity or one company will not help solve the pollution crisis. It is the entire value chain and stakeholder of value chains, including governments and municipalities that will help capture this material being separated at source, generate that collection credit and beyond that, moving it to an ethically responsible and environmentally capable company that can recycle these plastics. Then they can be put back into markets, such as our marketplace where the buyer and seller can deal directly and there is that ultimate level of transparency when it comes to quality too.



The West after the Ukraine War



CHAIR:

Terry Martin

Journalist, TV news anchor

This is an important debate and important points you are bringing up with the whole question about the Global South and how it perceives what is going on. I also take your point on the West, and whether or not it is a useful term. I am not really one to say that it is a wonderfully useful term. But I think it is also important to point out that we are not necessarily talking about a binary opposition here, "the West and the rest". Rather, as I defined the West at the beginning for the purpose of our conversation, a group of mainly liberal democracies who hold principles of a rules-based international order, which includes territorial integrity as sacrosanct. Anyway, there is that part, and we can define it in terms of autocracy and democracy, that kind of conflict. However, I think the point we are trying to look at here is that there's whatever you want to call those countries represented by Ukraine and those that support it, whatever term you want to use - "Ukraine's side", to use a neutral term; then there is whatever Russia represents, which Norbert Röttgen described in these terms as a threat - the notion of using war as a political instrument - *that* idea - coming into conflict. Just to make sure that we are not really setting up a false dichotomy here with "the West and the rest" in our discussion.



The West after the Ukraine War



Tsakhiagiyn Elbegdorj
Former President of Mongolia

When it comes to what Ukrainians are talking about, I think last year in November 2022, the Ukrainian President Zelenskyy introduced his peace formula and you can see they have 10 issues but the first five can be discussed now, still they are being discussed in Jeddah, in Malta. The first issue of those five is nuclear safety. They are talking about the Zaporizhzhia issue and power plant. Of course, the second issue is food security, which we can talk about. The main players in the world community should pay more attention to that. The third issue is energy security. Almost half of Ukraine's powerplants have been damaged so they want to repair them, which is an issue we are working on very closely. Fourth is the prevention of ecocide. Because of the destruction of the Kakhovka Dam, and what happened afterwards, there has been a lot of environmental damage. There is also an issue with mines. We are working very closely on that and there are other interested parties who are following it very closely. Fifth is the release of prisoners and parties including children, which is something that should happen and we need to talk about. The second half of those 10 issues are related to Ukraine's territorial integrity and the withdrawal of Russian troops, a special tribunal, the security structure and confirmation of the end of the war, including signing a document. This is Ukraine's peace formula. President Zelenskyy has raised the issue of having a peace summit in Ukraine and they are conducting international diplomacy on that.



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

I would say that the results of the NATO Summit in Vilnius recently were a good sign for implementing the decisions that were taken a year ago during the Madrid Summit. We should go this way to implement the new model of forces responsible for reinforcing those countries that could be attacked in the future that was established after the Madrid Summit. The eastern flank of the Alliance belongs to this group of countries. Second, the level of forces – with a huge increase from 40 000 to 300 000 response forces that would be responsible for this reinforcement – should be achieved as quickly as possible. The new model of deterrence, with a shift from punishment to denial, should also be implemented as quickly possible. Fourth, the decision concerning regional defense plans, responsible not for reinforcing a country or group of countries under attack but for the defense of every inch of NATO territory, should also be implemented. Those four major decisions of the Madrid Summit, repeated at the Vilnius Summit and implemented to some extent this year, are of major importance for the security of the Euro-Atlantic community. As for the European Union, I believe that the Russian invasion of Ukraine created a completely new space for the EU. For the first time it was engaged in the military support of a country that was not a member of the European Community. Second, it decided to allocate such a huge amount of money for macroeconomic injections into this country's budget. If I remember correctly, it was EUR 11.6 billion alone last year and we estimate it will be around EUR 18 billion for this year. For military purposes we allocated EUR 5.6 billion last year, not counting the financial support from individual member states of the European Union. This is a huge change in the activities of the European Union and they should be continued.



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

The other achievement is that the level of consensus among Europeans is still very strong, with of course some caveats, but by and large it is extremely strong. That is because all European states see in Ukraine a challenge to their security. In the event of an unfortunate success for Russia, which I cannot imagine, it would be seen as a huge blow to our security. Even European countries that have had a southern orientation are now changing their views and pivoting towards Central Europe, which is a huge change that will take place in the next two decades. Unfortunately, Russia is and will remain a security threat to Europe. This view is now shared massively by the Europeans. There have been two main achievements on the European side that have to be mentioned and be reaffirmed. We succeeded in putting an end to our energy dependency vis-à-vis Russia, which is a huge achievement. Second, we are probably now on the verge of transferring frozen Russian assets to Ukraine and I hope that we will be able to give them the 300 billions of assets that had been frozen. In a sense, everything is fine but – we have to confess, even from my personal perspective – the military situation is difficult and much more difficult than was expected compared, for example, to last year. The cost incurred by Russia is absolutely huge and by Western or European standards they are unbearable. If you see the last months, in October, the casualties on the Russian side were absolutely huge. What is unacceptable by European standards, is perfectly acceptable by Russian ones and we have to take this into account.



Norbert Röttgen
Member of the Deutscher Bundestag and member of the Foreign Affairs Committee

There are increasing doubts whether the United States will continue in this role as number one security provider for Europe. This is only one reason we are not going to see an end to this war until the presidential elections. My view is that, irrespective of this event, Vladimir Putin is neither willing nor able to withdraw from Ukraine. I think he has gone beyond this point and he will and has to stay in because this war, which started as a war to re-establish a Russian empire in Europe, has now become a war about his personal political survival, at least as Russian President and perhaps even personal survival. Therefore, he is unable to withdraw even if he wanted too and at least he will wait until the presidential election and if Trump is re-elected we will see how strong the Europeans are. I doubt that we have become the number one security supplier, I do not mean commitments but supply and delivery and there, of course, America is far ahead of the Europeans. If Trump is re-elected and not only reduces military support but perhaps strikes a deal with Putin and starts an economic war with China, then we will see where Europe is. This cannot be excluded as at least a possibility, so the Europeans should start to prepare for that. After more than one and a half years of this war my lesson is that we really have to wake up to recognize this war as a European war. The demand and the necessity for Europe to provide security for itself has become ever more urgent, we have to prepare. The clock is ticking and, if we are unprepared for the events we cannot exclude but can clearly foresee, we will wake up in a disastrous situation and will then contribute to the re-establishment of war as a political instrument even in Europe.



16th EDITION
GLOBAL GOVERNANCE
 November 3-5, 2023 • Abu Dhabi

Geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific between Security Concerns and Economic Opportunities



CHAIR:
John Andrews
 Author, journalist and contributing editor to *The Economist*



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

Whatever the current crises are the medium and long-term questions geopolitically and economically will be in the Indo-Pacific region. If you take the region, you could argue that it has far too many nuclear powers, you have got the US, Russia, China, and North Korea. You have some real flashpoints, obviously Taiwan, India-China — who may be members of the BRICS but, if not at daggers drawn, actually have a pretty hostile relationship — and plenty of territorial and maritime disputes that include almost everybody in the region. You have US security treaties with Australia, New Zealand, Japan, the Philippines, Thailand and South Korea. Then there are non-treaty partnerships with the US with India, Indonesia and Vietnam. Then there is the anti-Western bloc, even though Zaki Laidi may not like the idea with China and North Korea, which I suppose is the only mutual aid, cooperation and friendship treaty that China has apart now from its 'no limits' strategic partnership with Putin and Russia. We have ASEAN, which expands with ASEAN+3. You have RCEP, Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, which is ASEAN plus China, Japan, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand. They can all see the economic potential of this region and therefore they see the virtue in collaborating and cooperating. We clearly have lots of security concerns and lots of economic opportunities.

The slowdown in China also has other consequences, such as the fact that the BRI, the Belt Road Initiative, now has less steam in its engine, with less money being invested in it today. I think this gives other players an opportunity to play a bigger role in the Indo-Pacific region and the Global South as a whole and I am alluding here to a number of initiatives taken by the US like the B3W, Build Back a Better World, the European Union's Global Gateway, or the G7's infrastructure projects. There are a number of opportunities here, which should not be neglected but there are also security challenges and I will be brief because we will come back to that. It does not mean that every country is aligned with this new bipolarity that is emerging in the region between the US and China. I think there is still a lot of leeway for a lot of countries and the best example may be India, which is a very active member of the BRICS while also being much closer to other partners in Asia through the Quad, the quadrilateral security forum between India, Japan, Australia and the US. Therefore, we see India playing a very diverse role in the region. However, US-China bipolarity now dominates the Indo-Pacific region as we are witnessing growing tensions between the US and China. Of course, the question for other actors, including the European Union, is how they can play a role in that context. I do not think that the TSMC and the semiconductor industry in Taiwan is an efficient shield against an attack from China. However, I think there are a number of factors that have led China to think twice about starting a military adventure against Taiwan. It is important to bear in mind that both China and the US are nuclear powers and in the event of a crisis in the Taiwan Strait the US will probably intervene and that raises the stakes.



Geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific between Security Concerns and Economic Opportunities



Yuichi Hosoya
Professor of International Politics at Keio University in Tokyo



Kim Chang-beom
Vice Chairman and CEO of the Federation of Korean Industries

I would like to focus my initial talk on four points. First, the possibility of contingencies around Taiwan has been repeatedly discussed in the last year. Last month the Chinese government sent fighter jets to monitor and warn a US navy aircraft that flew through the Taiwan Strait. Naturally, many observers sensed the possibility of an outbreak of military conflict between the two powers. In Japan, in general we have been saying that there is little possibility of war because China is not Russia, it would be more rationale and more restrained, so the possibility is limited. On the other hand, both China and the United States have been looking for opportunities to talk at the highest level. It has been reported that President Xi Jinping will soon visit San Francisco to attend this year's APEC meeting, which would undoubtedly be a very good opportunity to ease the tension between the two great powers and so good news. Third, Japan is the third largest economy in the world and has decided to double its defense budget to enhance Japanese deterrence in the region. This is mainly because the US government has repeatedly asked Japan to do this, and there are so many uncertainties and the regional powers must take more responsibility than before. Of course, the United States is becoming much more inward looking and we do not know who will be chosen as president next year, and that is why Japan must play a larger role in stabilizing the region. Fourth, it is also important that Japan and South Korea have been improving their relationship, which is good news during a time of great concern and wars. I think this is essential trend, first because the United States' government has been trying to persuade the two governments to improve their relations. This is because US forces in Japan and Korea cannot work effectively without cooperation between the two governments. Finally, the missing part of the puzzle can be found and the United States can effectively increase deterrence in the region with the improved relations between South Korea and Japan.

The most fundamental threat or risk being felt on the business level is undoubtedly the US-China rivalry. As this rivalry intensifies, governments of big and even middle powers, are trying to adopt more protective measures and sometimes to fortify their own economic structures and economic security, through policies, initiatives or defensive reactions to what is being charted out within the context of the hegemonic competition. Economic security is not just limited to controls on sensitive technology, such as high-end semiconductor production equipment but also extends into value networks, especially critical and rare earth procurement. It could also expand into building a broad industrial base, including products with relatively few national security implications, such as electric vehicles. [...] Does economic security make this business environment safer and more stable? My answer is "not really". Economic security is causing a large increase in input prices as well as stirring up social and regulatory pressures on business. Widening political schemes are leading policy-makers and regulators to structure and administer their respective economies and business environments differently. Businesses are increasingly navigating administrative, logistical and brand replication risks, rapidly inflating input prices are creating cost issues and they are also being forced to spend more by reduced workforces.



Geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific between Security Concerns and Economic Opportunities



Hervé Mariton
Mayor of Crest, Chairman of the Franco-British Council,
Chairman of the Federation of Overseas Companies
(FEDOM)



Mayankote Kelath Narayanan
Former Senior Advisor and National Security Advisor to the
Prime Minister of India (Manmohan Singh), former Governor
of West Bengal



Douglas Paal
Distinguished Fellow at the Asia Program Carnegie
Endowment for International Peace

France, as an Indo-Pacific country through its presence and connection, the presence is several territories in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific with more than one and a half million inhabitants. However, we must remember that most of the connection from these territories, be it French Polynesia or Mayotte, between Madagascar and Africa, are with mainland France and there is an obvious deficit so far on regional connections. We may have no choice in the future in fact, the chairperson from the ECG showed some slides yesterday presenting what everybody knows as the regionalization of globalization, which for example, weakens the maritime routes we depend on. All the trade between Europe and the French territories in the Pacific depend on maritime routes that are extremely fragile today because of the evolution of globalization. We have a direct strategic concern, shared with our allies, on the security of these routes, as everybody understands in the Pacific. However, we have a more direct interest in the fact that they are obviously changing today and this should encourage us to turn to new opportunities in the region. [...] France is taking a very prominent role in renewable energies for example. Many renewable energy companies in Australia are French, Neoen for example. However, they do not develop in the region from our territories but from Australian bases. Obviously, tomorrow, we have to reconcile the political assertion we are on today and the economic developments in the future.

China wants to be the number one power in Asia and it is the only country standing between it is India, so they will try to belittle India and reduce its sphere of influence. However, we do not see China as a dangerous adversary so much as an imminent threat we have to face. A presumption of permanent hostility or adherence to a belief that China must be forcefully confronted on every issue is something we find difficult to adjust to. I know that Taiwan is like Banquo's ghost, we keep talking about Taiwan all the time. There is no mistaking the fact that Taiwan is a problem but there is no immediate solution and I think we need to recognize that and we can discuss that in this forum. I believe, and not just me but representative of the monthly discussions we have in the security community in India, time is the best option to arrive at a formula, which means maintaining the status quo for some years. Any attempt to change the status quo with force would not only upset global equilibrium, it would have disastrous consequences for the world. Our understanding is that China can live with the present position with equanimity for quite some time, and I would like to debate this later. Finally, in my personal view, I would say that Asia, especially East Asia, needs to avoid the kind of situation that exists in Europe today. Russia has a permanent feeling of danger and threat from Europe and the US, while the West sees Russia as a threat that needs to be eliminated, two sets of people in major conflict. Dealing with China is going to be very complicated but I think patience is important. We need to avoid the threat of war on Taiwan and we should be careful about how we go about. Finding desirable ways to achieve a modus vivendi on Taiwan is perhaps the best way to foster stability in the region.

Today, we find China under the guise of revising the international system but increasingly talking about revolutionizing that system and changing it fundamentally. Unlike the previous defeated Napoleonic or Fascist forces, of the collapsed Soviet Cold War era, China today still has a foot in the world as we know it, the rules-based order, from which it has been profiting but also wants to change. I think we need to look in the long-term at how we are going to find a new equilibrium, a new way to manage these Chinese ambitions. [...] Despite a slowing economy, China continues to develop unprecedented military capabilities. The US is challenged to upgrade its own military capabilities while being compelled to provide assistance to Ukraine and now the Israelis in Gaza. [...] We have to find ways to chisel away at our problems in the Asia-Pacific and Indo-Pacific regions and China will work all the while to make this harder. I understand that it has announced that it is willing to host a Hamas delegation shortly. China has interests in the Middle East because they need energy from there more than the United States does but we both have an interest in keeping the energy supplies from the Middle East going forward. There is a basis for a kind of stand-off/cooperation between the US and China on restoring peace in the Middle East but that has to be explored and the way found, which is not the case at the moment. China seems to be rather eager to take advantage of the distress the Middle East is causing and hope that the US will be further distracted from the Taiwan and the set of challenges being posed by China in the Indo-Pacific.

Conversation with Anwar Gargash



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

We always have to recognize that Arab public opinion rightfully is very emotional when it comes to the Palestinian issue, this is something that you have read about and you have been brought up with and so on and so forth. Therefore the sort of overriding emotion of the wronged Palestinians is something that I think is extremely prevalent in every Arab society at varying degrees but I think extremely prevalent. The second important issue is that there is always some sort of self-flagellation whenever there is a crisis like this. I mean it becomes, to a certain extent, into an Arab media war to be honest. Therefore it is always about who has had the biggest demonstrations or who had the highest rhetoric and I think what is really lost in all this, the really constructive work, and I feel that since the beginning of the crisis the UAE has not been the loudest, but the UAE has been one of the most constructive and I have to draw this very clear line between being loud and being constructive. [...] The longer this conflict takes, the longer the violence continues, the longer the attack on Gaza continues, the longer these hostages are held, I think means that it is more likely that the conflict will be expanded. We heard yesterday the Head of Hezbollah, Hassan Nasrallah, said that they are not going to expand the conflict from Hezbollah and many of Iran's allies in the region. I think anything that does not expand the conflict is a positive development from that perspective. However also not to expand the conflict means that we have to end the current issue. Therefore, in my opinion, in an Arab world that is extremely emotional, that is tending to be, as I said, self-flagellating, I would say that we have worked diligently, dynamically, responsively in order to do our part. Of course the Palestinian issue is an Arab issue so there are various components, various countries, but I can come and say with a sense of duty that the UAE is doing all it can to help in the overall Arab efforts in addressing this issue.



16th EDITION

GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

November 3-5, 2023 • Abu Dhabi

SESSION 16 • SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5 • 10:00 – 11:00

In Search of Hope for a Better World



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



H.H. Bartholomew 1st
 Archbishop of Constantinople - New Rome
 and Ecumenical Patriarch

The United Arab Emirates' initiative to build the Abrahamic Family House, which I had the pleasure of visiting last year, gave me the idea for this session. I think we should salute our friends from the Emirates for their courage, because this initiative was not an easy one at the time. I think our discussion shows that it was a great and beautiful initiative because of its symbolism. In this session, I talked a lot about time, and I believe that time is indeed the root of everything. There are three eminent speakers here, but there are also three kinds of time. There is physicists' time, *chronos* in Greek. There is *kairos*, which is the right moment, and we are in the middle of the right moment to do what needs to be done. I only know the Hebrew word, but I imagine there is a Greek equivalent, *olam*. *Olam* is time outside of time, in other words, time that can only be grasped through transcendence, through inner experience. Basically, as I listened to the three of you, I thought we played on these three times, on these three aspects of time. Now that we are here on earth, let's think about *kairos*. Now is the time to find the right moments to act in dramatic circumstances. I talked about time, and I would like to come back to the other words that stand out in everything that has been said, in my opinion: responsibility and courage. At a given moment, it is easy to go along with what everyone else is thinking, but it is harder to point out what needs to be done when passions are boiling over. That is why I would like to thank all three of you very much for agreeing to participate in what I consider to be an extremely successful exercise.

Globalization has unified the world in a superficial way. Today, there are strong trends towards fragmentation, a reorganization of space that goes beyond the economic dimension. The divides that are emerging or re-emerging are also political, geopolitical and identity-based. One of this trend's main aspects involves relations between the West and the rest of the world. Crises have hit poor countries much harder. Many of them accuse the developed nations of being selfish and lacking solidarity. Memories of the colonial era come flooding back. The Russian invasion of Ukraine, and now the horrific war between Hamas and Israel, have exposed a widening spiritual gap between the two blocs, despite the extreme diversity of what is called the global South. Where do religions stand in the face of this challenge? The geographical distribution of religions is certainly complex. However, most faiths span continents and cross borders, so a spiritual structure is needed that can help mitigate the forces of dissociation and division. The unity advocated by religions is not limited solely to the economic dimension, such as globalization. It is based on ancient traditions rooted in the long term. Different religions have coexisted on the same land for centuries and various lands were the cradle of a common religion. In a world currently threatened by fragmentation, religions can offer a hope of unity. Their role as mediators could foster dialogue between two economically, politically and culturally distinct worlds.



In Search of Hope for a Better World



Mohamed Abdelsalam
Secretary General of Muslim Council of Elders



Haïm Korsia
Chief Rabbi of France

I believe that my participation in this session, which represents the three Abrahamic faiths and discusses the quest for hope and a better world, imparts upon me a particular responsibility to speak about the potential of Islam in fostering this hope. Its experience is deeply intertwined with the history of the heavenly religions, all of which originated in the Middle East region, a sea upon whose shores prophecies descended and philosophies formed that remain powerfully present and influential in the conscience and thought of humanity. This is the same region that, to our profound regret, suffers today from a bloody and devastating war which, at every moment, claims the lives of innocent civilians, presenting a scene that imposes a collective responsibility upon us all: not only towards the innocent casualties and the children, but towards our whole humanity worldwide. It confronts us with the world we live in that is indeed in dire need of a dose of hope that can be forged through our will, the sincerity of our humanity and our belief in justice for achieving peace for all people without discrimination. [...] Allow me here to reaffirm that the opening of the Abrahamic Family House in 2023 was, indeed, an extraordinary moment by all standards that allows me to say that I look towards the horizon. I can almost see many generations to come pausing at this moment and reflecting on these steps. The inauguration of the Abrahamic Family House and the signing of the document on human fraternity in Abu Dhabi, the capital city of coexistence and human fraternity, is truly an inspiring moment, inspired by the story of this house by faith, courage, patience and goodwill.

I think it would be mistaken to reduce the conflict between Israel and Hamas to one between faiths. No religion in the world can encourage or incite the massacre of children, hatred and absolute violence. And if it is done in its name, it is a deviation from that religion. Right from the start of our work here, you have stated things clearly, forcefully and rightly. This shows that we are not blaming religion, but looking at how it can help here. This is what I heard in the words of His Holiness, Patriarch Bartholomew, about searching in the depths of time, or in the words of Judge Abdelsalam, about understanding how religion is necessary to provide a share of transcendence, not all the transcendence in the world, but a share of it. Rather than seeing religions as the cause of conflict, let's look at how they can try to fix the world. That is what I am going to do. [...] As Levinas said in response to Heidegger, concerning ourselves only with religion and faith without taking care of the rest "is to ignore the sincerity of hunger and thirst." It would be naive to consider religions alone a factor for peace. Religions must support what is accomplished through politics and reflection as you build it year after year here, in the depth of time. Basically, this is what I call, in a wonderful Hebrew phrase, *tikkun olam*, the repairing of the world. Repairing the world means making it a better place, and that is the title of your conference: making the world a better place. There is a Japanese art form that I love, *kintsugi*, which consists of breaking vases or bowls and soldering them back together with gold, as if our wounds made us both unique and stronger because we heal them and overcome our despair. Religions also offer this hope.

Epidemiology/public health
Virology/microbiology

Tracing
Containing
Protecting
Providing care

f(transmission mode, infectivity, lethality)

Medical resources
Law & Order
Stockpiling
IT tools
Public information
Vaccine design, development, production and procurement
Funding (care/economy)



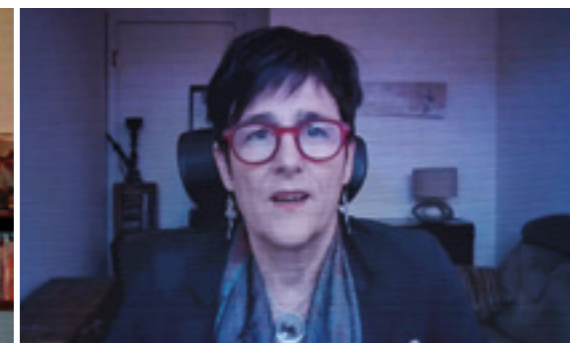
Are We Ready for the Next Pandemic?



CHAIR:
Michel Kazatchkine
Special Advisor to the World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe



Antoine Flahault
Director of the Institute of Global Health at the University of Geneva, Director of the Swiss School of Public Health



Els Torreele
Visiting Policy Fellow at the UCL Institute for Innovation & Public Purpose in London

Key figures on Covid 19 show us that the political attention and the public opinion/attention is rapidly waning, what people call the cycle of "panic and neglect". We are actually in a phase of neglect. Let us not forget that the Covid 19 pandemic has been the worst combined health and socioeconomic crisis in living memory. It has infected at least 250 million people across the globe, and the global death toll is estimated to be between 18 million and 33 million people. At the highest point in the pandemic, 90% of schoolchildren across the world were unable to attend school. At least 150 million people have been pushed to extreme poverty and the economic cost has been huge, estimated by the IMF at being USD 14 trillion to be lost in the period 2024, the toughest shock to the global economy since World War II. The pandemic is not over, and it continues to have a profound impact on the lives and livelihoods for millions of people with what we call Long Covid. Also, as the economic recovery is taking place in high-income countries, it is still very slow in recovery in the poorest countries. We will discuss today where we are with regard to the pandemic and pandemic preparedness. The question that is posed today is: 'Are we ready for a next pandemic?' To me, the answer is no, we are not, but it is our choice if we want it to be so. It is a choice now to put in place measures that will allow us to identify new outbreaks rapidly and to respond to them in speed where and when they occur, and prevent an infectious outbreak from becoming an epidemic or becoming a pandemic and becoming a social and economic catastrophe, such as the one we have seen. To quote here Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, President Sirleaf, she said: "New pandemic threats are inevitable, but pandemics are a political choice, the political choice whether we stop an outbreak or whether we let it move to the pandemic stage". I think the ongoing processes, however difficult they are, offer an unprecedented opportunity now for the world of focused and transformative change.

It becomes apparent that while they may excel in crisis management, our policymakers seem less adept at proactive prevention. The pandemic has been a tragic event, claiming 27 million lives worldwide, and we likely averted even greater figures through NPIs and the rapid deployment of vaccines in the initial years. However, it appears that the lessons learned from this tragedy were inadequately learned. We abandoned preventive measures too hastily, neglected effective surveillance tools, and insufficiently invested in measures that could substantially alleviate the burden of respiratory viral diseases, regardless of the strain or its variants. The 20th-century generation arguably performed better, drawing lessons from waterborne diseases like cholera and dysentery and championing water sanitation as a standard for development. In contrast, we have opted to 'live with' the circulation of SARS-CoV-2, accepting its persistent burden, numerous unknowns, and the ongoing risk of new, potentially more transmissible and virulent variants. This vacuum has allowed anti-science movements and political parties espousing populism to flourish, with their misinformation estimated to have cost the lives of as many as 300,000 American citizens. It is imperative that scientists and evidence-based policies take precedence to safeguard lives and better prepare the world for an impending new pandemic.

While the scientific community was able to create life-saving vaccines in record time, the main failure of our collective Covid response was that many countries were precluded from timely and equitable access to these vaccines, resulting in avoidable suffering and deaths. This extreme inequity resulted from wealthy country hoarding and the fact that a handful of companies controlled the market with monopolies on the vaccines and knowhow, despite massive public contributions. To ensure the world can respond better to future pandemics, a change of perspective is needed. Life-saving health technologies cannot be viewed as private commercial goods, especially in times of pandemics. They should be considered as essential public health tools, instruments for public policy. That is not a technical issue. It is a political choice. And policymakers everywhere must be able to use these tools and implement such policies as they see fit to control epidemics and protect people's health. It is therefore critical that more countries and regions are allowed and empowered to be part of the health innovation ecosystem as contributors to global health security that can be viewed as a global common good. It will require sharing of knowledge and technologies, and access to adequate capital and human resources. Investments in local manufacturing can be a first step but will not suffice to deliver equity and resilience. Countries in the Global South no longer want to be just recipients of vaccines and health technologies. Instead, they want to be part of the solutions, to contribute as full participants to the research and development of diagnostics, vaccines and treatments and to be able to respond to epidemic outbreaks when and where they occur. Health equity and security cannot be gained by technological competition and business as usual. It is not a war against each other for technological dominance. It requires collective intelligence, collaboration and sharing because we are all in this together against viruses and other health threats.



Are We Ready for the Next Pandemic?



Maha Barakat
Assistant Minister for Health and Life Sciences at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UAE



Haruka Sakamoto
Primary care physician and Senior Fellow at the Tokyo Foundation for Policy Research



Jacques Biot
Board member and Advisor to companies in the field of digital transformation and artificial intelligence, former member of the executive committee of Roussel-Uclaf and Pasteur Mérieux Serums and Vaccines

The WHO has stated that climate is the biggest challenge to health of the 21st Century and, if you look at a recent report of the IPCC, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, they say that, under a high-emission scenario, we would expect nine million deaths every year by the end of the century, just on climate reasons alone. If countries implement the Paris Agreement by the year 2050, we could be saving one million lives every year, just from pollution alone. [...] Anopheles has a cousin, who is called Aedes. This mosquito carries dengue and climate change has accelerated the invasion of this mosquito into other climates that are not prepared for it. It carries dengue, and dengue has now spread to many countries. The WHO has said that it is actually present in every WHO region and will soon be endemic in the United States and many countries in Europe. The number of people that are predisposed to it are almost half the numbers of people in the world. The number of people who have been modelled to have caught it last year was 390 million, of whom just under 100 million were symptomatic and the number of deaths is in the thousands. This is what we are talking about when we are worried about climate change. Moving on to other non-vector issues, like air pollution, we know that over 90% of people breathe unhealthy levels of air. A senior surgeon in north India, in New Delhi, is well-known to speak about these topics. He has said that, whereas in the 80s, 90% of his patients with lung cancer were smokers, he is saying that, now, half of them are non-smokers. Of those, a fifth are actually under the age of 50. Therefore, we really need to take stock of this and start acting. This is where COP28 comes in. For the first time, a COP is hosting a dedicated day for health issues brought on by climate change, and that day will be on December 3 whilst COP is being hosted here in the United Arab Emirates in Dubai.

Even if we succeed in vaccination research and development, we need several million vaccinations. However, usually a country does not have such manufacturing capabilities. Therefore, whenever a global pandemic happens, we need to collaborate with a country which has the manufacturing capacity on a large scale, such as China, India, South Africa, or several other countries. However, rapidly transferring the new technology is always a concern, especially together with the intellectual property rights. Therefore, we also need to enhance the capacity at a global scale. Together, we need to consider how we transfer those technologies in a timely manner, and we also need to consider how we deal with the intellectual property rights, especially during the pandemic. However, equitable access was a very key issue during Covid 19. Many high-income countries bought a huge amount of vaccines, whilst the low-income countries had no access to vaccinations. Therefore, we also need to decide how we secure the equitable access and delivery of those medical countermeasures. [...] The health sector also emits a significant amount of CO₂. If the health sector is a country, the total amount of emissions of CO₂ is the fourth largest in the world. During Covid 19, thanks to the vaccinations, we could save many lives. However, at the same time, there was a huge amount of medical waste, putting a significant burden on the environment. Before, the health sector only concentrated on saving lives, anyway. However, now, the health sector has also recognized that it is also related to climate change, which means we need to prepare for future pandemics. We need to promote innovation for pharmaceuticals and we need to attain equitable access of pharmaceuticals while decreasing green gas emissions.

Overall, retrospective statistics show that there was a wide disparity of performances relative to morbidity, lethality and resulting mortality on the continent, which could suggest that 'there was no such thing as Europe'. Such a pessimistic view would miss a major, and decisive, success of the European Union, namely the centralized vaccine procurement scheme, which was instrumental in allowing all our populations to access immunization as soon as vaccines became available. Looking into the future, and keeping in mind that the transmission route, interhuman transmission rate and vaccine susceptibility of a bug responsible for the next pandemic, the mix of skills will depend on the type of measures needed to test, trace, contain, protect against, and provide care for the disease, such mix depending on the transmission route and on infectivity/lethality ratios. In addition to savvy in epidemiology and infectiology, pandemics management will require skills in law and order, logistics, public information, effective and cybersecure IT tools across the board, vaccine and/or treatment design, development, production and procurement skills, and a solid economy. In all these respects, although the European Commission has taken quite a number of measures to prepare a response to a future pandemic, many bricks would need consolidation in order to reinforce Europe's readiness. Public opinion should be appeased in order to avoid the belief in fake news, most countries should remedy the profound decay of their public health systems, and the lasting shortage of medical staff. They should also strengthen their economies to be able to resist any financial shock due to reduced activity. And foremost, a staunch priority for science should be asserted among politicians and decision-makers.

16th EDITION GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

November 3-5, 2023 • Abu Dhabi



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 Emeritus at Paris-Dauphine University



Jonathan Cordero
Head of Corporate Development at Eurasian Resources Group (ERG)

By 2030, that is more or less tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, copper and nickel demand should grow by 70%, cobalt by 150%, and even the demand for graphite and lithium should be multiplied by six or seven.

By 2030, we may have deficits of 10% to 15% of demand for copper or nickel, 30% or 45% for other metals. As you know, governments have been, for all this year, frantically searching for mines and resources – be it in the US, be it in the EU – and still China remains, on many markets, the key. China is using its power to put some export quotas – that is the great news of the year. We had export quotas this summer for germanium and gallium and, just a fortnight ago, for graphite. May I remind you that, for the moment, when you have a battery, its anode is graphite. China is producing around 70% of world graphite, be it natural or synthetic. Of course, as I told you last year, in all the forecasts, we must take into account the fact that there is a factor which we cannot master, which is technological progress. You frankly do not know what there will be in batteries in 30 years' time, what kind of energy we will use, how we will manage to stock electricity, and the rest. To my mind, the most critical of all raw materials – for the whole century – the most difficult one will be copper. Copper, I would say, more than ever, because copper is the green metal par excellence. Today's demand, I told you, is around 25 million tons. By 2035, estimates range between 40 million and 50 million tons.

Building energy systems powered by clean energy technologies requires a huge increase in the supply of critical materials. It is a 400% increase by 2030 or a 600% increase by 2050 to achieve our Net Zero goals. In other words, if we do not increase the supply massively, we will certainly miss our Net Zero goals.

We recognize that the irresponsible behavior of some mining companies over the years eroded the sector's social license to operate, and now it is left to us to do much better across the spectrum of ESG considerations – because, essentially, sustainability and a social license go hand-in-hand. Resources companies need to dust themselves off. Our reputation has taken a hit over the decades, and rightly so, but we cannot hide anymore.

At the same time, policymakers need to be open to mining as an industry. We are seeing this in the Middle East, where Saudi Arabia has made mining the third pillar of Vision 2030, but we also see adverse forces in Latin America and a mere standstill in Europe. Policymakers and advocates in this room also have the responsibility to not fall for an overly simplistic narrative. By way of example – mining companies are bad, electric vehicles are good. The reality is that the EV sector alone will require 165 000 tons of cobalt by 2026, which is the equivalent of the total supply today. EVs also require four times more copper than a combustion engine. As you can see, the narrative is not as binary as some may suggest.



Securing Critical Minerals for the Clean-Tech Transition



Christophe Poinssot
Deputy CEO and Scientific Director of the *Bureau de recherches géologiques et minières (BRGM)*



Nicolas Piau
Co-Founder & CEO of Tilt Capital

The volume of lithium that will be required by 2040 to develop electric cars is 40 times higher than what we are using today. It is 20 times higher for nickel, cobalt and graphite. It is 10 times higher for rare earths. Therefore, it is a very huge number, particularly when you consider that, in fact, it requires, between 15 and 20 years to open new mines. Another point which is very important is a large number of these metals are not taken directly from the ground for themselves. They are by-products from other metals, which means that, in terms of dynamics of the market, they are not directly related to the demand. It means that we have some highly complex value chains and it is already a first challenge to be able to depict, describe and understand all of them. Therefore, the value chains are very long with a large number of transformation steps, and many of them are dispersed in many countries. It is, once again, a factor of complexity that we need to be able to understand and to take into account. It means that, in this situation, we have some long but weak value chains, which can be perturbed by any event that could occur and we had a large number of disruptions over the last years, regardless of the size of disruption. We need to also remember the key role of China, which is not only on the mining side, but also on the refining and transformation. For more than 10 elements right now, they are really dominating the market. I mean, more than 90% of the overall supply worldwide is coming from China. It means that we are highly dependent on this country, and there is also a high risk of perturbation.

Let us be clear – today, when we are saying, 'We need to mine more. We need to refine more', who are the recipients of those materials? It is the rich population of the more developed countries. How does that locally affect the people who are on the land where you have this extraction and this processing? I think here we need to engage in more cooperation. I think it should translate into profit-sharing. I think we should maybe learn some lessons from some oil countries that have been fairly good at this. I always used to say to people, 'Why do we not drill for oil and gas in Switzerland, where there are virtually no taxes?', and, 'Why do we drill in Norway, where the tax is 78%?'. Well, because there is oil and gas in Norway. I do not think the Norwegian government or the Norwegian people would tell you that it has affected them in a bad way that the tax is 78% on each barrel that was taken out of the ground. I think we should have that same kind of reflection on the critical raw material. We need to use that to transfer skills, money, maybe try to create value chains locally, in order to actually build not only some resilience, of course, we need to do it in Europe but we also need to build trusted value chains on the critical raw materials outside of Europe or India or wherever, so that we can multiply those trusted value chains.



Middle East: What in the Next Few Months



CHAIR:
Terry Martin
Journalist, TV news anchor



Nabil Fahmy
Dean Emeritus at the American University in Cairo,
former Foreign Minister of Egypt

If this conference had been held one month ago, we would be having a very different conversation than the one we are about to have right now. The attack by Hamas on Israel on October 7 and Israel's response have shattered the status quo and put a big question mark over the immediate future of this region. The repercussions, of course, have been global. It has been felt around the world. This Middle East outlook session will explore what has changed since October 7 so far, and what has NOT changed; what is at stake in the coming months; and how the conflict might shape the region moving forward. Understandably, public attention right now is focused very much on the profound suffering and risks inherent in this war, but I will encourage our panel to also reflect on the possibility for exploring a viable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, because obviously such a solution can be regarded as essential to the future of peace and stability in the region.

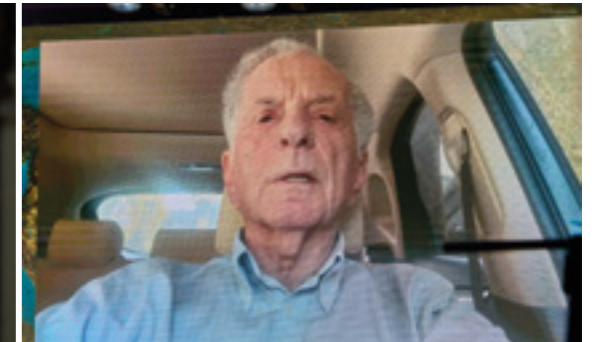
My point really here is we need to have an Arab/Israeli process that leads to Arabs and Israelis living peacefully in the Middle East and, at the core of that, are the Palestinians and the Israelis. That will require an ending of occupation. It will require being able to have a national identity for Israelis and for the Palestinians in viable sovereign states. A one-state solution means that the Israelis and the Palestinians forego their desire for a singular national identity and decide on a common identity between them, and I do not see that happening peacefully. It may become a one-state reality, but then you will have continuous conflict between these two peoples because it cannot be a reality that ends up giving priority to one state versus the other. Nation states, as angry as they may be, have to respect international law, have to respect international humanitarian law, including the laws that govern war, and we need to go back to trying to establish a two-state solution. Now, is that possible now? I will sum it up in very few words. We need to deal on an emergency basis with a crisis management situation. The continuous deaths of civilians every day, the destruction of Gaza – about 25%, if not 30%, completely destroyed – cannot be the basis for a relationship between Arabs and Israelis. For every combatant that is killed, you are planting the seeds for 10 more who have lost family and will want revenge and retribution in the future. Therefore, we need to get a ceasefire, not for the ceasefire's sake, but just to control the viciousness of the combat, with the objective of ultimately then moving on to a conflict resolution phase, which has to be essentially a two-state solution.

Middle East: What in the Next Few Months



Dorothee Schmid

Head of the Turkey/Middle East program at Ifri



Itamar Rabinovich

Vice Chairman of the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) in Tel Aviv, Distinguished Fellow at the Brookings Institution

My concern is that this moment of *flo* could freeze into 'the West against the rest' and Gaza would be the symbolic point that would catalyze this divide of the West, explicitly the US, the EU and Israel, set against a very disparate group of countries that have stood against what they feel as blatant injustice against what they see as a massacre being perpetrated in Gaza by Tshah currently, as a revenge operation for this horrendous attack that they have gone through in early October. My problem is how we avoid again falling into this narrative that I see emerging against this *flo*. The *flo* is because we work on the backdrop of the collapse of state structures in most of the countries in the region. We have seen that in Syria, arguably Lebanon is becoming a failed state as well, war is spreading, unresolved conflict and we also have this *flo* between what is a conflict and what is a war. I heard Ghassan Salame saying, 'We do not declare war these days, we slide into war'. This is the concern we have – that we are being drawn into war. Everybody is wondering about potential escalation with Lebanon. Hezbollah say they do not want to go to war. Lebanon is exhausted, but they might be sliding into war without even realizing it. This emerging rationale of 'the West against the rest', on Gaza specifically, goes with this idea that the area of conflict is enlarging in the minds. There has been a historical effort to constrain the conflict to Palestine against Israel, after the Arab/Israeli conflict, but I think this is completely failing now. On the contrary, lots of countries now feel concern for the situation there. However, the other side, which is also very worrying for our own Western societies, is that, through migration and diasporas, we see the divide operating in our own societies now and threatening order and peace in our own societies. In France, this is particularly clear.

Israel was surprised and caught of gear by the Hamas onslaught on October 7. The brutality of Hamas and the huge losses led the Israeli government to decide on and declare ambitious war aims. It is called The War Inbar's but it is in fact the first Iranian Israeli war. Iran built a circle of proxies around Israel and has tried to engage it on five fronts. In reality only three are active: Gaza, Lebanon and the Houtis in Yemen. In order to conclude the war successfully Israel must formulate a strategy for the day after. It should include a return of The Palestinian Authority to Gsza, renewal of the negotiations with the PA with the prospect of a two state solution and the creation of a coherent moderate bloc composed of several moderate Arab states and Israel as a counterweight to Iran and its Russian and Chinese partners.



Middle East: What in the Next Few Months



Volker Perthes
Under-Secretary General and Head Independent Strategic Review of UNAMI (United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq)



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



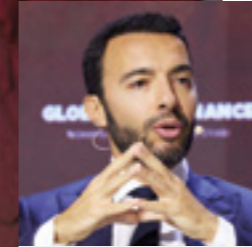
Mohammed Baharoon
Director General of the Dubai Public Policy Research Center (b'huth)

Speaking in a purely private capacity here, let me underline what the Secretary General of the United Nations has said on the Hamas-attack on Israel and the ensuing war. Nothing, not even the decade-long grievances of Palestinians, can justify the appalling attack by Hamas. And this appalling attack cannot justify any collective punishment of the people in Gaza. International humanitarian law has to be upheld any time. We need an immediate and unconditional release of all hostages, we need immediate sustained humanitarian aid, and we need at least a humanitarian ceasefire to make that possible. One main lesson is that it is impossible to achieve peace and stability in the wider Middle East without an acceptable solution to the Palestinian issue. We also have to be aware that if people are left in utter humanitarian distress after this crisis, this will only breed more desperation, more hate and probably also new terror. In the immediate future, we need a humanitarian ceasefire, and we need to prevent a wider war. This brings a lot of responsibility particularly for regional actors, not least those Arab states that have made peace with Israel. In the mid-term, serious comprehensive peace efforts need to be made. These efforts should not aim at recreating the status quo ante in Gaza. In my view, the UN Security Council has to decide on security arrangements for Gaza rather soon. Security arrangements could include a UN-mandated temporary Arab military presence in Gaza. Then, a well-prepared new peace comprehensive peace conference is needed. It could be co-sponsored by the United States and China, it should clearly define the two-state solution as an outcome, and it needs to include a socioeconomic dimension, which also builds on the Abraham Accords, as well as the normalization between Arab states and Iran.

In conclusion, the good news is that there is a global consensus. Perhaps not within Israeli society, although even there, many people agree that the Palestinian question must be settled once and for all. As you said, it is absolutely not correct to call this impossible. It is difficult, but completely possible. Just look at the Taba negotiations. East Jerusalem can of course be the capital of a Palestinian state. Just take a walk around Damascus Gate—the only people living there are Arabs. And land swaps are possible, so that the Palestinian state would take up the 22% of mandatory Palestine that Arafat accepted in Algiers in 1988. As Élie Barnavi, Israeli historian and Israel's former ambassador to Paris, said, a solution must be imposed on Israel for its own good because it is too strong. Only an international conference can impose a solution on Israel. It would not be that hard to organize it because this is an issue where views converge. The Americans, Russians, Chinese, French, British, Saudis and Arabs all have more or less the same idea. The problem is that these major international players agree on the solution to the Israel-Palestine problem, but disagree on other issues. Is such a meeting possible? It all comes down to diplomatic technique.

A Middle East warning – nothing about this region is regional. There are always global implications of everything. The conflict is already internationalized. We are afraid of regionalizing it but, in reality, it is internationalized and that is going to affect us. Now, if we want to talk about what could happen in the next few months, I think the current progress of the operation – and we have seen to the extent how many times the ground operation has been either delayed or changed. This tells us that this is going to be a lengthy operation. With that length of time will come casualties of people. Those casualties of people would have an impact not only regionally, but also internationally. Also, with the objective of the military, which is eliminating Hamas, it is very difficult to say, at this point in time, 'We can call this mission a success. Mission accomplished'. It is very difficult to draw lines on when that mission has been accomplished. Again, that would take a lot of time and would also mean more casualties. [...] I think one we have heard is the attraction of the global west are in front of the expansion of the global south. It is not the north versus the south, it is the south versus the west. If you look at the pattern of voting in the UN, this is quite obvious. We are also looking at the rise of the middle powers. Middle-power states are now taking the lead because the international leadership is not regarded as something that is going to take us somewhere. It is quite interesting to see, for instance, countries like Saudi Arabia or the UAE celebrating the G77 over the G7 because they see that the future of the world order is the middle and small powers organizing and galvanizing a position together.

Where Is Africa Heading ?



CHAIR:
Amir Ben Yahmed
Chief Executive Officer
of Jeune Afrique Media
Group, President of
Africa CEO Forum



Lionel Zinsou
Former Prime Minister of Benin, Chairman of SouthBridge



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 point I wanted to make, which is counter-intuitive, is that, unfortunately, agriculture, along with energy, is the activity that consumes the most capital. In agriculture or energy, you have to invest \$200 for every \$100 in sales because the finished products have little added value. If you take the cashew nuts we grow and turn them into cashew milk or any other packaged product, you're looking at \$50 of investment for \$100 of sales. Today, industry's share of GDP is falling. This is counter-intuitive because people think of capital and investment as factories. In Morocco, it is the automotive industry, and here it could be the shirt I am wearing because we want to promote our cotton. What is important is that we had to put the capital ratio between agriculture, energy and infrastructure in place in 50 years. What we are doing now is making the capital ratio four times lower, which means a high labor ratio. So we are going to find ourselves in a situation similar to Asia in terms of creating jobs for young people. But when you are a Prime Minister speaking in front of a rally, you cannot say, "It is just a temporary matter of the capital coefficient." In Benin, as in Senegal and every country, leaders are accused of being indifferent, incapable and powerless to help young people. So we are not going to give them an economics lesson on the capital ratio. But I am not giving anyone a political lecture, because so far I have only lost presidential elections. But failure teaches you things, not least of which is what you cannot say at a rally. And yet, technically, for the economy, it is obvious.

Regarding industrial policy, we are pushing the green deal or IRA in the United States, which obviously attracts savings. I feel more comfortable financing a giga factory in Wisconsin with American aid rather than taking risks in the Gulf of Guinea. These are all headwinds. What we've seen, which is a major issue for me and interacts with what we said earlier about narrative, is that we're increasingly inward looking. In other words, most countries are turning in on themselves, a trend Covid has accentuated. What I hear and regret, and I don't have an answer, is people saying, "We've got enough problems at home without having to worry about other people's as well. So my savings are staying in France, in Germany, in the United States because we have our own problems with poverty, climate change and so on." So we really do have headwinds and we need to find a voice that says, "It is in Europe's interest to invest some of its savings in Africa." What tools do we use? How do we reach an agreement? [...] I'm playing devil's advocate here a little, but in terms of ESG, environmental and social governance, I think Europe needs to engage in real dialogue rather than build higher walls. I think that if we want to take a firm stand, we won't succeed. If we want to successfully make the shift to a more sustainable and resilient economy, it would be in Europe's interest to reach out to Africa, Latin America and South Asia. We'd be better off doing it together rather than getting crushed between China and the United States. I think there's incredible potential here, but also a considerable challenge. I'm not going to repeat what Lionel said, but there is extraordinary potential here. We just need to get our act together.



Where Is Africa Heading?



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)



Jean-Michel Severino
President of Investisseurs & Partenaires



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 am a defender of human rights, even though I am a general. What prompts military officers to stage coups? It is stated everywhere that politicians and civil society drive a country's social and political life. More often than not, it is civilians who ask the military to step in, although the army's role is now defined in almost every African country's constitution. When civilians can't agree, the state must still keep working. The army is the only bulwark against the politicians' notorious intransigence. This must not be forgotten. Let me give you a very simple example from Mali. President IBK, peace be upon him, was democratically elected. There were problems in parliament with the election of deputies. There was talk of the dispute being settled by the Constitutional Court. ECOWAS was deployed on the ground and sent experts who proposed re-appointing the Constitutional Court and referring the case to it. However, some politicians said that if they sat down at the negotiating table, it would be to discuss the terms of President IBK's resignation. Forty-eight hours later, the military took power. Did the army act on its own, or did civilians drive them to it? It is very clear. In our countries, we have seen the kind of turmoil that prompts the army to take power. Let me mention Senegal, where the army has not taken power. In Benin, we have had many troubles, a host of coups. We had a military-fascist regime for 17 years but we made a smooth transition from dictatorship to democracy without bloodshed.

By the end of the century, Africa will account for around half of the world's workforce. The continent will have two billion people by 2050. The only question is whether it will have 3.5 or 4 billion by the end of the century. Growth will not stop there. I believe one of the most important things that needs to be done to leverage the demographic dividend is public policy. Africa must build up its productive sector. The small number of existing businesses means that new ones must be supported and created. However, most policies supporting the sector's development in Africa tend to focus on very large companies or infrastructure. Consequently, we are now in a situation where, in most countries, it is very hard for entrepreneurship to move from the small-scale stage to a more structured stage. It hits a glass ceiling in terms of access to finance and capacity, which is just as important. All the companies I work with are grappling with this issue. But the wall can be crossed. Without taking up too much time, I am struck by Africa's extraordinary appetite for enterprise. This is not because Africans are different from the rest of the world, but because they are in a particular historical and economic situation, which means that entrepreneurship is a normal way out of poverty, a way of blazing one's own trail. No offense to anyone, but many Africans want to get rich without becoming Director General of Customs. If we want profound change for Africa, these Africans need a step up to become prosperous, to become employers, without being forced into corruption, which unfortunately is an all too human temptation in these contexts.

I proclaim that Africa is making progress. The proof is that in recent years, if I take the case of Benin, we have seen the emergence of small and medium-sized agro-industrial companies, and their products are on the market. Everyone is courting Africa. France held France-Africa meetings with Japan, China and the Soviet Union, and when the Russian Federation became angry with France, it vowed to get even with France in Africa. In January, Italy will host a meeting with Africa. That means we are making progress. However, we are not consolidated on any level because we do not have a democratic culture or an institutional mentality. For entrepreneurs to thrive and be sure they will get a return on their investment, they need a framework that the State must create. When the State does not create it, we must say so.



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1. Finance and Economy



CHAIR:

Jean-Claude Trichet

President of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, former President of the European Central Bank, Honorary Governor of the Banque de France

I see in the economy in general, a lot of things to be said on risks, global financial risks. I see that we are in an inflection point it seems to me in many respects, not only inflation, not only I would say climate change, but that it is really, frankly speaking, very dramatic as far as the change is concerned. I do not think personally that the global financial system is really stable at the present moment, not only because we have on the horizon all the geostrategic risks that we are mentioning in the conference and of course have a fantastic impact on global finance. [...] I am struck and very impressed by the fact we discussed development, development aid, financing with private funds the development fund. If I had to conclude with a few words I would say we are relatively confident at this stage, despite the abominable tensions that we have to cope with, geostrategic tensions, we know that a lot of surprises, unfortunate surprises can come and that we have to be prepared for everything. We proved that at least in the banking sector with what I just mentioned because the reaction of the authorities was extraordinarily rapid, both in the US and in Europe and Switzerland and rapidity of reaction is absolutely of the essence if we have new teasing come from here and there. However again I take the sentiment that we should guard ourselves of being too confident or too optimistic if I may.

**Masood Ahmed**

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

This is a very broad topic, so I will focus on the issue of financing for emerging markets and developing countries and offer two propositions. First, in financing climate, we should think separately about how to support adaptation and mitigation. Adaptation involves building into good development of schools, of roads, and of hospitals, the extra cost of making them resilient to climate. Since this applies to everyone, rich and poor, adaptation should be financed across the board. On the other hand, only a dozen emerging markets will have a significant impact with their policies on mitigation while the majority of low income countries, in Africa and elsewhere, will have very little effect on global emissions. For mitigation, we need to adopt an approach which maximizes the emissions impact globally rather than thinking of this as a sort of add-on for every country to avoid wasting money. Second, there is an expectation that now the multilateral development banks (MDBs) will be successful in mobilizing much more private financing than they have ever done in the past. However, they have set targets in the past and are almost never able to meet them. Additionally, people are discussing mobilizing hundreds of trillions of dollars while only a few billions or low hundreds of millions have actually been mobilized. One can keep adding instruments and new initiatives, but the real problem why the MDBs are not able to mobilize private financing is because they have a culture of risk aversion. While shareholders may make proclamations about how MDBs need to be more risk tolerant, by the time those instructions filter down through the national bureaucracy to these institutions, the instructions become quite diluted and no risk-taking occurs. We can spend many years trying to come up with numbers and plans, but unless we tackle the risk aversion issue, we are not going to get very far in mobilizing private finance.



1. Economy and Finance



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

In a nutshell private flows are diminishing, they are miniscule and they are diminishing, it is less than 4% of European AUM which goes to emerging markets, less than 2% of American AUM, so it is very small. It is diminishing for a number of very rational reasons, interest rates, when you are a small mutual insurance company why would you want to take a risk in Addis or in Morocco if you can get 5% on US Treasury? It is very straight forward. Second, industrial policy, it is a green deal and higher risk that require to mobilize local savings. Here again there is a French Government example, put money in the French tech, put money in this, put money in this, so there is no money left for the rest of the world. Everybody is doing the same. On top of that, as I said, the inward-looking perspective of a number of clients, I mean I have heard pension funds and people telling me, 'My clients do not want their money to be used elsewhere, we have enough problems at home, why would you move my money to help these people? Whereas in my country we have also suburban issues, we also have transition issues, etc.' So private money is under stress. On top of that of course Basel II, Solvency II and the rest do not help, or provide good excuse not to do anything. Public flows are under stress. In real terms the flows to Africa have diminished and there are a number of reasons for that, I mean fiscal stress, but also Ukraine, refugees and the like. Therefore money is going there. In addition you have the tension that Masood highlighted, on the one hand development, on the other climate, with the same pot of money, so you are adding a number of priorities to the same pot of money.



Akinari Horii

Special Advisor and member of the Board of Directors of the Canon Institute for Global Studies

1/ The US economy is now at full employment, on top of this the fiscal policy stimulus that has been incorporated in the Inflation Reduction Act and CHIPS Act is materializing in terms of expansion in business investment in the US; 2/ The stimulative tax effect will continue in 2024 and beyond; 3/ In light of both the full employment at present and fiscal stimulus in the pipeline, the Federal Reserve may begin to lower the federal fund rate target in 2024 but it would do so only to the extent consistent with increases in the unemployment rate; 4/ The Chinese economy is under a few structural adjustment pressures, e.g., burst of property bubbles and debt overhang, Communist policy of tightening grips with business, and lastly an unfavorable demography; 5/ At the same time China's economic slowdown has been accentuated by the so-called silicon cycle which goes up with IT-related production in the global market for two years and goes down for two years on average; 6/ 2023 was a declining period and now the cycle seems to be hitting the bottom; 7/ Just like Japan experienced cyclical ups and downs during the first decade after the burst of property and stock bubbles, the Chinese economy will also show cyclical ups and downs even when structural adjustment pressures put a damper on its trend growth; 8/ In 2024 the silicon cycle will turn favorable for China's economic growth from a cyclical viewpoint; 9/ It is also the case for Korea and other Asian economies as well as Germany, in all of which manufacturing is a key industry therefore sensitive to the silicon cycle; 10/ Do not forget that there was a process called London Club, which progressed usually at the winks and arm twisting by the central banks of the Paris Club member countries, who had them go along with Paris Club offshore debt rescheduling.



Pierre Jacquet

Professor of Economics at the *École nationale des ponts et chaussées* (ENPC), member of the *Cercle des Économistes*

Let me focus on another pathology of the international financial system, which is a bridge between what Bertrand and others say, that there is a lack of money going to developing countries right now and the fact that a few years ago there was a lot of money going to developing countries. The bridge is called debt and I think that this pathology of the international system is the risk of emergence of a new debt crisis with considerable impact, especially for countries in Africa, but not only. The situation is a bit similar to the 1980s, we had an influx of money into these countries and that corresponded to the recycling of excess liquidity in rich countries in search of higher potential returns and then we had a number of shocks, and of course the shocks are covid, the economic slowdown in developed countries, inflation, rising uncertainty, the drying up of new funds, depreciation of currencies against the Dollar and so on. Therefore as a result the burden of the debt service, which is still lower than historical records, has significantly increased, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, not only, and in Latin America. Let me also mention the net transfer to IDA countries, that is net financing inflows minus debt service have turned negative in the face of a rising need to engage into strategies of green growth strategies, to fund the energy transition, to reach the SDGs and so on. Right now about 30 countries or more are considered to be in a high risk of debt distress. [1] There are many ways to do it, one is to go back to the proposal made by Anne Kruger a long time ago to create debt restructuring, sovereign debt restructuring mechanism, the SDRM, which never floated very far. It could be androgenized in debt contract, it could be also androgenized through contingent debt instruments and I think that is one aspect of financial innovation that could be quite promising.

1. Finance and Economy



André Lévy-Lang

Founder and Chairman of the Louis Bachelier Institute,
former CEO of Banque Paribas

In his introduction note Jean-Claude mentioned about the embedded negative risks of the financial system, number five was cryptocurrencies. Let me make a comment on financial innovation and its impact on finance by starting with cryptocurrencies. They are not a systemic risk. The outstanding volume looks huge, one trillion Euros, roughly one half is bitcoin one half other cryptocurrencies. However it is only half the balance sheet of BNPParibas Bank, so it is not a systemic risk. There are other risks, fraud, money laundering, speculation, but it is not money. I think there is another financial innovation which is very important, payment systems, since the launching of smartphones in 2007. Electronic payments represent the major part of retail payments. It has been an open field for the GAFAMs and for a number of startups in finance. The GAFAMs entered that field because they get huge amounts of data to feed their advertising business. But the moment they get into banking they face an avalanche of regulation, which is an effective barrier to entry. To conclude on payment systems, it is indeed a major challenge for financial institutions, but also an opportunity if they invest in technology to offer equivalent or better services. I should also mention that central banks are working on Central Bank Electronic Money, a related question.



John Lipsky

Senior Fellow of the Foreign Policy Institute at Johns Hopkins
University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International
Studies

It is worth thinking more broadly about the underlying aspects of the deterioration in the relative role of trade in global growth. For most of the period post-World War Two, trade expansion was driven by cost and efficiency considerations. These economic incentives for expanding trade were created through market opening, reductions in restrictions, and the lowering of tariffs, among other measures. This focus on creating new economic incentives through trade stood in direct contrast to the previously widespread view that import substitution and/or central planning were viable strategies for development. I recall important work of the Commission on Growth and Development that was established by the World Bank and chaired by Michael Spence, the Nobel Laureate. The Commission concluded that there was no case of sustained development of emerging or developing economies that did not involve an opening to the world markets. What is happening at present is best viewed as reflecting a shift in priorities, rather than an abandonment of the pursuit of economic efficiency or an abandonment of the message of the Commission. These newly emphasized priorities can be characterized as a heightened concern regarding security, including security about energy supply, about food and health, about technology. [.] My conclusion is that these three Cs — conflict, covid, climate — and T, technology, are going to have an ongoing impact on global trade, and it is going to be a while before the rebuilding of a trading system that is consistent with the goals announced by the WTO will bear clear results.



Jean-Claude Meyer

Vice Chairman International of Rothschild & Cie

Three additional comments: 1/ There is a large divergence between the US and the Euro Zone, insofar as the GDP, it is flat in Europe and around maybe two to 3% in the US. Inflation in the US is 3.7% in September, 4.3% in Europe. This divergence is because the US have started their monetary policy earlier and, because Europe has much less resilience being fragmented, being near the war in Ukraine, with an ageing society, with financing coming from banks instead of equity markets in the US. 2/ This divergence should last until the end of '24, inflation could be 2.6% in the US, 3.2 in the Euro Zone, growth 1.6 in the US and very small in Europe, around 1% due to particularly the sort of recession in Germany. In a nutshell, more inflation in Europe than in the US, more growth in the US than in Europe. Maybe besides the soft landing in the US we shall have a landing in Europe. 3/ Central banks seem to be in favor of a pause from now on and they should start cutting rates second half of next year, fueling then a recovery. To conclude, the stock markets should remain volatile and relatively flat until the third quarter of next year. The US stock markets and the Japanese one could go up slightly more than the European stock markets which will remain bumpy, but naturally all stock markets will go up again as soon of course of interest rates will appear, i.e., end of next year. This scenario may be too optimistic, it will be achieved provided that the slowdown in China and the accumulated debt worldwide does not deteriorate further and above all that the crisis in the Middle East remains limited. Contrary to what is happening now, the geopolitical risk might greatly influence the markets and dramatically change with very quiet forecast.

2. Energy, Climate and Technology



CHAIR:

Olivier Appert

Chairman of France Brevets, Scientific Advisor of the Center for Energy and Climate of Ifri, former President of the French Energy Council

In fact, in times of multiple crises, this workshop today will discuss the opportunities and challenges to achieve the goals of energy security, sustainability, affordability, acceptability and resilience, from the perspective of different geographic stakeholders which map out credible and realistic pathways through this most demanding period. The growth of energy prices had a major impact on inflation worldwide. Most of the countries in the world have been faced with an economic shock, similar to that we experienced during the oil shocks of 1973 and 1979. The gas and electricity markets, more specifically in Europe, have been faced with their first crisis in 2021, due to the market design followed by the consequences of the Ukrainian crisis in 2022. Rapidly, after the Russian invasion, the European countries and the EU Commission took measures. As a result of these measures taken in Europe and in many other countries, the OECD imports of Russian oil dropped by 50% to 2.5 million barrels per day. However, this drop has been largely compensated by Russian oil exports to non-OECD countries, especially China and India. Some key figures. Russian revenues from energy dropped significantly. The share of Russia on the EU gas supply was reduced from 40% to 10%. EU investment in renewable energy and heat pumps increased by 40%. The electric vehicle market increased by 15% and the EU CO2 emissions were reduced by 2.5%. In a nutshell, European countries are the guessed losers of this major energy crisis we are facing. This will have a significant impact on our economies and, clearly, the US are the winners. As far as Russia is concerned, the impact on its economy is rather limited on the short-term. However, on the longer term, Russia will have difficulties to compensate its European outlets. For the last few weeks, the dramatic conflict between Israel and the Hamas has been bringing a new dimension to the world energy crisis. However, for the time being, we have not seen evidence of what could happen due to this new crisis.

**Nicolas Terraz**

President of Exploration and Production, member of the Executive Committee of TotalEnergies

At TotalEnergies, we see, more or less, the oil production stabilizing over the decade, and then starting to decline from 2030 to reach a level in 2050, when we aim to be carbon neutral, of somewhere between 40 million and 60 million barrels per day compared to 100 million today. There will still be a demand for oil for a number of uses that are difficult to substitute. Now, the reality today is that the oil demand is not decreasing, so we are not yet on the decline curve. This year, the oil demand will be 102 million barrels per day, more than two million compared to last year. To give you an idea, a company like TotalEnergies is producing 1.4 million barrels per day of oil globally. Therefore, two million more in one year is 1.5 times the oil production of a company like TotalEnergies. I think it is important to understand that all of us are expecting to see a decline in the oil production but, today, it is not yet the case. I talked about the demand, now I will talk about the supply of oil. I mentioned it yesterday but I think it is always important to remember that there is a natural decline of oilfield production, which is much greater than for gas. It is about 4% per year. Therefore, if you do nothing every year, out of your 100 million barrels per day, you lose four million in the face of a demand that is increasing by two million. That is why, in our company, we are saying we need investments in new oil and gas projects. We can stop investing, of course, but if we stop investing, there will very quickly be a large imbalance between supply and demand, and prices are going to increase substantially, and we are back to the issue of affordability of energy and acceptability of all this.

2. Energy, Climate and Technology



Jean Abiteboul

President of GIGNL (International Group of Liquefied Natural Gas Importers), Non Executive board member of Tellurian, Inc. (AMEX: TELL), Founder and Chairman of JA Energy Consulting

In Europe, LNG has filled the gap created by the disruption of Russian gas. To make it simple, in Europe, the Russian gas has been replaced by LNG from the US. There is an increase in Europe of 40 million tons of LNG imports, partially offset by the decrease of about 20 million tons of LNG which used to go to Asia. How is it possible that this LNG no longer goes to Asia? The answer is very simple. The answer is coal. The prices of LNG have skyrocketed so much that some Asian countries, especially China, India and Indonesia, have naturally replaced LNG with coal for their electricity production. It is not an intervention of the government. It is not because Emmanuel Macron has asked China, 'Please give me some LNG to replace Russian gas'. It is just because the market has been working. There was a double swap – LNG to coal in Asia, and LNG from Asia to Europe to replace Russian gas. The price signals did work without any intervention from the government and from Europe. Today, in the LNG market, 30% of the quantities are spot. You have 20 exporting countries. You have 45 importing countries. You have 734 LNG tankers, so you have a huge fleet of LNG tankers. The market works. We had already seen that during the Fukushima issue, where it was exactly the other way round and additional LNG went to Japan to replace the nuclear which was cut by the Fukushima issue. My main message is the LNG market really provides flexibility. The price signals work. Of course, the replacement of LNG by coal in Asia is not good news, as far as CO2 emissions are concerned. However, there is, today, such flexibility in the LNG market that the LNG market can cope with crises.



Narendra Taneja

Chairman of Independent Energy Policy Institute in New Delhi

We have got to understand that, whether it is energy or climate, we need to engage the whole world. Unless the discussion or the conversation is truly global, we will actually end up reaching the wrong conclusions and, when the conclusions are wrong, solutions that we propose to the world, or to the people of Europe, will not produce any results. People worship trees. People worship local sources of energy. For many, energy and climate are very deeply integrated in the way they live, the way they breathe. Energy transition for different countries means different characteristics. We need to basically reset the button on climate. Climate and energy transition used to be at the very top of the global agenda until two or three years ago. Honestly tell me, is climate now at the top of the global agenda? It is not, it is Ukraine and the crisis in the Middle East. It is Taiwan and, tomorrow, it will be something else. The important point is everybody is now talking about 'rule-based international energy order', but who makes the rules? Who has made these rules? The West and, if you do not follow, then you are questioned and, if you follow, then you have to become subservient. What kind of world are we talking about? We need a new international energy order. We need new international energy governance. We ideally need a new global organization which can play some role in situations or circumstances like this. My final point is that, de-weaponize oil, gas and energy. Three billion energy-poor people on the planet need it. Let oil and gas and all these commodities flow so that people can at least survive. Until they survive, how can they really worry about things like climate?



Igor Yurgens

Chairman of the Management board of the Institute of Contemporary Development in Moscow

The Russian Federation started a real integration into the ESG world. There is a carbon regulation, there is a sustainable finance regulation, there is a regulation of ESG risks by the central bank, and we created a methodical framework for taking all of those ESG factors into the development of industry in the Russian Federation – not only industry, but also financial markets. However, we are not alone. Kazakhstan is very advanced. They started in 2013, so they already have a carbon exchange. They have a pretty advanced financial market with green bonds, etc. They have taxonomy approved. They have mandatory disclosure of non-financial information for all organizations, which we do not have in Russia. Kyrgyzstan is a little bit behind, but they are beginning very serious development. In Bishkek, they now have the draft national taxonomy and they approved the guidelines. Belarus talks a lot but is not very much on the time schedule. Armenia is a little bit behind, but they also have an element of stock exchange with green bonds and national roadmap for stable finance. A couple of words on Russia. Inflation is at 6% and the GDP growth is at 2.8%, almost 3%. When we compare the economic situation, the economic warfare did not work the way it was planned. Mid-term and long-term would be much more difficult because the technological gap will not be covered. However, I would like to say that, of course, as it was discussed today on the political panel on Ukraine, the sooner we start negotiating a ceasefire, the better for everybody.



2. Energy, Climate and Technology



Xavier Ploquin
Investment Director and Chief of Staff to the CEO of Meridiam

Europe is actually the part of the world that is benefitting the most from the energy transition. Europe imports massive amounts of oil, gas and coal – 93% of our oil, 89% of gas and 25% of coal. We are fully dependent on all the raw materials – lithium 100%, cobalt 81%, nickel, uranium. We are global leaders in wind. We are tech leaders in H2. We are the leader in nuclear. European countries could be considered rich enough to transition, and that is also the reason why they can push for that. However, the weight of the transition is actually weighing very much on households in Europe and they have trouble facing that. Over the long-term, the total energy cost of a Net Zero scenario is supposed to be lower than something that is stated policy. However, it requires massive investment. Green solutions, even in Europe, are not perceived as good ones because sometimes they are too expensive. Sometimes it is more expensive and you have doubts about the fact that it works. Electric vehicles, for instance, do not have the same capacity as a regular gasoline car. Finally, the financing capacity is completely down at the moment because the debt is higher and inflation has struck. In Europe, people need most of their cash to buy expensive housing, expensive studies in some countries, so they do not have that much room for additional expenses. I think that a good way of probably discussing energy transition, and it will also involve the southern countries, is to focus on resilience, adaptation and sovereignty. Most of the climate adaptation strategies also have a benefit on mitigation. People are ready to accept adaptation measures because it will give them more value for money – it will protect them from a heatwave, it will protect them from lack of energy from grid dependency. They will be ready to pay.



Valérie Ducrot
Executive Director of Global Gas Centre

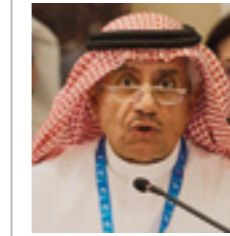
First, Narendra, I fully agree with you. We are too much European-centric. Certainly, we are talking about Europe. We think that the war in Ukraine is a very important war but, outside Europe, they have a completely different view and I fully support what you said. I spend much of my time in Asia and it is true that the debate is completely different. It is important to use what we have nowadays, especially in Asia. India is a member state of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia Pacific. Three weeks ago, I was there. I followed the entire week and, I am sorry to say it, but India was completely absent. This is really the place that you have to use if you want to raise your voice. Just to touch on what you mentioned about nuclear, it is never mentioned in the UN, absolutely never. I am paid by gas companies because I am the Director of the Global Gas Centre, but I am struggling to defend nuclear, I am struggling to defend renewable gases. It is not only renewables. We are only talking about renewables at the UN, at the COP, etc., and this is a disaster for the global south. This is a disaster, like you mentioned here, for even the citizens from the north or west or whatever you want to call it, and it is a complete disaster. However, we have to be here. We have to occupy the field. The member states have to be here and to defend, because to be only present in Brussels is not enough. I am telling you, it is not enough at all. This is what we see everywhere. Please encourage all your member states to raise their voices and use the multilateral institution that we have. It is so important.



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

There is a very important momentum now. We have John Kerry meeting his Chinese counterpart, Zhenhua, as we speak now during several days, and then we will have the Biden/Xi Jinping meeting at APEC in San Francisco. Therefore, this is unique because there is no major COP development possible unless the Chinese and the Americans do not agree and this is the momentum for them to agree. I think we can expect that maybe something will happen there. The US has to do much more on fugitive methane emissions, dramatically more. It has to ramp up finance in that, and the Chinese need to peak the emissions way before 2030. Actually, both could do that and then, of course, to phase down coal. I think this is possible. What we need to have a discussion on is an orderly transformation of the hydrocarbons. Yes, energy security as well, but the problem is, if it is Iran or Russia that puts energy security in the declaration, everybody understands why. We need a predictable, stable oil price that allows consumers to afford the energy, but still to transition, and the companies and the governments to have the resources to invest in the alternatives. However, the problem is that we need to have this discussion and I think the discussion has gone away – that there were institutions for that, there were ideas for that, but I think it should be reinvested.

3. Economic and Social Issues in the Middle East

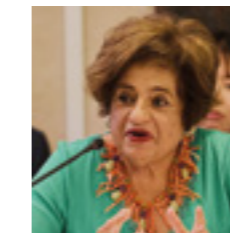


CHAIR:

Abdulrahman A. Al Hamidy

Director General and Chairman of the Board of Executive Directors at the Arab Monetary Fund

It is predicted that, like the rest of the world, economic growth in Arab countries will be affected by several factors this year and the next including slower global growth, tight global and regional financial conditions, volatile commodity prices and country specific factors. All these factors are likely to expose vulnerabilities arising from very high public debt in certain countries, and weak external conditions, and here I mean the balance of payments in terms of economic issues. The Arab Monetary Fund forecasts growth for this year will be around 2.2% for Arab countries and will increase to 3.3% next year. If we exclude three or four countries in our region, inflation is expected to moderate and stabilize at 3.6% next year. On a country level, some countries in the region are experiencing several economic and financial challenges or crises, however you describe the situation, leading to increases in already high unemployment and poverty. Some countries in the region also have issues around refugees and humanitarian crises, and of course, those tensions will increase risk premiums making borrowing even harder. At the Arab Monetary Fund, we are doing everything we can on our part in terms of designing and managing economic reform programs in several countries. So far this year, we have provided financial assistance exceeding USD 1 billion since the beginning of the year and we also provide technical assistance and capacity building, as well as a place for policy dialogue between our member states.



Mona Makram Ebeid

Egyptian Senator, Advisor to the UN High Representative for the Alliance of Civilizations, former member of Parliament

Egypt's long-standing dependence on fuel and food imports has bloated its foreign debt, thanks in part to the war in Ukraine and Covid-19. In addition, securing international financing has grown more costly and domestic subsidies continue to drain government resources. The resulting economic crisis has led to several rounds of currency devaluation mandated by the International Monetary Fund and skyrocketing inflation, which not only hurts the poor but also the middle class, the main supporters of President El-Sisi and, as you know, Egypt has presidential elections this month. Now pressure is being put on Egyptians to agree to the presence of Palestinians in Sinai, the President has adamantly refused because it will mean the end of the Palestinian question if these people are displaced once more. That is why it is impossible for Egyptians to tolerate. Another reason for Egypt's refusal is the probability that many Hamas militants would be likely to escape into Egypt, creating another headache for the authorities. At the moment, President El-Sisi is insisting that the United Nations, the European Union and others should help provide humanitarian assistance for the people in Gaza. I want to underline, that you should not underestimate General El-Sisi's role because Egypt has maintained very good relations with Israel, but the government cannot survive what the Israelis are doing in Gaza. People are becoming very angry but he is refusing the pressure to mobilize the army and fight for the people of Gaza. As I said, he is adamant about refusing Gazans entry to Sinai because this would spell the end to a two-state solution. Furthermore, the Palestinians in Sinai would create serious national security problems for the government.

3. Economic and Social Issues in the Middle East



Abdulrahman Al Neyadi

Director of Policy Planning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UAE

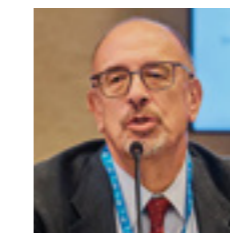
Any regional security architect requires a strong element of economic prosperity. We live in a region with one of the youngest demographics in the world. Over 55 % of our region is currently under 30-years-old and there is 30% unemployment among people with university degrees. Poverty hits one in every four children in the MENA region. This takes us to the importance of addressing these socioeconomic factors if we want to achieve sustainable peace and stability in the region. The socioeconomic factors that led to the so-called Arab Spring in 2011 have not yet been addressed. The socioeconomic factors through multiple crises and the ramifications of all the crises have been multiplied by Covid, Ukraine, and now by the Gaza War and that has left us with the reality that any path towards peace and stability must address them by trying to achieve economic prosperity. There are three elements to pursue that objective from our perspective. First, the regional countries need to engage with a mindset of creating the economic denominators we need in our region. That move requires fundamental confidence-building measures that many regional security initiatives neglected in the past. These confidence-building measures are very important in the goal of moving from a fragile de-escalation to reach a sustainable cooperation in the region. Second, it is vital to address extremism in all its manifestation because we realize that it leads to terrorism and violence. Extremism also has a hazardous impact on social development, so even if it is not an extremism that passes the threshold of violence, it still has an impact that jeopardizes social development, and it needs to be addressed. However, countering extremist messaging is not enough. We need a longer-term vision of enhancing education, educational systems, encouraging and building resilience in society by educating our youth in critical thinking. It is also very important to work on empowering women and youth and if I want to mention one of our most important achievements in the UAE in the last 50 years, the empowerment of women would be there as a very clear achievement. Third is to provide an alternative narrative that not only counters extremist messages. These alternatives are co-existence, tolerance, freedom of religious practices, and building bridges and people-to-people engagement, which are all very important to create an alternative narrative in the region.



Raed Charafeddine

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

The issue of Syrian displacement in Lebanon has evolved from a humanitarian concern to a pressing need for action due to perceived threats to Lebanon's "identity, image, and future." Doubts about the effectiveness of the operations of the United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and related NGOs, as well as tensions within the Lebanese government further complicate facing the issue. Meanwhile, Lebanon is grappling with an unprecedented economic crisis exacerbated by regional turmoil, public finance challenges, and various other factors, including the COVID-19 pandemic and the Beirut Port explosion. The macroeconomic scene in Lebanon has drastically shifted since 2019, with the regress of trade, tourism, investment, and consumption, while government spending has steeply declined. This has severely impacted GDP growth, inflation, fiscal deficits, currency depreciation, and balance of payments, thus surging the levels of poverty and creating a highly dollarized cash-based economy. The simultaneous escalation of the Syrian displaced population crisis and Lebanon's economic woes are major challenges facing the country. Lebanese official figures estimate the number of displaced Syrians at 2.08 million or 42% of the Lebanese population, making Lebanon the center of the highest per capita concentration of refugees/displaced people in the world. Such a reality has strained the already unstable public service delivery, infrastructure, labor market, and the environment. Statistics indicate that 70% of Syrian children born in Lebanon in recent years do not hold Syrian nationality, or any other nationality.



Ernesto Damiani

Professor at Khalifa University for the Department of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science, Director of the Center for Cyber-Physical Systems (C2PS)

We have a very interesting picture in front of us of deglobalization and rising areas of conflict with the result that we have a technology platform that needs to handle decoupling and derisking, the two words. In a sense, the problem is that our platforms are run based on data, so supply chains are optimized every day, cargo ships, etc., are optimized every day. Regional processes and inter-regional processes are particularly important in this region because we are in a place that is a hub between the East and West. I do not want to approach this from the point of view of the economist or politician because it is really not my way, but this make it a very fascinating place for the technologist. On the other hand, the problem is that normally we have to optimize jointly, meaning that we have to jointly solve some optimization problems to run global airlines, global cargoes and business processes. To do that, the big problem is the notion that we must have some joint strategies and the actors who take some joint decisions together need to be able to basically trust each other enough to do joint optimization of large-scale regional and inter-regional processes. My problem is that most of the technology tools we give decision-makers are based on this assumption that they will trust each other enough to make joint decisions because this is a major part of any process. In decision-making you tend to find those points that will basically be a compromise so that everyone can agree on them with a minimum of damage or penalties. The problem is that in order to do that you must have joint knowledge of the information that you jointly taking a decision on. The problem is that in this situation we are less likely to be able to do that.

3. Economic and Social Issues in the Middle East



François Gouyette

Former Ambassador of France to the UAE and to Saudi Arabia

I will highlight seven key points that I believe are crucial in understanding Middle East societies in the coming decades, drawing from my experiences and encounters in the region. 1/ Economic diversification is of paramount importance in the Middle East. Many countries in the region have been heavily reliant on oil and gas revenues in the past. The recent push to diversify economies beyond hydrocarbons, as seen in the Saudi Vision 2030, aims to reduce this reliance. The Emirates have been pioneers in this respect. 2/ The Middle East has a young and growing population and therefore youth empowerment is central to addressing social and economic issues. It is imperative that governments must invest in education, skills development and job creation. 3/ The role of women in the Middle East is evolving and changing. 4/ Societies in the Middle East are diverse with different ethnic, religious and sometimes tribal communities. For the governments of those countries, promoting social and political inclusion is vital to maintaining stability, ensuring representation and addressing grievances are key to preventing conflicts. 5/ The Middle East is also a mosaic of nations with complex relationship. Increased regional cooperation is essential to address shared challenges, such as water scarcity, refugees and regional security. Diplomacy should always prevail over conflicts, the war that is raging between Israel and Hamas as we are speaking today, must reinforce our convictions in this respect. 6/ The region is facing increasing environmental challenges including climate change. Sustainable development practices are crucial for long-term stability and prosperity. The digital revolution is reshaping societies worldwide and the Middle East is no exception. Embracing technology and fostering innovation can drive economic growth. 7/ In addressing these challenges national authorities can shape a more stable and prosperous Middle East with a logic of win-win partnerships with the rest, including France my country, as well as reliable investors, which can foster peace, prosperity, cooperation and a broader respect for human rights.



Memduh Karakullukçu

Founding board member of the Global Relations Forum, Founding Partner of Kanunum, Chairman of Kroton Consulting

When I look back at those 10 year, what I got from my first analysis in 2013 was that the fundamental issue for me of development in the region is trust: the trust between its people and their governments. That trust was fractured and the question is how that can be rebuilt when there is so much pent up frustration and impatience in the people. It is very difficult for even well-meaning governments to try to deliver that fast when people have been waiting for 10, 15 or 20 years. What I got from it is that the challenge is immensely difficult. With that, when I think about it, if I divide the problem into two pieces, one question is whether these economies will grow and create aggregate wealth, and the other is whether these economies will put in place the mechanisms where the created wealth will be distributed to society. It is the distribution, the engagement of the citizens that seems to be the problem in the Middle East. If you compare it with other regions in the world, it is not the best but it is okay at creating wealth, but it is the distribution, getting the people and the young people to be part of this is the challenge. Looking back over the past 10 years, I wonder whether things have progressed and if the region has come a long way. When I think about that the answer is not all that positive. Unemployment is high, youth unemployment is still high, the informal economy is still huge, participation by women is still very low. When it comes to the quality of jobs, they are still low-skilled, low-paid and low-tech, so there is not much change there. Then there is the weak private sector. The dream has always been to get the private sector going so that it absorbs these new, bright, well-educated people but it is not happening. It has not really happened to the extent that we all hoped.



Kamel Abdallah

Managing Director and CEO of Canal Sugar

I will give you a heads-up, the new buzzwords we will be hearing about will be water security and water stress. There are different technologies that can be used, I will not go much into the technicalities but I want to come back to the three critical questions. Do we have reliable, efficient delivery of water in the region? We do not. It is getting there and technology is helping a lot and thanks to that we are now being more self-sufficient in food production in the region, but it is still not enough. Are the water resources managed sustainably and efficiently? The aquifers should last us for more than 200 years, but when you are looking at the quality as well as the quantity it is increasingly salty, which cannot be used in agriculture and that is a problem. There are technological developments trying to use salty water to produce agricultural products but that is not enough. Probably the third biggest issue is water risks being recognized and mitigated? Again, the answer unfortunately is not enough. We are delivering water better and we are using technology so that less water is used time after time, but when it comes to the government side and working with the private sector, not just large companies but also the thousands and thousands of farmers, there are a lot of issues. When it comes to mitigating and preparing for the risks in the use of water, we are not sure we are there. Whether it is Lebanon and Israel, Turkey, Syria and Iraq, or Ethiopia, Sudan and Egypt there are many conflicts over water use, and we expect that to be the source of the next war and if it is over water it is over food and that means over health and wellness.

LUNCH & DINNER DEBATES





Kevin Rudd

Australia's Ambassador to the United States, former President of the Asia Society Policy Institute, former Prime Minister of Australia

I continue to be a realist on US-China relations, there are certain structural things that have not changed. Number one, China is more powerful, militarily, economically and technologically, than it was 10, 20 or 30 years ago. Number two, Xi Jinping has said that China will no longer be a status quo power but will seek to change the regional and global order in a direction that is more compatible with Chinese interests and values. Third, since 2017- 2018, the US has squandered with its doctrine of strategic competition. Those three things are the fundamentals driving the state of the US-China relationship. [.] To paraphrase what Zhou Enlai is supposed to have said in the 1950s about the significance of the French Revolution, when asked what the significance of the 1789 French Revolution was, his response in 1952 was, 'It is too early to tell.' [.] I think it is fair to say that China has achieved enormous progress in most of the 10 critical technology categories that they would define as being strategic, starting with semiconductors, moving through Artificial Intelligence, quantum computing, new materials research and then the rest, including biotechnology. China has made significant progress but so too has the United States, as well as American allies around the world. If we look at each of the categories it is difficult to point to a single one where we would say definitively China is ahead of the United States. [.] China's interests are not served by the Iranian's overreaching and unleashing their proxy organizations in Hezbollah and elsewhere across the Arab world, to escalate this from being Israel-Palestine-Gaza into a pan-regional conflict. The reason for that is that China has spent a lot of time seeking to normalize its relations with the Emirates, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and with the other Gulf monarchies.













**Estelle Youssouffa**

This is a very special place in international conferences because it goes beyond the usual blocs. We have participants who do not speak to each other but here they are very frank because the setting is fairly intimate. Mr. de Montbrial's talent lies in having discussions that are at the heart of current events and put their finger on what is going to happen over the next 12 months. I always look forward to it and enjoy coming.

Haïm Korsia

Our world needs hope. I believe that hope must be based on the diversity of encounters, and the purpose of the World Policy Conference is to bring people together and draw attention to points of tension and violence in the world.

François Barrault

It is a great pleasure for me to come to the WPC every year. It is part of our life because we wake up with what I call "modern teddy bears", the smartphone; because AI in a geopolitical or governance context is very important, for it can inform us about harmful or anxiety-inducing opinions, which is a good thing in a holistic discussion on not only economic but also religious, spiritual and scientific governance. It is part of life, of a whole. I think it is really good that Thierry de Montbrial and his team integrated that a long time ago.

Jean Alaux-Lorain

A few words to warmly thank you for your invitation to the 2023 WPC. It is always a pleasure to get together with the community again and to listen to the fascinating talks. One of the most striking features in recent years is the WPC's emphasis on technology - AI, semiconductors, agritech, decarbonization, etc. I am delighted that the WPC allows us to take a step back to exchange ideas and meet together.

Olivier Appert

Well done for this new edition of the WPC. As interesting as ever and perfectly organised. I am delighted to have participated in it again.

Jacques Biot

Once again this year, the meeting was an invaluable source of intellectual and spiritual enrichment for us all in a friendly environment.

Domitille Legrand

I wanted to thank you for the 2023 WPC. I found the discussions particularly rich and the conference panels very interesting. It is an incredible opportunity to take part in such high-level discussions on geopolitical, industrial and social issues.

Jean de Kervasdoué

The 16th edition more than lived up to previous years. In these troubled times, you have succeeded in attracting your faithful followers as well as a few new faces in a pleasant, well adapted setting conducive to bringing people together.

General Francis A. Béhanzin

I feel it is a personal duty to thank you for your dedication to the cause of improved and more reasonable global governance. My thanks are mixed with deep gratitude to you and your collaborators at various levels for involving me (twice already) in the exchanges and debates.

Xavier Ploquin

It was a great pleasure and privilege to attend the World Policy Conference again this year. I was lucky enough to be able to take part in a quality workshop and continue the discussions, as always, with the community in the corridors and on the occasion of our meals.

Emmanuel Macron

I am delighted to address the decision-makers, researchers and opinion leaders from around the globe who meet at the World Policy Conference. This new edition is proof that, despite the crises we face, the international community continues to reason and act together. I would really like to thank the conference organisers, especially its founder and chairman, Thierry de Montbrial.

Ilona Antoniszyn

It is my second time coming to the WPC and I very much enjoy talking with such a bright and smart group of people coming from all around the world. I must say there are top-level discussions on every area that interests me.

Kerry Halferty Hardy

Coming to the WPC is particularly useful because part of what people seek when they reach out to me to work with them is my network and the fact that I am aware of a number of things happening in the world. Coming here allows to speak and keep in contact with people and friends that I have made over the years but also to have direct knowledge of facts. What matters is certainly what happens on stage and it is always useful and informative but it is also the time when you are having your breakfast, lunch and dinner with people at the table or even heading for a drink afterwards. To be able to dive in more deeply with the current crises that we are having now in the Middle East and in Europe, I was able to inform myself in ways that perhaps would not have been able to do simply by reading a newspaper.

Douraid Zaghouni

I would like to thank you for the invitation you have extended to me to attend the last edition of the World Policy Conference. It was a great event, very rich in term of learning, thinking and connections. Bravo and congratulations again on a very productive conference.

Max Mirgoli

I wanted to take a moment of your time and express my gratitude for the kind and gracious hospitality and personal care. I have been to many conferences around the globe and honestly the level of care and professionalism in the World Policy Conference was truly in a league of its own and I commend you and your team for the amount of work and dedication it must have taken to put the conference together in such superb way. I look forward to seeing you again soon and should there be anything I or IMEC can do to be of service, I would be delighted to be at your disposal.

Jay Truesdale

I would like to express my gratitude to you and Thierry de Montbrial for your tremendous organization and hospitality during the World Policy Conference. I greatly enjoyed the opportunity to participate.

Maha Barakat

We thank you and Professor Thierry De Montbrial for bringing such important dialogue to the UAE and championing constructive dialogue. This year's WPC was a great success on all accounts.

Norbert Röttgen

Thank you very much for an excellently organized conference with stimulating discussions and highly interesting discussants.

Hiroyuki Akita

Thank you very much for inviting me to the WPC this year again. I really learned a lot of insights from our discussion.

John Lipsky

I wanted to thank you for including me in this year's World Policy Conference. As always, I enjoyed the event and found it both stimulating and hugely informative. Moreover, I want to congratulate you on assembling such an exceptional program and on making the entire experience both easy and meaningful for the participants. It is a real pleasure to be able to attend and to contribute as best I can to the proceedings.

Noura Al Kaabi

We are thrilled to open our doors for the 16th edition of the World Policy Conference in Abu Dhabi for the third time. This conference has been a cornerstone of our annual calendar for the past three years, as it continues to foster and drive forward insightful dialogue and discussion on a wide variety of issues, challenges and opportunities, all led by foremost thinkers, leaders, and dear colleagues. Your considerable expertise, forged across years of dedicated service in every field imaginable, will assist in creating the kind of open, honest, and meaningful discussions and spirited debates we have come to expect and enjoy from the World Policy Conference. We must never pass up an opportunity to learn from one another. As we strive to do so every year, the organizers have gathered together an impressive group of attendees and speakers, so that we might better understand the most pressing issues of today and tomorrow. It is important that we discuss these topics, because as challenging as 2022 proved to be, 2023 has proven even more so.

Igor Yurgens

Thank you very much and thanks to Thierry de Montbrial because being a participant in the World Policy Conference since 2008 is worth an award.

Terry Martin

I just want to say how delighted I am to be here. This is my first World Policy Conference and I want to thank the organizers for inviting me and also to extend my warm thanks to Abu Dhabi for hosting this event.

Tsakhiagyin Elbegdorj

I would like to thank Thierry de Montbrial and his wonderful team, and also the people in the government of the UAE for hosting us and giving us this opportunity for this really timely and informative gathering of the world community and experts. I am learning a lot.

Kim Chang-Beom

Thank you, John and thank you to the President, Thierry de Montbrial and his team, all the organizers, for the World Policy Conference, especially including Song-Nim. I think it is an excellent occasion to join this wonderful team of panelists and it is my first time attending the World Policy Conference, but it is really enlightening and informative.

Douglas Paal

Thank you very much, and thank you to the WPC and the organizers for this opportunity to share the stage and there are certainly learning opportunities as a member of the audience.

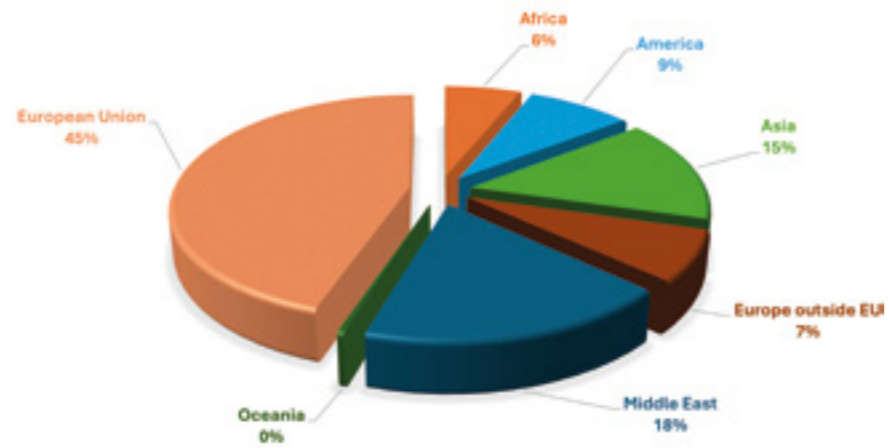
Mohamed Abdelsalam

First of all, allow me to express my personal appreciation to you, Your Excellency, Professor Thierry de Montbrial, the Chair of this session, for convening this very important consultative and intellectual meeting which has a very special and much-needed headline and theme: the international system between globalization and disintegration, which forces will prevail? What an interesting question.

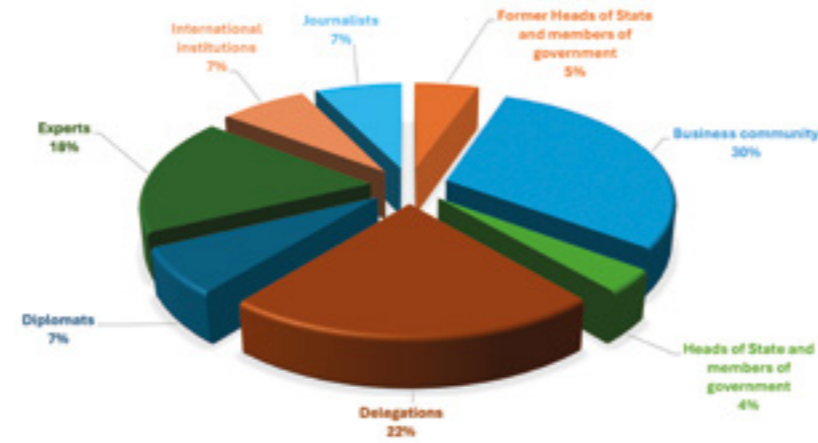
Nabil Fahmy

Let me first thank Thierry for the kind invitation to be back here. It has always been a very informative event for me and I have learnt a lot from many of the panels.

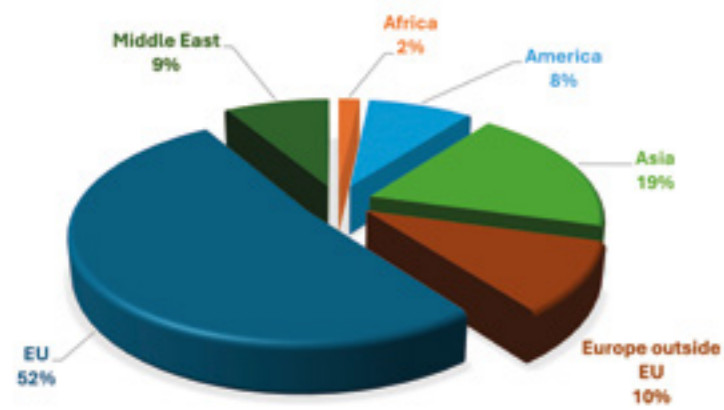




Participants – Geographical breakdown
(261 participants from 55 countries)



Participants – Breakdown by function
(261 participants from 55 countries)



Geographical breakdown of main published articles
(total: 58 articles)





Abdallah, Kamel

Managing Director & CEO of Canal Sugar. A national food security expert, he served in Board Director/Managing Director/CEO positions in Agri/Food based companies, including Baladna QPSC, Aujan Industries/Rani Investments, and Exeed Industries/National Holding. He also served as Assistant Vice President of the American University of Beirut.

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 Defence (IHEDN) and of the Center of Diplomatic and Strategic Studies.

Abdelsalam, Mohamed

Secretary General of Muslim Council of Elders. Co-President of Religions for Peace, he served as an Advisor to His Eminence the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar Professor Ahmed Al-Tayeb. He represented Al-Azhar Al-Sharif in the constitutional assembly charged with drafting a new constitution for Egypt and participated in drafting Al-Azhar documents during the period.

Abiteboul, Jean

President of International Group of LNG Importers, non executive Director of Tellurian Inc. Former Executive Vice President for Supply, Trading & Marketing, he also served as President of Gaselys, International Executive Vice President, Advisor to the Chairman & CEO and as Secretary of the Board of Directors within Gaz de France.

Abu Zafar, Mohammed

Ambassador of Bangladesh to UAE and Permanent Representative to IRENA (International Renewable Energy Agency). A career diplomat, he served in different capacities at home and abroad. Prior to his diplomatic career, he worked in the Ministry of Post & Telecommunication as well as in the Ministry of Agriculture.

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 IMF, the World Bank, and the DFID.

Akita, Hiroyuki

Commentator of *Nikkei*. 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*. He writes commentaries, columns, and analysis on foreign and international security affairs.

Al Hamidy, Abdulrahman A.

Director General and Chairman of the Board of Executive Directors of the Arab Monetary Fund (AMF). Former Vice Governor of the Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency (SAMA), he also served as Deputy Governor for Technical Affairs at SAMA. He has participated in international meetings such as G20 and IMF.

Al Mansoori, Maryam

General Manager of Rebound, a solution-oriented business focused on keeping plastics out of the environment and within the economy. An expert in economics and in the environment, she has extensive experience in government policy and strategic programs, locally and globally.

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 Neyadi, Abdulrahman

Director of the Policy Planning Department at the United Arab Emirates Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation (MoFAIC). Former Deputy Director within this department, he served as Head of the International Security Coordination Section in the International Security Cooperation Department.

Al Sumaiti, Ameena

Associate Professor of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science. An expert in the fields of renewable energy, smart city planning, transportation networks, data analytics, and other aspects of energy, technology, and advanced sciences, she is a highly accomplished academic with a passion for research that drives impact in the UAE.

H.H. Al Sabah, Sheikha Intisar

Founder of Alnowair, Bareec and Intisar Foundation. An internationally recognized philanthropist, entrepreneur, author, film producer, and columnist, Her Highness is dedicated to fostering Peace in the Arab world by supporting women's self-empowerment, positive psychology education, and peacebuilding.

Alaux-Lorain, Jean

Associate investor within the industrial ventures fund of Bpifrance. A French civil servant and a Corps des Mines engineer, 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.

Amabile, Arno

Secretary of the French national committee on generative Artificial Intelligence. Deputy head of the Corps des mines, he also worked for the ministry of Justice to elaborate their new digital transformation plan.

Anbar, Karima

CEO and a board member of Intisar Foundation. Founding Member and Director General of the Global Diwan, she started her career as a French Diplomat in the field of human rights, women rights, political analysis and civil societies in Arab countries.

Andler, Daniel

Emeritus Professor at Sorbonne University. Member of the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, he was the founder and first director of the department of cognitive studies at the École normale supérieure in Paris. He is chiefly interested in cognitive science and artificial intelligence, and in their import for education, collective decision and public policy.

Andrews, John

Author and journalist, specializing in geopolitics as a contributing editor to *The Economist* and *Project Syndicate*. 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.

Antoniszyn, Ilona

Economist, local and national government official, politician, Poland. Volkswagen AG Head of Group Office Poland – Government Relations and Public Policy Volkswagen AG, she served as undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Economy, responsible for international trade, investment and European Funds, and secretary of the Chief Executive Committee of the Polish People's Party (PSL).

Appert, Olivier

Chairman of France Brevets. Scientific Advisor of the Energy Center of Ifri. Former President of the French Energy Council, he previously was Chairman and Chief Executive Officer 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 was also 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 and shared the stage with numerous leading personalities from all over the world.

Atkinson, Kirk

President & CEO of BLG Logistics, Inc. Chairman of the Board for the Alabama Germany Partnership, he also holds a director position on the Birmingham Industrial Development Board, and is a member of the Board for the German American Chamber of Commerce South in Atlanta.

Atwood, Matt

Founder and CEO of AirCapture. A technologist, chemist, entrepreneur, and pioneer in the DAC space, he was founder & CEO of Algae Systems. He has built and commercialized technologies in CO₂, water, AgTech, waste treatment, and biofuels.

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 Group Chief Financial Officer at Société Générale.

Baharoon, Mohammed

Director of the Dubai Public Policy Research Center (b'huth). Former Deputy Director of Watani (UAE's first initiative on National Identity), he was also a founding member of the board of "Bussola Institute", and worked as Editor for Gulf Defense Magazine and a number of media outlets.

Barakat, Maha

Assistant Minister for Health and Life Sciences in the UAE Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and also serves as the Director General of the Frontline Heroes Office in the UAE. Former Director General of the Health Authority Abu Dhabi, she also served as Chair of the RBM Partnership to End Malaria.

Bark, Taeho

President of Lee&Ko Global Commerce Institute, President of Seoul Forum for International Affairs (SFIA). Former Minister for Trade of Korea, he also served as Chairman of the International Trade Commission of the Korean Government. He is also Professor Emeritus of the Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS) 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.

H.H. Bartholomew Ist

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.

Beacco, Jean-Michel

Chief Executive Officer Institut Louis Bachelier. Professor at Université Paris-Dauphine, he also serves as President of the department of economics at Ecole des Ponts ParisTech. He headed the capital market's Credit Trading and structuring department at Société Générale, CACIB and Natixis.

Béhanzin, Francis

Co-Chairman of World Network of Security and Defence Professionals for prevention and combating terrorism. Former Deputy Prime Minister for Romania's Strategic Partnerships, she held several positions with the Romanian's government such as Minister of Justice, Minister Delegate for European Affairs, and President of the Delegation of the Romanian Parliament to the OSCE.

Bel Hadj Soulami, Amine

Head of Middle East and Africa of BNP Paribas for Corporate and Institutional Banking (CIB). Former Senior Advisor to BNP Paribas Global Markets, he joined the Middle East & Africa region after having held leadership positions in Paris, New York, London & Tokyo.

Ben Yahmed, Amir

Chief Executive Officer of Jeune Afrique Media Group. President of the Africa CEO Forum, he began his career at NYC-based investment banking firm Gruntal & Co. Jeune Afrique Media Group is recognised internationally for its reach, authority, integrity and accuracy.

Berchtold, Etienne

Ambassador of the Republic of Austria to the United Arab Emirates. Former Foreign and European policy spokesperson for three Austrian Chancellors, he served as spokesperson for the Austrian foreign minister Sebastian Kurz, and as an employee at the Permanent Representation to the EU in Brussels and for Shell Austria GmbH in Austria.

Bilou, Marie-Roger

Chief Executive Director of The Africa International Media Group and its branch MRB Productions. Media Consultant and Adviser on African Affairs with Africa International, she is also a frequent TV guest (TV5Monde, France24, 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 Ecole polytechnique in Paris, he is also Trustee to several scientific academic institutions, and he chairs the Board of Directors of Huawei Technologies France.

Birchall, Ana

Special Envoy for Strategic and International Affairs Nuclearelectrica. Former Deputy Prime Minister for Romania's Strategic Partnerships, she held several positions with the Romanian's government such as Minister of Justice, Minister Delegate for European Affairs, and President of the Delegation of the Romanian Parliament to the OSCE.

Boudre, Paul

Senior Managing Director of Silian Partners. Former Chief Executive Officer of Soitec, he held senior positions in semiconductor equipment and manufacturing with KLA, STMicroelectronics, IBM Microelectronics, Motorola Semiconductor and Atmel.

Cabestan, Jean-Pierre

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. He is also Associate Researcher at the Asia Centre, Paris and at the French Centre for Research on Contemporary China in Hong Kong.

Caboche, Thierry

Head of International Public Affairs at Ardian. Former diplomat for the French Foreign Office, he held various Embassy postings across the Middle East and served as the Chief of Staff and Spokesperson of the Ambassador of the French Mission to the United Nations in New York.

Callonico, Guillaume

Geopolitical Risk Manager, Senior Director at La Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec (CDPQ). A political scientist and risk manager specializing in International Relations, Democratization process and geopolitical risk, he also teaches political and geopolitical risk management at the University of Montreal.





Chalmin, Philippe

Founder of Cercle Cyclope, Professor at Paris-Dauphine University, Consultant for various International Organisations (OECD, EEC, UNCTAD). Founder and Chairman of Cyclope, a Europe's leading commodity market research institute, he was a member of the Council of Economic Advisers 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.

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.

Condé, Sékou

Professor and scholar focused on socio-political and socio-cultural analysis of conflict in Africa. Executive Director of ACG - Frontières d'Afrique, he also served as minister of the Republic of Guinea, Mediator of the Republic and Member of Parliament. He founded the American Council on Africa.

Cordero, Jonathan

Head of Corporate Development at Eurasian Resources Group (ERG). A leading advisor in the metals and mining industry, he is also an investor and mentor in the ResourceTech space, and co-founder and partner at Caesar Ventures. He served as a board member at various companies.

Cotte, Basile

A high-ranking French official currently employed at the European Commission, within the DG COMP. He worked for Morgan Stanley in London, for Neoen in Paris, for Euronext, as well as for the DGCCRF (General Directorate for Competition, Consumer Affairs, and the Prevention of Fraud).

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 Generale des Finances' (French Treasury).

Damiani, Ernesto

Director of the Center for Cyber-Physical System at Khalifa University, Abu Dhabi. Full Professor at the Department of Computer Science, Università degli Studi di Milano, he leads the SESAR research lab. He also serves as President of the National Interuniversity Consortium for Computer Science.

David, Dominique

Advisor to the Executive Chairman, 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 then Secretary General of the Fondation pour les études de défense nationale (FEDN).

De Alba, Luis Alfonso

Ambassador of Mexico to the United Arab Emirates. Former Special Envoy of the United Nations Secretary General for the 2019 Climate Change Summit, he was the First President of the Human Rights Council, as well as President of the Council of the International Organization for Migration.

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 International Organisation of La Francophonie, and has become a specialist in democratization, crisis and peace-building processes, especially in Africa.

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, as well as President of the Constitutional Court of Bénin.

Drouin, François

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

Duçka, Dorian

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

Ducrot, Valérie

Executive Director of the Global Gas Centre (GGC). Former Manager of the UNECE (the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe) 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.

Elia, Roula

Lawyer, CEO of Echo for peace/Rased Lebanon, journalist. 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).

Emilsson, Peje

Founder and Executive Chairman of Kreab Worldwide and Kunskaopsskolan Education. A Board member of the Nobel Prize Outreach and a Member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Engineering Sciences (IVA), he was Chief de Cabinet of ICC, the world business organization, and Chairman of the Stockholm Chamber of Commerce.

Eyl-Mazzega, Marc-Antoine

Director of Ifri's Center for Energy & Climate. 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.

Fahmy, Nabil

Dean Emeritus at The American University in Cairo, and Founder of the School of Global Affairs and Public Policy. Former Foreign Minister of Egypt, he also served as Ambassador to the United States and Japan, as well as in numerous government and international positions.

Fain, Jeremy

CEO of Blue Water Intelligence. Driven by a passion for technology-driven impact, he co-founded Verteego in 2007 and served as CEO at Welcom.

Felbermayr, Gabriel

Director of the Austrian Institute of Economic Research (WIFO). Professor at the Vienna University of Economics and Business, he served as President of the Kiel Institute for the World Economy (Institut für Weltwirtschaft - IfW) and as an Associate Consultant with McKinsey & Co, Vienna.

Flahault, Antoine

Director of the Institute of Global Health at the University of Geneva. Deputy Director of the Swiss School of Public Health in Zürich, 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 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.

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.

Gassel, Helmut

Silian Partner, former Management Board member of Infineon. As a Chief Marketing Officer, he led the acquisition and integration of Cypress Semiconductor and contributed to transform Infineon into a global top 10 semiconductor company. He worked in semiconductor research at Fraunhofer Institute.

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.

Gill, Sam

Co-Founder and President of Sylvera. Former corporate lawyer, he worked at Baker McKenzie focusing on Environmental, Social and Governance (ESG) products. He began his legal career as an investment funds Associate at Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld.

Girard, Renaud

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

Gomez Tirado, Willy Alberto

Ambassador of the Republic of Guatemala to the UAE. Concurrent Ambassador to Kingdom of Bahrain, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and State of Kuwait. He previously served as Ambassador of the Republic of Guatemala to the Republic of China (Taiwan).

Gouyette, François

Ambassador. Former Ambassador of France in the UAE, Libya, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia and Algeria, he served as DCM in Syria and Turkey. He has also been Diplomatic Advisor to the Minister of Interior and Ambassador in charge of the EUROMed process in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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 Exim Banca Romaneasca. President of the Management Board of Banca Romaneasca 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.

Hecker, Marc

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

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 several non-profit entities, e.g., Japan Association of Corporate Executives, and the Trilateral Commission.

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.

Huby, Olivier

Co-Founder and Board member of Mutual Funds Exchange. Former Chief Investment Officer of Axa Investment Managers, he began his career at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs on a mission in Eastern Europe, and worked with the Paribas group in Asset Management.

Hurstel, François

Founder and CEO of Concerto. An entrepreneur, specialist in strategic communication and public affairs, he is an expert in Consulting, and with international organizations. He worked for the United Nations and Hopscotch, where he helped set up Hopscotch Africa, as well as GL events.

Inozemtsev, Vladislav

Director of the Center for Post-Industrial Studies in Moscow, Special Advisor to MEMRI's Russia Media Studies Project in Washington, DC. A Russian economist and political scientist, he is the Founder and Director of the Center for Post-Industrial Studies in Moscow, and a teacher at Moscow State University and the Higher School of Economics.

Jacquet, Pierre

Professor of Economic Policy at the Ecole nationale des Ponts et Chaussées (ENPC, France) and member of the French Cercle des Economistes. Former President of the Global Development Network, he was Chief Economist of the French Development Agency, and Deputy Director of Ifri. He is President of the Scientific Council of the FARM Foundation.





Jean, Sébastien

Senior Associate of Ifri, Professor of Economics at Conservatoire national des arts et métiers (Paris), where he holds the chaire Jean-Baptiste Say d'économie industrielle. A member of France's Council of Economic Advisers (Conseil d'analyse économique) and National Productivity Council (CNP), he was Director of CEPIL, after holding positions at INRAE and OECD.

Jones, Handel

Founder and CEO of International Business Strategies (IBS). He interfaces with most global leaders in the electronics industry, with customers around the world. He is the author of four books on China regarding key factors in electronics and semiconductor industries.

Karakullukçu, Memduh

Founding Board member and Founding President of the Global Relations Forum. Former Founding Managing Director of Istanbul Technical University's (ITU) ARI Science Park, his policy work includes technology and economic development, technology and security, global energy dynamics, and global economic and financial governance.

Kastouéva-Jean, Tatiana

Research Fellow and Director of Russia/Eurasia 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. Former Executive Director of the Global Fund to fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, he served as French ambassador on HIV/AIDS and communicable diseases, and UN Secretary-General's Special Envoy on HIV/AIDS in Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

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, Chang-beom

Vice Chairman & CEO of the Federation of Korean Industries. Former Global Advisor for Hyundai Motor Group, he served as Korean Ambassador to Indonesia, and worked in Brussels as Korean Ambassador to the European Union and Belgium.

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.

Koleilat-Khatib, Dania

Co-Founder and President of the Research Center for Cooperation and Peace Building. A member of the Steering Committee and an Advocacy Consultant for the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA) National Agenda for the Future of Syria (NAFS) programme, she also works at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

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 as well as General Secretary of the Association of French Rabbis.

Kostanyan, Vahan

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia. Former Head of the First Deputy Prime Minister's Office of the Republic of Armenia, he held several positions within the Armenian government such as Assistant to the Adviser to the President of the National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia, and Adviser to the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Armenia.

Kotti, Randy

Head of the regional economic service for Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur in France and economic advisor for the Regional Prefect. Former consultant for the World Bank, he also worked for Neoen in Australia, an independent renewable energy developer.

Kowal, Pawel

Professor at the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Former member of the European Parliament, he served as Chairman of the EU delegation to the EU-Ukraine Parliamentary Committee, Secretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and a member of the National Security Council.

Kuleba, Dmytro

Minister for 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.

Laidi, 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.

Lárusson, Kristinn Ingi

Head of business development and commercialization of Carbfix. Former CEO of On-Waves (maritime mobile network communications), he has a vast global business background, including extensive experience in finance and business development.

Lasserre, Isabelle

Diplomatic Correspondent of *Le Figaro*. She has been Defense Correspondent, Correspondent in Russia and War Reporter for the same newspaper. She also works for *Politique Internationale*, the main European review dedicated to foreign affairs in French. Her last book is entitled *Macron – Putin, the dangerous relationship (2023, L'Observatoire)*.

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.

Legrand, Domitille

Engineer from the Corps des mines. Head of the Bourgogne Franche-Comté Regional Economic Service, she is also Economic Representative to the Regional Prefect. She has worked in various organizations, companies and think tanks in Europe, Southeast Asia and New Caledonia, on energy, industrial, resources and digital issues.

Leung, Chun-Ying

Former Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) of China, Hong Kong Basic Law expert, and Vice Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. He served as a member and then the Convenor of the Executive Council of Hong Kong.



Lévy-Lang, André

Founder and President of the Louis Bachelier Institute. Member of the Board of Ifri, he is also affiliate Emeritus Professor in Finance at Paris-Dauphine University, Non-Executive Chairman of Les Échos, and Chairman and Founder of the Fondation du Risque and Institut Louis Bachelier.

Lipsky, John

Senior Fellow of the Foreign Policy Institute, at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). 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 of the Center for Global Development.

Lixi, Claude

Head of Global Market Commodities at Natixis. Former Global Head of the oil derivatives trading and marketing teams at BP, he served as trader in several companies such as Elf Trading, TFS, Morgan Stanley, Trafigura, and Gunvor.

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.

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.

Martin, Terry

Journalist and TV news anchor. Formerly an anchor with CNN International, he is now Senior Anchor with DW News. He is also the Founder and Director of the research communications agency SPIA. He has provided live coverage from G7 summits, UN climate conferences, and multiple national elections.

Mattli, Arthur

Ambassador of Switzerland to the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain. Former Head of Division for Europe, Central Asia, Council of Europe and OSCE at the Directorate of Political Affairs in Bern, he was Head of Mission in Dar es Salaam, where he represented Switzerland at the East African Community and in Zambia.

Mey, Holger

Vice President of Advanced Concepts for Airbus Defence and Space. An 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.

Mirgoli, Max

Executive Vice president of World Wide Strategic Partnerships at IMEC and a member of IMEC Executive Board. Former C.O.O and Managing Director of ICOS Vision Systems (NASDAQ IVIS), he serves as investor and advisor and board member in many successful startups.

Monteiller, Pierre

Head of the risks department at the Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur Regional Environment Directorate. A senior civil servant, he worked for the hedge fund Meridiam, the Guerbet pharmaceutical laboratory and the M13h marketing firm.

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.

Mourre, Marc

Global Co-Head of Commodities Market Natixis. Former Managing Director, Vice Chairman of the Commodities Division at Morgan Stanley, he worked for the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and at Elf Aquitaine (now Total).

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.

Naas, Penelope

Former President of International Public Affairs and Sustainability at UPS. Former Head of Public Affairs in the then-EMEA Region, she led efforts to advance strategies for UPS and its customers. She also worked for Citigroup in the Global Government Affairs team where she opened its first government affairs office in Brussels.

Narayanan, Mayankote Kelath

Former Governor of the State of West Bengal. Former Special Advisor and National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister of India, he has dealt extensively with a whole range of issues concerning internal, national and global security, including aspects such as Counter-Terrorism, Counter-Intelligence and Strategic Analysis.

Nazareth, Annette

Chair of the Integrity Council for the Voluntary Carbon Market (Integrity Council). Senior Counsel at the global law firm Davis Polk & Wardwell, she also served as a Commissioner of the US Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) and as the SEC's Director of the Division of Trading and Markets.

Nicolet, Patrick

CEO of Linebreak. 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.

Niemtchinow, Nicolas

French Ambassador to the United Arab Emirates. He held several functions in the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs such as Deputy Director of Strategic Affairs, Deputy Director of the State Minister's private office, first Secretary at the French Embassy in Moscow, and Deputy Head of Mission at the French Embassy in Amman.

Noland, Marcus

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

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.





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, worked as a Senior Analyst for the CIA, and worked at the US embassies in Singapore and Beijing.

Park, Yong-joo

Executive Vice President of PlantFarm. Former Chief Marketing Officer at Coway and former Vice President of Global Marketing at Samsung Electronics, he also served as the Head of Product Strategy & Innovations at Bowers&Wilkins and the Vice President at General Mills. He also worked at Kellogg's, and Motorola.

Perthes, Volker

Under-Secretary-General. Head of the Iraq Strategic Review Team of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI). He held different functions in the United Nations such as Special Representative of the Secretary General for Sudan and Head of the UNITAMS, and UN Assistant Secretary-General.

Pflüger, Friedbert

Director of European Cluster for Climate, Energy and Resource Security (EUCERS). Founding Partner of Strategic Minds Company GmbH, he is also Chairman of the Internet Economy Foundation (IEF), and 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 Senior Vice President in charge of M&A and Corporate Development for Engie.

Ploquin, Xavier

Investment director and Chief of Staff to the CEO of Meridiam. Former Advisor for Energy, Industry and Innovation in the private office of the French Ministry for the Ecological and Inclusive Transition, he also held various positions in the French Ministry of Economy and Finance.

Poinsot, Christophe

Deputy Director General and Scientific Director of the French Geological Survey BRGM. Former elected president of the association EuroGeoSurveys, he worked in the French Atomic and Alternative Energy Commission (CEA), and was the Nuclear Counsellor at the French Embassy in China (Beijing) and the CEA representative in this country.

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

Professor Emeritus of Middle Eastern History at Tel Aviv University, President Emeritus and Counselor of the Israel Institute (Washington and Tel Aviv), he is also a Distinguished Fellow at the Brookings Institution, and the Vice Chairman of the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) in Tel Aviv. He served as Ambassador of Israel to the United States.

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.

Robert, Virginie

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

Robin, Arnaud

Acceleration Manager within the Interministerial Digital Directorate. He is empowering state startups to increase their impact and scale their operations. He also worked for Google, the French railway group SNCF and Wayfair. He holds an engineering degree from corps des mines and Ecole polytechnique, and a MS from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Rodríguez-Chiffelle, Cristián

Visiting Scholar and Luksic Fellow at Harvard University's David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies in Cambridge, MA, and a Senior Advisor at BCG. Former CEO of InvestChile, he represented the World Economic Forum before the B20, OECD, APEC, UNCTAD and other international organizations.

Roed-Larsen, Terje

Former United Nations Secretary General's, Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process. Former Personal Representative to the Palestinian Authority (PA) and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), he held different positions as adviser, in particular to the Minister for Planning and to the Norwegian Foreign Minister.

Rogers, Paul

Managing Partner of Caber Asset Management. He has run Structured Finance for UBS & Lehman Brothers for Asia and subsequently ran a Private hedge fund group and real estate development companies. He is focused on macro economic and geopolitical analysis as a framework for investing and security.

Röttgen, Norbert

Member of the Deutscher Bundestag and member of the Foreign affairs committee. Former Federal Minister for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety, he is the Co-Chair of the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR) and Board Member of various institutions.

Rudd, Kevin

Australia's Ambassador to the United States. Former President and CEO of Asia Society, he also served as Australia's Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. In 2022, he founded the Asia Society Policy Institute's Center for China Analysis.

Sakamoto, Haruka

Primary care physician and senior fellow at the Tokyo Foundation for Policy Research. Associate professor at the Tokyo Women's Medical University, and senior manager at the Health and Global Policy Institute (HGPI), she participated in WHO meetings, G7 meetings, and bilateral cooperation activities through JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency).

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.

Schmid, Dorothee

Head of the Turkey / Middle East program at the French Institute of International Relations (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.

Schönfelder, Alexander

Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the UAE since 2022.

Senik, Dmytro

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the United Arab Emirates. Former Deputy Foreign Minister, Chief Digital Transformation Officer, he held several positions within the Ukrainian government such as Chief of Staff to the Foreign Minister, as well as principal assistant to the Deputy Foreign Minister.

Severino, Michel

CEO of Investisseurs et Partenaires (I&P), 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 served as Vice President of the World Bank for Asia, and CEO of France's International Development Agency (AFD).

Sigal, Robert

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

Tobby, Simon

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), and as adviser to several international organizations such as the WHO.

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).

Suzuki, Kazuto

Professor at the Graduate School of Public Policy at the University of Tokyo, Japan, and Director of the Institute of Geoeconomics at International House of Japan. Senior Fellow of Asia Pacific Initiative, he is President of Japan Association of International Security and Trade.

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

Chairman, independent Energy Policy Institute, a New Delhi think tank. 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.

Terraz, Nicolas

President Exploration and Production and member of the Executive Committee of TotalEnergies. Member of the management committee of the Exploration & Production segment of TotalEnergies, he also served as Managing Director of Total E&P France, Vice President New Ventures for Exploration and Production, as well as Managing Director of Total Upstream Companies in Nigeria.

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).

Torreele, Els

Visiting Policy Fellow at the UCL Institute for Innovation & Public Purpose in London. A Rockefeller Bellagio Centre resident, she is also an Honorary Science Fellow at the VUB, a member of the WHO Technical Advisory Group on Vaccine Market Information for Access, as well as an independent researcher and consultant.

Touazi, François-Aïssa

Senior Managing Partner at Ardian and Global Head of International Affairs. Vice President of the French GCC Business councils at MEDEF International, he also serves as Head of the Sovereign Wealth Funds Council. He had served in the French Foreign Office as MENA advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Touré, Aminata

Former Prime Minister of Senegal. Senegalese politician and Human Rights activist, 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.

Tricaud, Martin

Group Head of Investment Banking at First Abu Dhabi Bank (FAB), member of the Executive Committee. Former Group General Manager at HSBC, he held several senior positions within the group, including Deputy Chairman and CEO for the Middle East, North Africa and Turkey. He is a Conseiller du Commerce extérieur de la France.

Trichet, Jean-Claude

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

Trochu, Emmanuelle

Global Head of Official Institutions at Crédit Agricole Corporate and Investment Bank. She has held several positions in the market Department of Ca-cib such as Head of the sales team covering Financial Institutions in France and Belgium. She also created and headed the Central banks Sales team.

Truesdale, Jay

CEO of Veracity Worldwide. A strategic advisor to corporate leaders and investors on geopolitical risk and market intelligence, he worked at McKinsey & Company and, as a US diplomat, he served as Special Assistant to two Deputy Secretaries of State and Chief of Staff at the US Embassy in Pakistan in particular.

Tsakhigiin, Elbegdorj

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.





Vassilenko, Roman

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

Vaswani, Kamal R.

Ambassador of the Republic of Singapore to the United Arab Emirates. Former Deputy Permanent Representative at Singapore's Permanent Mission to ASEAN, he served as First Secretary at the Singapore High Commission in Kuala Lumpur, and as an Assistant Director in the Policy, Planning & Analysis Directorate I.

Villain, Jean-Paul

Director of the Strategy and Planning Department of Abu Dhabi Investment Authority. A member of the Investment Committee of the Abu Dhabi Benefits and Retirement Fund, he was a Director of the Abu Dhabi Commercial Bank (ADCB) and a Governor of the British Community School in Abu Dhabi (BSAK).

Weymuller, Bruno

Member of Total Professeurs Associés, and of the French Energy Council. Former Executive Vice President at Total 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.

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 seats 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

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

Zaghouani, Douraid

Executive Vice President, Chief Operating Officer at Investment Corporation of Dubai – ICD. Former Corporate Officer and President, Channel Partner Operations for Xerox, he is a member of several boards, including IHI - International Hotel Investments, Dangote Cement, Dubai Global Connect and SmartStream.

Zinsou, Lionel

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

Zrikem, Younes

Partner and Director at the Boston Consulting Group. Former Partner at Roland Berger, he also worked for Azura, a leading agriculture Moroccan company, and served as an adviser to the Moroccan Prime Minister and as Project Director at Sciences Po Paris.

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.







Noura Al Kaabi

Minister of State of the United Arab Emirates

Good morning, everyone. Your excellencies, distinguished guests, and speakers, ladies and gentlemen: it is an honour to address you once again, and to welcome you to the United Arab Emirates. We are thrilled to open our doors for the 16th edition of the World Policy Conference in Abu Dhabi for the third time. This conference has been a cornerstone of our annual calendar for the past three years, as it continues to foster and drive forward insightful dialogue and discussion on a wide variety of issues, challenges and opportunities, all led by foremost thinkers, leaders, and dear colleagues.

Your considerable expertise, forged across years of dedicated service in every field imaginable, will assist in creating the kind of open, honest, and meaningful discussions and spirited debates we have come to expect and enjoy from the World Policy Conference. We must never pass up an opportunity to learn from one another. As we strive to do so every year, the organisers have gathered together an impressive group of attendees and speakers, so that we might better-understand the most pressing issues of today and tomorrow. It is important that we discuss these topics, because as challenging as 2022 proved to be, 2023 has proven even more so.

Before we start, we must acknowledge the devastating events happening in our region. Since the war in Gaza broke out, we express our deepest condolences for the loss of civilian lives, and our thoughts go to those who have lost loved-ones as a result of this conflict. Tragically, the loss of civilian lives in Gaza continues to this day. The ongoing damage being perpetrated upon the people has created a humanitarian catastrophe that is unfolding before our very eyes in real-time.

We are working relentlessly to reach an immediate and full humanitarian ceasefire, so that life-saving aid can be delivered to the Gaza strip. Every effort must be made to protect civilians and to immediately put an end to this conflict, which we are witnessing as the result of a decades-long failure to make progress towards a political horizon that ends the occupation and brings peace to both Palestinians and Israelis alike. As we continue working to stop this war, we cannot ignore the wider context and the necessity of turning down the regional temperature that is approaching a boiling-point. The risk of regional spillover and further escalation is real, as is the risk that extremist groups will take advantage of the situation to advance ideologies that will keep us locked in cycles of violence.

Therefore, as our region is facing a critical test today, we must also consider the wider problem of extremism and terrorism within and across societies. Extremism brings no peace to the world. It is a scourge that is not home to any particular religion or country. We must use all the tools available and the wisdom accrued through often painful lessons to solve this shared challenge. Ladies and gentlemen, recent events in the Middle-East, including the situation in Gaza, other ongoing conflicts, and simmering socio-economic cleavages across the region and the wider world necessitate strong diplomacy and cooperation among us. This is also the case with the war in Ukraine, which continues to be embattled, causing further polarisation on the geopolitical front and affecting the global economy and food-security.

We have largely recovered from the Covid-19 pandemic, but there is much concern, as there should be, on what we will do when the next pandemic occurs. Artificial intelligence has entered the mainstream and impacts our daily lives, while climate-change makes itself felt more each year. As all that is going on in the world continues to undergo systematic change as new players emerge, the old order comes under strain and calls for a more inclusive world-order to find more space for discussion.

We have our work cut out for us. Despite all of this, there are clear opportunities for all countries and actors to seize, if they possess the political will and courage. And so, we embark on this path. I want to assure you that the United Arab Emirates will remain a true partner and a bridge-builder. We are committed to upholding aspirations of peace and prosperity for all in a real and practical way, because in the modern world, crises have far-reaching implications for all of us.

This also applies to the greatest long-term threat to humanity: climate-change. Though climate-change is often discussed, it is time that we take stock of our progress and make sure we are heading where we need to go. The UAE is proud to host COP28 this year in only a few weeks, which underscores the seriousness with which we will treat this issue.

We have striven to be a leader in our efforts, but our effort is not solitary. COP28 is fundamentally a collective effort, and our aims for this conference must cover multiple lines of action, because addressing climate-change requires further ambitions each year while solutions are still possible. We must make progress towards an inclusive and result-oriented COP that keeps the 1.5C target within reach and significantly scales up investment and the coping capacity of vulnerable communities. The struggle to address climate-change offers opportunities to alleviate crises such as food, water, and security, as well as global health challenges. In recent years, we have learned just how vulnerable supply-chain systems are, particularly in areas frequented by climate-disasters.

Addressing food, water and security is of paramount importance, and in many ways, the base for which to build on. In recognition of the significant impact climate-change has on global health issues, this year, COP28 will host the first ever health-day and climate-health ministerial which will introduce official high-level health initiatives, emphasising the establishment of robust and inclusive healthcare systems that can withstand the challenges being faced.

Fortunately, we are more equipped than ever to meet these challenges and seize these opportunities, both technologically and institutionally. The rapid spread of AI has only just begun to be understood, and AI is only growing more capable. Yet, technology can only be developed and realised by an educated workforce. The UAE is naturally focused on building a knowledge-based economy that creates a diverse and inclusive workforce, with special attention on investing in youth and women, who we believe will be crucial towards creating the necessary solutions.

Additionally, at the institutional level, we have further developed both new and existing institutions in order to assist us. In the UAE, we also believe very strongly in the importance and role of international organisations, as they reflect our deeply-held belief in the virtue and necessity of cooperation based on shared-values to advance cooperation and build up regional and international integration. Regional organisations, new and old, serve an important purpose in helping tackle our pressing issues. Organisations like the African Union and the League of Arab States play a crucial role in their understanding of their respective contexts, the problems they face, and the best solutions for tomorrow. Furthermore, they serve a complimentary role to additional international institutions that still fulfil a vital role in cooperation.

Despite the changing global order, the UN remains the key institution for international cooperation. At this difficult geopolitical time in our history, polarisation is growing within the UN security council, making consensus harder and harder to reach. We have witnessed this first-hand during our tenure at the security council these past two years as we have worked to overcome this issue, to reform and renew as needed for the UN. Still, there remains no viable alternative to the UN for achieving cooperation through our shared values. It is these values, ultimately, that define our shared humanity. They are the reasons we recognise the need to combat climate-change and to resist falling prey to baser instincts. Tolerance and co-existence are our greatest legacy. Helping each other is in our very nature. It is with keeping these ideas in mind that we inaugurate this year's World Policy Conference. We do hope that this year, we can spark the types of discussions and generate the ideas that will stick with all of the attendees and speakers, and that they take what they learned with them into their lives and work, and from there, towards meaningful change.

My sincere best wishes to you all towards a very successful and fruitful conference. Thank you, and God bless you all.



Thierry de Montbrial

Founder and Executive Chairman of Ifri and the WPC

By the time I started thinking, around 2005-2006, about creating what would become the World Policy Conference, the utopia of liberal globalization, which had emerged concomitantly with the fall of the Soviet Union, had already lost some of its luster. I succinctly summed up this pipedream as a sort of abstract chemical reaction called Fukuyama's formula, named after the American political scientist who trumpeted "the end of history": democracy + market economy < - > peace + prosperity.

Intellectually, the equation falls flat on two counts. First, none of its four terms is completely and unambiguously definable. Second, even assuming that such definitions did exist, they would tell us nothing about the historical processes likely to pave the way for democracy and the market economy on the one hand, and peace and prosperity on the other, when the starting point is far from an ideal objective situation. There is no such thing as spontaneous generation, in life, in this or any other realm.

The first major reality check came on September 11, 2001, whose ramifications instantly rumbled across the entire planet. Since that shocking day, we have known that small, fanaticized groups bent on twisting religious beliefs to suit their ideology and use of terrorism are all it takes to stoke hatred and, ultimately, instability worldwide.

The end-of-history ideology would have held up only if major territorial, economic or other conflicts had been settled first. But then, assuming that such a situation could even be imagined, Fukuyama's formula would amount to a simple tautology. For example, the harmonious pairing of democracy and the market economy would necessarily imply a social contract capable of addressing the sense that wealth and power are unjustly distributed—a tall order about which great intellectuals such as the Indian economist Amartya Sen have extensively written.

Since its inception, the World Policy Conference project has been based on an objective and non-normative view of the world. Today's globalization has no historical precedent because it is driven by a torrent of technology, coming from the United States, that has been steadily growing for at least sixty years. The instantaneous transmission of information in ever-increasing quantities is the hallmark of this wave. Depending on one's point of view, it is the best or worst of worlds. It can promote progress towards the common good, or it can fan the flames of hatred. But while progress inches forward step by step, hatred spreads with the speed of an epidemic. It eventually dies out, but only after the fires that sustained it have been extinguished, sometimes long afterwards.

Three simple ideas have underpinned the WPC project from the outset. The first is that the objective foundations of globalization are irreversible. This means that all of us must adapt to it the best we can. Not by tearing down borders in the literal sense of the term, which would be the quickest way to bring about the shock of civilizations that kept Samuel Huntington up at night, but by fostering cautiously openness to others so that everyone can benefit from the diversity of an international society that is heterogeneous by nature. In reaction to the consequences of too much openness, we risk closing ourselves off from other to such an extent that the world might again be divided into blocs. What I am expressing is the concept of a reasonably open world.

The second idea is that of governance, a term that is often used but seldom precisely defined. This is a matter neither of world government, still inconceivable for the foreseeable future, nor of international law, as though States could delegate the regulation of the international system to judges, in other words, potentially, to artificial intelligence. For a long time to come, such regulation can only result from groups of States and institutions working together coherently to ensure the system's structural stability. The objective is to stay close to a balance that is continually shifting under the action of multiple social, economic, political or other forces, since the figure of change is indissolubly linked to that of time. The balance I am talking about is not just one of power. The need for structural stability implies searching together for a balance between each stakeholder's fundamental interests, which means each taking the other's points of view into account, as unseemly as some of their aspects may seem. In this respect, I am Kissingerian.

Good governance means not allowing imbalances to grow so severe that conflicts could not be resolved by peaceful means. Without claiming to assign responsibility, it is clear in my mind

that the fall of the Soviet Union upended the security situation in Europe, and that the main stakeholders have never addressed the issue as such. Likewise, as events in recent weeks have painfully recalled, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been simmering on the back burner for years but was always about to boil over. The first condition for progress in the idea of governance is for the States and institutions concerned to clearly share the objective. If they do not, opening up the international system increases geopolitical and geostrategic risks rather than reducing them.

The third idea driving the WPC is that of the medium-size power. When I founded this conference, I made it clear that the event would not be "Western" in spirit in the sense of the alliances that were sealed around the United States after the Second World War, or even from the point of view of cultures or civilizations. On the contrary, I see no contradiction between being attached to one's own culture or civilization and the respect that is due to those of others. Bearing this in mind, it troubles me when I hear the president of the United States say that his country is the natural leader of the "democracies" against the "autocracies", because he does not define what a "real" democracy or autocracy is. As this ambiguity clearly does not apply to China in his eyes, such a stance means it is hardly possible to make any significant headway in areas of common interest, like the fight against climate change or pandemics. The WPC rejects simplistic political classifications, and its point of view is not aligned with that of the great powers, whatever they may be. It gives voice to the "middle powers", i.e. States that, without necessarily being endowed with large resources, are nevertheless determined to devote some of them to making a positive contribution to global governance.

The first great global shock of the twentieth century came on September 11, 2001. The consequences of this event, and of the American policies that ensued, especially in Afghanistan, are still reverberating across the globe. But that was just the first in a series of major events which, together, revealed how fragile the international system remains today. The first WPC took place in Evian on October 6-8, 2008, at the same time as a critical moment in the subprime crisis, when Lehman Brothers failed and the specter of the 1929 crash and the Great Depression loomed over the horizon. Those attending Evian included Jean-Claude Trichet, then president of the European Central Bank, who, with his central bank counterparts, played the key role in averting a crash. Since then, the international monetary system has withstood several tests, including the tremendous structural shock caused by the West's response to the Ukrainian war. This event largely, but not only, fueled the return of inflation and of policies the likes of which had not been seen in thirty years, and whose effects are partially unforeseeable. The second major jolt was the poorly named "Arab Spring" of 2011, which set the Middle East ablaze, not to mention Libya, whose breakdown contributed to the destabilization of the Sahel. One consequence of this overarching fiasco has been uncontrolled migration to Europe. I imagine that here, too, historians will pass harsh judgement on how these crises were managed, or rather not managed at all.

Closer to us, the Covid 19 pandemic shook societies and economies worldwide, and should have served as a warning to strengthen global health governance, notably through the World Health Organization. Unfortunately, as we shall see during this WPC, the overall deterioration of the international system is holding back the necessary reforms, so that we could find ourselves at any time in a situation comparable to that of 2019-2020, or even worse.

No sooner had the pandemic "ended" when Russia's invasion of Ukraine opened up a new chapter in the history of Europe and in the West's relations with the rest of the world. This period is all the more fraught with uncertainty given that the war is likely to drag on or freeze over in a Korean-style scenario with immense global consequences.

The unprecedentedly barbaric attack on Israel by Hamas on October 7 added an extra layer of uncertainty on a scale that would have been almost unthinkable until now. The slaughter took Israel and its allies completely by surprise and shows once again that technology must never be relied upon entirely to ensure security. Lastly, an additional category of uncertainties intrinsically linked to technological progress, such as artificial intelligence, will have repercussions that are largely unpredictable, even in the medium term.

That, in a nutshell, is where we stand. There are very few places where personalities from the five continents, in search of effective governance that will benefit international society as a whole, can express themselves in confidence. The way forward must be inspired by deeper collective reflection on the idea of justice because, I repeat, a sense of injustice is the main fuel for hatred. A minimum of justice, even more than material prosperity, is necessary for peace. May all of us, organizers and participants, remain faithful to the spirit of the WPC and never forget that, however modest our contribution to peace, it is expected and therefore useful, not to say necessary.

Message of Emmanuel Macron

President of the French Republic

Ladies and gentlemen,

It is my pleasure to address the decision-makers, researchers and opinion-makers who have come to the *World Policy Conference* from around the globe.

This new edition is proof that, despite the crises we face, the international community continues to think and act together.

I would really like to thank the organizers of this conference, especially its founder and chairman: Thierry de Montbrial.

My message for the opening of this conference is very simple: we are living in a period of proliferating crises. War has come back to roost in Europe and the Middle East. Terrorism threatens the Sahel more than ever. The Covid-19 pandemic has dealt a globalization major setback. And yet we have no choice but to cooperate.

Let us be clear: cooperation is not so much a moral imperative as an existential one. For who today can still say that climate change is not a threat to our collective security? In the age of generative artificial intelligence, who can still say that the emergence and spread of new technologies across borders is not everyone's business? Lastly, who can still believe that the extreme poverty and inequality growing around the world are not sowing the seeds of tomorrow's conflicts?

For all these reasons, the polarization of the world is not an option. But let us be clear: Immobility plays into the hands of those who want to see a divided world.

We must invent a new form of global governance. And you have a role to play, because the world needs new ideas. International institutions need to be rethought. The United Nations Security Council is powerless because it has not given a voice to those who could bring their weight to bear in safeguarding collective security.

The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have not given emerging economies their rightful place. The relative weight of these institutions in the global economy is consequently declining and we are squandering our capacity for collective action.

A two-tier system is arising at a time when we urgently need a new partnership between developed and emerging countries and massive funding for the energy transition.

On climate, we need to rethink our methodology. COP 28, which will be the first global review of the Paris Agreement, gives us the opportunity to do just that. Firstly, we can no longer think that official development assistance is the only budget for climate action in developing countries. More countries, starting with the major fossil fuel producers, must contribute to financing the transition.

The private sector needs to step in, for it is not billions that we need, but trillions.

Secondly, we need much clearer pathways for moving away from fossil fuels. I said it in New Delhi and I will say it again in Dubai: there is no credible scenario in which the Paris agreement is compatible with the development of fossil fuels, starting with coal.

Lastly, we need to invent new software for the global economy. We hear a lot about de-risking nowadays. Here again, however, we must be careful about choosing the right method. De-risking our economies does not mean a return to protectionism.

De-risking involves three things: firstly, the multiplication of partners rather than widespread reshoring, whose cost would be exorbitant. Secondly, a fairer sharing of added value, because, if we want to have more reliable partners, technology, jobs and wealth must be more equally distributed across the planet. Lastly, de-risking means pricing carbon, for an economy that continues underpricing the biggest polluters is one that puts its own foundations at risk.

On all of these issues, we must boldly invent the solutions we need and rethink global governance with the same determination our forerunners had after the Second World War.

Lastly, put the imperative of solidarity at the heart of your reflections, without which there can be no truly effective global governance. This is the purpose of the Paris Pact for People and Planet, launched last June by over forty Heads of State and government. The pact is based on a clear yet demanding principle. No one should have to choose between fighting poverty and protecting the planet.

Many of you will be attending the Paris Peace Forum, which France will be hosting again this year on November 10 and 11, and COP 28 in Dubai. In the meantime, I wish you a productive conference.



France – La Tribune – 11/05/2023

La diplomatie des Émirats arabes unis, qui accueillent jusqu'à ce soir la 16^e édition de la World Policy Conference organisée par l'Institut français de relations internationales (Ifri), est des plus nuancées. Tout de noir vêtue, sous un voile discret, la ministre d'État aux Affaires étrangères ne pouvait faire autrement, vendredi matin, que d'inaugurer ce rendez-vous prestigieux de la géopolitique mondiale en évoquant Gaza.

France – Les Echos – 11/03/2023

Interrogé lors de la World Policy Conference, organisée par l'Institut français de relations internationales (Ifri) à Abou Dabi, aux Emirats arabes unis, Dmytro Kubela, le ministre des Affaires étrangères ukrainien, a expliqué en visioconférence les « énormes difficultés » que représente la mise en place du scrutin. Il faudrait notamment changer la législation, la loi martiale, en cours depuis l'invasion russe, interdisant toute élection.

France – Le Figaro – 11/07/2023

À la tribune de la World Policy Conference (WPC) organisée du 3 au 5 novembre par l'Ifri à Abou Dabi, Anwar Gargash, le conseiller diplomatique du président, ne parle jamais de la réponse israélienne « disproportionnée » sans évoquer dans la même phrase les attaques du 7 octobre - condamnées par les Emirats - et les otages israéliens.

Canada – CBC – 11/03/2023

Kuleba made his comment during an online appearance at the World Policy Conference in the United Arab Emirates when asked whether Ukraine would hold a presidential election in spring. He pointed to problems of security risks and how to ensure votes for hundreds of thousands of soldiers, millions of Ukrainians abroad and those living under Russian occupation.

United States – Newsweek – 11/09/2023

A few days ahead of Zelensky's announcement on Monday, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba said the Ukrainian president was weighing the pros and cons of a presidential vote in spring 2024. "We are not closing this page. The president of Ukraine is considering and weighing the different pros and cons," he said during an online appearance at the World Policy Conference in the United Arab Emirates on November 3.

Armenia – Public Radio of Armenia – 11/04/2023

On November 3, Deputy Foreign Minister Vahan Kostanyan participated in the World Policy Conference in Abu Dhabi, which is traditionally organized by the French Institute of International Relations. During the panel discussion dedicated to the Eurasian region, the Deputy Minister presented the priorities of Armenia's foreign policy [..].

Switzerland – Le Temps – 11/07/2023

Il était donc intéressant d'entendre, le week-end dernier, l'ancien ministre égyptien Nabil Fahmy défendre ladite solution à deux Etats. Il s'exprimait à Abu Dhabi, lors de la World Policy Conference de cette année, tenue sous la présidence de Thierry de Montbrial.

Czech Republic – RadioFreeEurope – 11/14/2023

This kind of framing is less popular inside the region — Kazakh Deputy Foreign Minister Roman Vassilenko optimistically suggested "Great Gain for all" as an alternative during an appearance at the World Policy Conference in Abu Dhabi on November 5.

Italia – sky tg24 – 11/03/2023

Il presidente ucraino Volodymyr Zelensky sta "soppesando i pro e i contro" dell'organizzazione delle elezioni presidenziali nel 2024, nonostante la guerra e le numerose "sfide pratiche". Lo ha annunciato oggi il suo ministro degli Esteri Dmytro Kouleba, intervenuto in videoconferenza alla World Policy Conference, organizzata negli Emirati Arabi Uniti.

Ukraine – The Kyiv Independent – 11/03/2023

President Volodymyr Zelensky is considering holding elections as scheduled in the spring of 2024, Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba said during a briefing on Nov. 3. "We are not closing this page. The president of Ukraine is considering and weighing the different pros and cons," Kuleba said during an online appearance at the World Policy Conference.

Poland – Mundurowe Wiadomosci – 11/14/2023

Ukraina miała zaplanowane przeprowadzenie wyborów parlamentarnych w październiku i wyborów prezydenckich w marcu 2024 roku. Kuleba wypowiedział się podczas swojego wystąpienia online na World Policy Conference w Zjednoczonych Emiratach Arabskich, kiedy został zapytany, czy Ukraina przeprowadzi wybory prezydenckie na wiosnę.

Russia – News.ru – 11/04/2023

Атака армии Израиля по сектору Газа является непропорциональным ответом на массированную атаку палестинского движения ХАМАС на еврейское государство, заявил советник президента Объединенных Арабских Эмиратов Анвар Гаргаш во время политической конференции World Policy Conference в Абу-Дабби, трансляция которой велась на YouTube.

South Korea – Maekyung – 11/13/2023

지난 3~5일 아랍에미리트(UAE) 아부다비에서는 프랑스 싱크탱크, 랑스국제관계연구소(IFRI)가 주최한 제16회 세계정책컨퍼런스(WPC)가 열렸습니다. 다수의 저명한 교수, 기업가, 정치인들 사이 단연 호소력 있는 스피치로 청중들의 마음을 사로잡은 연사가 있었는데요. 바로 UAE의 기후변화 및 환경부 장관 마리얌 알 메이리입니다.



United Kingdom – Reuters – 11/04/2023

President Volodymyr Zelensky is considering holding elections as scheduled in the spring of 2024, Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba said during a briefing on Nov. 3. "We are not closing this page. The president of Ukraine is considering and weighing the different pros and cons," Kuleba said during an online appearance at the World Policy Conference.

Greece – Orthodox Times – 11/08/2023

The Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew referred to the importance of the role of religions in the modern world on Sunday, November 5, 2023, in his official speech at the World Policy Conference, held in Abu Dhabi.

Qatar – Al Jaazera – 12/09/2023

Even members of Zelensky's own government have signalled an openness to the prospect of holding a vote. "We are not closing this page," foreign minister Dmytro Kuleba told the annual World Policy Conference last month. "The president of Ukraine is considering and weighing the different pros and cons."

Saudi Arabia – Arab News – 11/03/2023

Speaking at the World Policy Conference in Abu Dhabi, Noura Al-Kaabi, the UAE minister of state at the ministry of foreign affairs, said it was important to look at the war within the broader context of the rising geopolitical challenges and the underlying issue of terrorism.

Japan – Excite.news – 11/14/2023

アブダビの会議では主に中東や、フランスが主催する会議ですのでヨーロッパ、またアフリカからも大勢の政治家、識者が来ました。当然ですが、いまの中東情勢が話題になりました。

Japan – Nikkei Asia – 11/25/2023

At an annual meeting of the World Policy Conference held in Abu Dhabi in the United Arab Emirates from Nov. 3 to Nov. 5, Anwar Gargash, a presidential adviser in the UAE deeply involved in the country's diplomacy, referred to Palestinian issues as "demons." Gargash said, "The future is important, but at the same time dealing with the demons of the region [and] the demons of the past ... is extremely important."

Taiwan – Central News Agency – 11/05/2023

儘管在加薩的這場戰爭為該地區帶來衝擊，阿聯總統顧問加爾加希（Anwar Gargash）在阿布達比（Abu Dhabi）舉行的世界政策會議（World Policy Conference）表示：「國家行為者基本上試圖利用經濟作為緩和緊張局勢的方式。我認為我們沒有理由放棄這種行動方針。」

Kazakhstan – The Astana Times – 11/07/2023

At the 16th World Policy Conference held from Nov. 3-5 in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, Kazakh Deputy Foreign Minister Roman Vassilenko outlined Kazakhstan's approach to addressing regional and global challenges, reported the Kazakh Foreign Ministry's press service.

Pakistan – Pakistan Today – 11/04/2023

According to UAE presidential adviser Anwar Gargash, countries should maintain that strategy even though the conflict is sending shockwaves through the region. "National actors are basically trying to use economics as a way to de-escalate tension," Gargash told the World Policy Conference in Abu Dhabi. "I think there is no reason why we should also veer away from that course of action."

India – BizzBuzz – 11/13/2023

The prestigious 16th Edition of the World Policy Conference 2023, of thought leaders and policy shapers from across five continents was held at Abu Dhabi. The Conference deliberated on varied topics of global significance ranging from World Economy, AI and Global Health to Food Security, Ukraine War, and Crises in the Middle East.

United Arab Emirates – The National – 11/12/2023

Three years ago, Dr Anwar Gargash, diplomatic adviser to the UAE President, first mentioned the policy of "de-escalation" in the virtual political circles of the fourth Beirut Institute Summit in Abu Dhabi. Last week, while speaking at the World Policy Conference on Saadiyat Island, he pointed out that the October 7 attack proved that the policy of "containment" had failed.

Guinea – Mediaguinee – 11/03/2023

Selon les informations recueillies lors de cette rencontre qui se tient aux Emirats Arabes Unis du 3 au 5 novembre, les réunions de la WPC rassemblent des personnalités de haut niveau, originaires des cinq continents – dirigeants politiques et économiques, chercheurs et journalistes. Ainsi, la WPC rassemble des décideurs, universitaires et leaders d'opinion de haut niveau, sélectionnés principalement en fonction de leur expertise et de leur exposition internationale.

Lebanon – An Nahar – 11/07/2023

الذي استضافته مدينة #أبو "World Policy Conference" على أهمية الملفات الساخنة التي طرحها مؤتمر السياسات العالمية طي

على مدى ثلاثة أيام، تحت عنوان "النظام العالمي بين العولمة والتفكك، أي قوى ستفوز"، فإن الحرب الدائرة في غزة واستمرار تفاقمها يوماً بعد يوم وسط العجز أو الفشل الدولي في وضع حدٍّ لها، حتى على المستوى الإنساني، ما يهدد بتوسعها، شكل مادة حوارية مهمة في

هدحتم تاراما سيئر رواشم شافرق رونا ،كينتوپسا شراز ك هب حك تما دتقلا ع ناريا حك درك ملعا

سياس كشوم زافا و ليئارسا كاخ هب هر ع راون زا سامح World Conference يظوبا رد

تايمانن هيش هتاعلمس ذوقن زا س . دنك يمن هداقتسا طيارش يراس تايب يب يارب ليئارسا و نيتسلف ياه

رد نارعت تنشاد تسد دروم رد اه اعدا صوصخ رد يري ك عضوم رد يوم ام " :درك دينكات ليئارسا هب

سامح يطارفا نيتسلف شين ج هلمح هقطنم ييافوكش زا يشخب حك تما دتقلا ع رما ني ا هب ناريا حك ميناد

**Ilona Antoniszyn**

Do we need to move faster on climate change? If you want to walk fast you walk alone, if you want to go far you walk with people. I think working as a group will take us much further. We have to make a huge change so I expect collaborations to take us further and offer us better solutions. There is no single market right now in Europe as Asia and the US are driving change so we have to be global in the automobile business.

**Kerry Halferty Hardy**

You have to understand risks, how they interplay, even things like geopolitical management of the pandemics and its impact on supply chains. Certainly, it plays a huge role and it is incredibly important to be *au courant* of the geopolitics and all the things at play when making business decisions. Even when deciding how to allocate your energy and your resources.

**Haruka Sakamoto**

The human-to-animal contact has been increasing and so has the risk of new virus happening among animals and humans. In order to prevent future pandemics, we need to not only focus on the human virus but also the animal ones as well as on the linkage between them. This is the one health approach where we focus on the animal and agriculture sectors globally.

**Hiroyuki Akita**

Japan started to perceive climate change, not only as an environmental issue but as a security or even an existential issue. Due to climate change, Japan is suffering from a more unstable weather, floods, massive rain, or very heated summers. That is causing many problems, so climate change is an existential security issue that we have to tackle.

**Ameena Al Sumaiti**

We have a Minister of Artificial Intelligence. AI is priority, it is believed that AI will be driving the economic growth. If we think about the economic growth, the other factor that will contribute to it is also research so the AI application research and the move towards development is going to significantly contribute to economic development of the country.

**Philippe Chalmin**

We are able to adapt, which is why I am not too worried about all these small metals, which are all more or less interchangeable with each other. In my view, the situation with copper is more concerning. Energy-wise, there will probably still be oil and gas at the end of this century, and people will have been wise enough to stop using them.

**Danier Andler**

The idea of an intergovernmental panel on AI like the IPCC, i.e., a body made up of scientists and researchers rather than lawmakers and legal experts, seems like a relatively good one. Of course, it would have a different position, because the climate and artificial intelligence are two different things, but the idea strikes me as a good one.

**Pierre Monteiller**

Which topic stood out most for me at this year's WPC? The environment took centre stage in most of the sessions, both when they totally focused on the issue, such as the session on the voluntary carbon market, and when they were on other themes, such as AI. The issue of technological innovation to serve the ecological transition was at the top of the agenda.

**Michel Foucher**

The lack of a solution in the Middle East for far too long is not just an American or European responsibility; regional players need to take a much greater interest in this issue. Without criticizing them, I note that several states, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, the UAE, have established diplomatic relations with Israel for good reasons, without what we in Europe call the conditionality of the Palestinian issue, i.e., without putting a solution at the centre of the debate.

**Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean**

Rising tensions and war zones are putting strain on the international community. International institutions need to be reformed, especially the United Nations, which is showing signs of decline in its ability to provide solutions to all these conflicts. What all these wars have in common is that the UN is not playing the role we had hoped it would.

**Marc Hecker**

I think the most important thing to keep in mind is the determination to prevent regional escalation, which is very clear in the UAE's position. Iran is not far away and they want to avoid a regional conflagration. Then there is the desire to save human lives, the lives of civilians. What is interesting is that we feel that the Palestinians are being genuinely taken into account.

**Thierry Caboche**

Ten years ago, perhaps, geopolitical risk was not really a major factor for companies, but today it is everywhere. For a group like ours, this has also meant equipping ourselves, organising ourselves to have enhanced expertise, a better ability to anticipate geopolitical risks and international tensions, and how to adapt to this rather difficult environment.

**Estelle Youssouffa**

I represent an overseas territory in the Mozambique Channel. While France may be far away, it is at the heart of some very troubled regions. France is also under attack and being challenged in these areas, whether in New Caledonia or in the Pacific by China. In the Mozambique Channel, Comoros, backed by China and Russia, is challenging French sovereignty in Mayotte. Obviously, for the overseas territories, understanding international current affairs is very important.

**Domitille Legrand**

Climate change will reshuffle the cards of globalisation. Can't we ask ourselves about reducing some activities and rethinking our consumption patterns and uses? We talked about climate change, COP 28, and carbon capture. Even so, I think we need to take the extra step and ask ourselves what kind of society we want to see in the future.

**Bertrand Badré**

We are no longer interested in cooperation but in a show of strength. Like many others, when Barack Obama and Xi Jinping shook hands between the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals in New York in September and the Paris agreements in December, I made the mistake of believing that the Berlin Wall was coming down for a second time and that the two great powers were going to move forward together in the right direction. At the time, I was working for the World Bank and told myself that this was extraordinary, that we were experiencing a new, happy globalization.

**Isabelle Lasserre**

For many years, countries like China and Russia have been investing in agencies specialising in cyber-attacks and in troll farms that spread fake information on the Internet. The agencies are part of their armed forces, whereas in the West, or rather in Europe, since the United States is different, they have always been limited to cyber defence.

**Aminata Touré**

What we expect from Europe is a fairer, more balanced relationship. It is going to happen, whether Europe likes it or not, because new generations of leaders, often born after independence, like me, have no inferiority complexes whatsoever towards anyone. Europe, China, Russia or whoever. I think pan-Africanism will become increasingly important. Africa is aware of its strength.

**Sébastien Jean**

The situation we are in today is characterised by rising tensions, including between the major powers, and, at the same time, and a high level of economic and financial interdependence. It is a very tense situation in which it is hard to coordinate and find anything but an instrumentalization of interdependency to try and gain a political edge. This is a major issue because we face common challenges, starting with climate change.

**Haïm Korsia**

What is the main challenge facing Israel today? Protection. It must protect its people and its existence. People say, «look at the United States in Afghanistan», but the United States went home with nothing to worry about. If Israel loses the war, it will cease to exist. You must understand that it is not the same kind of commitment and fight.

**Sékou Koureissy Condé**

The African side should not be tied primarily to the sending of aid or support, but endogenous solutions should be developed. Awareness-raising and the messaging must be fair. You are not going to talk to the Chinese, Arabs and Americans about climate change one way, and to Africans another. It is a shared, vital concern that affects Africa more than any place else.

**Marc-Antoine Eyl-Mazzega**

The Emirates are massively investing in three areas: renewable energy, since there is virtually unlimited solar power potential here in fabulous conditions; storage solutions; and sustainable cities. The idea is to build an energy-efficient, waste-recycling city, which makes its environmental footprint as small as possible.

**Laurent Fabius**

Wealthy countries must meet the commitments they made long ago to provide at least \$100 billion a year in public- and private-sector funding for developing countries. We must significantly boost funding for new energy sources and disinvest from old ones. It is also clear that the international financial system needs reform.

**François Barrault**

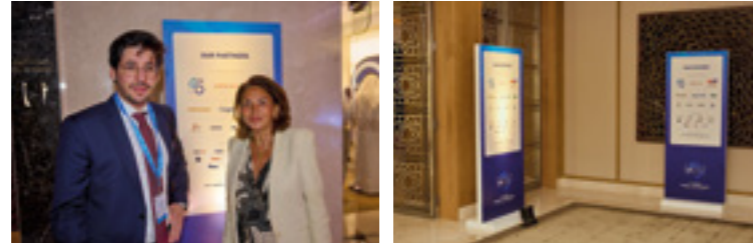
The next generation of ChatGPT will do fact-checking. It will be a kind of digital twin, which I saw in action at Stanford and it is very impressive. Our conversation, for example, can be recorded and ChatGPT can make a synopsis of it, so once it is integrated on our mobile phones it will manage our lives, our history and organize itself.





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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 RBN

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