

The Atlantic Dialogues International Conference

12th



**ATLANTIC
DIALOGUES
REPORT 2023**

December 14-16, 2023
Marrakesh, Morocco

UNDER THE HIGH PATRONAGE OF HIS MAJESTY KING MOHAMMED VI

ATLANTIC DIALOGUES REPORT

A MORE ASSERTIVE ATLANTIC:
ITS MEANING FOR THE WORLD



UNDER THE HIGH PATRONAGE OF



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HIS MAJESTY KING MOHAMMED VI

 **POLICY CENTER**
FOR THE NEW SOUTH
THINK • STIMULATE • BRIDGE





FOREWORD

In an age of deep uncertainties and an increasingly unpredictable future, the Atlantic Dialogues continue to embody the essence of reasoned, high-level engagement. Held under the High Patronage of His Majesty King Mohammed VI, the 12th edition welcomed in Marrakesh over 450 distinguished participants, including high-ranking officials, decision-makers, and experts from 80 nations. This gathering is a token of our collective commitment to thoughtful insights and rigorous analyses regarding the challenges that define the Atlantic Basin and, by extension, the rest of the world.

At the Policy Center for the New South, we understand that today's most pressing issues are not isolated; they are part of a deeply interconnected global landscape. The conversations at the 2023 edition illuminated the urgency of approaching these challenges with clarity of purpose and a comprehensive understanding of the stakes. The rapid transformations we are witnessing require not just innovative thought but a courageous departure from old paradigms. Our mission, as a platform of lucid and evidence-based dialogue where civil society, academia, business executives and policymakers converge, is to influence public policy in ways that drive meaningful and enduring change. We acknowledge the resistance to reform that often confronts such efforts, but it is precisely at this critical juncture that we must recalibrate our policy frameworks to unlock the potential of our societies.

The theme of the 2023 edition of the Atlantic Dialogues, "A More Assertive Atlantic: Its Meaning for the World," spoke to the transformative moments we are experiencing. The Atlantic space is no longer defined solely by the traditional powerhouses of the Washington-Brussels axis. Instead,

we are witnessing the emergence of a more inclusive Atlanticism, where diverse histories and cultures blend to foster collaboration. This new dynamic, though marked by disparities in governance systems and economic models, reflects the broader geopolitical shifts of the 21st century where the rising New South is redefining the global order.

This edition also highlighted the multidimensional crisis enveloping international relations today—economic, democratic, and environmental pressures are fragmenting the global community. To address these common challenges, we must first rebuild the foundations of multilateralism and foster cooperation that is inclusive and equitable. Moreover, strategic partnerships must transcend traditional frameworks, grounding themselves in mutual respect and shared responsibility. Rebalancing North-South relations is central to this effort, as the traditional hierarchies that have underpinned transatlantic cooperation are being questioned, with nations from the New South seeking a more influential role in shaping global decisions.

Another crucial theme that emerged was the growing disconnect between governance structures and the populations they are meant to serve. In many parts of the world, the social contract is under strain, as rising inequality and social discontent erode the legitimacy of governing institutions. The Atlantic Dialogues offered a platform to explore how we might rebuild this social contract, focusing on governance systems that are more inclusive, responsive, and reflective of the needs of the New South.

Technological innovation, too, featured prominently in our discussions. We stand at a crossroads where the decisions we make regarding technological development will have profound implications for generations to come. The New South must play a pivotal role in ensuring that these advancements serve the broader goals of sustainability

and shared prosperity. This requires a paradigm shift—a reorientation of priorities that places the common good at the center of our technological choices.

A notable aspect of the Atlantic Dialogues is its commitment to fostering intergenerational dialogue through the Atlantic Dialogues Emerging Leaders (Adel) program. This year's cohort, composed of 41 young professionals from 26 countries, brought fresh ideas and new perspectives to the discussions. Their active participation underscored the importance of involving younger generations in shaping the future of the Atlantic. The ADEL program continues to cultivate a vibrant community of young leaders, enhancing the dynamism and diversity of leadership across the region. The interplay between generations enriches the Policy Center's role as an incubator of talents, where intellectual rigor is nurtured, and creativity is stimulated.

The 2023 edition of the Atlantic Dialogues was more than a conference—it was a call to action. The insights generated will guide the Policy Center for the New South as we continue to advance the aspirations of the New South on the global stage. Our commitment is to translate the ideas debated into actionable policy recommendations that will create tangible changes.

As we look to the future, the Atlantic Dialogues will remain a safe space for cultivating the collaborative relationships necessary to meet the challenges of our time. Only through sustained dialogue, rooted in mutual respect and a shared pursuit of the common good, can we navigate the complexities of the 21st century and create a world that is resilient, equitable, and just for all.

Karim El Aynaoui

Executive President, Policy Center for the New South



Thursday, December 14th

11:00 – 12:15 | [Launch of the 10th Edition of the Atlantic Currents: An Annual Report on Wider Atlantic Perspectives and Patterns](#)

Moderator:

Mohammed Loulichki, Senior Fellow, Policy Center for the New South (Morocco)

Speakers:

Jessica De Alba-Ulloa, Professor, Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León (Mexico)

Ian Lesser, Vice President, German Marshall Fund (USA)

Nuno António de Noronha Bragança, Coordinator, Atlantic Centre (Portugal)

Afaf Zarkik, Senior Economist, Policy Center for the New South (Morocco)

12:15 – 14:15 | Lunch

14:30 – 14:45 | AD Application Presentation

Rim Berahab, Senior Economist, Policy Center for the New South (Morocco)

14:45 – 15:00 | [Welcoming Remarks](#)

Karim El Aynaoui, Executive President, Policy Center for the New South (Morocco)

15:00 – 15:45 | [Townhall](#)

Nik Gowing, Founder & Co-Director, Thinking the Unthinkable (United Kingdom)

15:45 – 17:00 | [Conversation I: A New Atlantic Deal: Southern Perspectives](#)

Moderator:

Uduak Amimo, Founder, Uduak Amimo Coaching & Consulting (Kenya)

Speakers:

Luis Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea, Former President (Ecuador)

Olusegun Obasanjo, Former President (Nigeria)

17:00 – 17:30 | Coffee Break

17:30 – 18:45 | [Plenary I: The Future of Strategic Partnerships and Multilateralism](#)

Moderator:

Ali Aslan, Moderator, Presenter and Journalist (Germany)

Speakers:

Birame Diop, Military Adviser, Office of Military Affairs, Department of Peace Operations, United Nations (Senegal)

Élisabeth Guigou, President, Association Europartenaire (France)

Ana Palacio, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs (Spain)

John Sawers, Executive Chairman, Newbridge Advisory (United Kingdom)

18:45 – 19:45 | [Plenary II: A Trilateral Think Tank Initiative: The Rise of the Global South – New Consensus Wanted](#)

Moderator:

Sarah Glover, Vice President of News and Civic Dialogue, WHYY News (USA)

Speakers:

Karim El Aynaoui, Executive President, Policy Center for the New South (Morocco)

Paolo Magri, Executive Vice President, Italian Institute for International Political Studies (Italy)

Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman, Observer Research Foundation (India)

19:45 – 21:30 | Moroccan Dinner

Friday, December 15th

09:30 – 10:45 | [Plenary III: An International Finance Architecture Fit for Global Challenges](#)

Moderator:

Alec Russell, Foreign Editor, Financial Times (United Kingdom)

Speakers:

Masood Ahmed, President, Center for Global Development (United Kingdom)

Ferid Belhaj, Vice President - Middle East North Africa, World Bank Group (Tunisia)

Helyette Geman, Senior Fellow, Policy Center for the New South (USA)

Dominique Strauss-Kahn, Managing Partner, Parnasse International (France)

10:45 – 11:15 | Coffee Break

11:15 – 12:30 | [Plenary IV: Perspectives from the Wider Atlantic: Similarities and Variances](#)

Moderator:

John Yearwood, Editorial Director, Diversity & Culture, Politico (USA)

Speakers:

Youssef Amrani, Former Minister Delegate of Foreign Affairs and former Secretary General of the Mediterranean Union (Morocco)

Rebecca Bill Chavez, President & CEO, Inter-American Dialogue (USA)

Erika Mouynes, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs (Panama)

12:30 – 14:30 | Lunch

14:30 – 15:45 | [Plenary V: Economic Nationalism: A Moment or a Movement?](#)

Moderator:

Alan Kasujja, Presenter, BBC News (Uganda)

Speakers:

Abla Abdel Latif, Executive Director and Director of Research, The Egyptian Center for Economic Studies (Egypt)
Harinder Kohli, Founding Director & Chief Executive, Emerging Markets Forum (India)
Arkebe Oqubay Metiku, British Academy Global Professor, SOAS University of London (Ethiopia)

15:45 – 17:00 | [Plenary VI: What's on the Backfoot? Authoritarianism, Democracy, and Populism Today](#)

Moderator:

Ali Aslan, Moderator, Presenter and Journalist (Germany)

Speakers:

Laura Alborno, Director, National Oil Company of Chile (Chile)
Mats Karlsson, Former Vice President, World Bank Group (Sweden)
Hubert Védrine, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs (France)

17:00 – 17:30 | Coffee Break

17:30 – 18:00 | [Townhall](#)

Nik Gowing, Founder & Co-Director, Thinking the Unthinkable (United Kingdom)

18:00 – 19:15 | [Plenary VII: Brain Drain and the Global Scramble for Talent](#)

Moderator:

Uduak Amimo, Founder, Uduak Amimo Coaching & Consulting (Kenya)

Speakers:

Kassie Freeman, President & CEO, African Diaspora Consortium (USA)
Paulo Gomes, Chairman, Paulo Gomes & Partners (Guinea Bissau)
Nkosana Donald Moyo, Founder and Chairman, Mandela Institute for Development Studies (Zimbabwe)

20:00 – 22:00 | Breakout Dinners

Saturday, December 16th

10:00 – 11:15 | [Plenary VIII: Global Turmoil: Crises Response, Cooperation, and Resilience Building](#)

Moderator:

Alan Kasujja, Presenter, BBC News (Uganda)

Speakers:

Pascal Boniface, Director, The French Institute for International and Strategic Affairs (France)
Nathalie Delapalme, CEO, Mo Ibrahim Foundation (France)
Omar Hilale, Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations (Morocco)
Barre Seguin, Director, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies (USA)

11:15 – 11:45 | Coffee Break

11:45 – 13:00 | [Plenary IX: Technological Change for a Sustainable Transition](#)

Moderator:

Sarah Glover, Vice President of News and Civic Dialogue, WHY News (USA)

Speakers:

Serigne Gueye Diop, Minister Advisor to the President of the Republic (Senegal)
R. Andreas Kraemer, Founder, Ecologic Institute (Germany)
Ricardo Santos, Former Minister of Maritime Affairs (Portugal)

13:00 – 14:30 | Lunch

14:30 – 15:45 | [Plenary X: Skills of Tomorrow: How to Shape the Education System?](#)

Moderator:

Zeinab Badawi, President, SOAS University of London (United Kingdom)

Speakers:

Jacques Attali, Writer and Futurologist, President, Attali Associates (France)
Charles Kupchan, Professor of International Affairs, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University (USA)

15:45 – 16:15 | [Conversation II: NATO and BRICS Enlargements: From Ambiguities to Realpolitik](#)

Moderator:

Kimberly Dozier, Global Affairs Analyst, CNN (USA)

Speakers:

Jorge Castañeda, Global Distinguished Professor of Political Science and Latin American Studies, New York University (Mexico)
Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo, President, NATO Defense College Foundation (Italy)

16:15 – 16:45 | Coffee break

16:15 – 17:30 | [Closing Plenary: Wider Atlantic Challenges Viewed by Emerging Leaders](#)

Moderator:

Nik Gowing, Founder & Co-Director, Thinking the Unthinkable (United Kingdom)

Speakers:

Hillary Briffa, Lecturer in National Security Studies, King's College London (Malta)
Oumaima El Idrissi, City Councillor, Casablanca City Council (Morocco)
Jens Meijen, AI Consultant, Ulysses AI (Belgium)
Roxy Ogechi Ndebumadu, Mayor Pro Tem & District 4 Councilmember, City of Bowie, Maryland (USA)
Pedro Vormittag, Chief of Staff to the Presidency, Brazilian Center for International Relations (CEBRI) (Brazil)

18:00 – 18:15 | [Closing Remarks](#)

Karim El Aynaoui, Executive President, Policy Center for the New South (Morocco)

18:15 – 20:30 | Closing Cocktail



135

Speakers



450

Participants



80

Nationalities



41

Emerging Leaders



70k

Web Impressions



720

Press Mention



- Launch of the 10th Edition of the Atlantic Currents: An Annual Report on Wider Atlantic Perspectives and Patterns
- **Conversation I:** A New Atlantic Deal: Southern Perspectives
- **Plenary I:** The Future of Strategic Partnerships and Multilateralism
- **Plenary II:** A Trilateral Think Tank Initiative: The Rise of the Global South – New Consensus Wanted
- **Plenary III:** An International Finance Architecture Fit for Global Challenges
- **Plenary IV:** Perspectives from the Wider Atlantic: Similarities and Variances
- **Plenary V:** Economic Nationalism: A Moment or a Movement?
- **Plenary VI:** What's on the Backfoot? Authoritarianism, Democracy, and Populism Today
- **Plenary VII:** Brain Drain and the Global Scramble for Talent
- **Plenary VIII:** Global Turmoil: Crises Response, Cooperation, and Resilience Building
- **Plenary IX:** Technological Change for a Sustainable Transition
- **Plenary X:** Skills of Tomorrow: How to Shape the Education System?
- **Conversation II:** NATO and BRICS Enlargements: From Ambiguities to Realpolitik
- **Closing Plenary:** Wider Atlantic Challenges Viewed by Emerging Leaders

ATLANTIC COUNCIL

AN ANNUAL REPORT ON WIDER ATLANTIC

A More Assertive Atlantic What It Means



Mohammed Loulichki
Senior Fellow, Policy
Center for the New
South, Morocco



Ian Lesser
Vice President, German
Marshall Fund, U.S.A.



Jessica De Alba-Ulloa
Professor, Universidad
Autónoma de Nuevo León
Mexico

From
Left to
Right

10th Edition
CURRENTS
PERSPECTIVES AND PATTERNS

re Atlantic
the World



Nuno António de Noronha Bragança
Coordinator, Atlantic Centre
Portugal

Afaf Zarkik
Senior Economist, Policy
Center for the New South
Morocco

A MORE ASSERTIVE ATLANTIC: ITS MEANING FOR THE WORLD

Launch of the 10th Edition of the Atlantic Currents

Launch of the 10th Edition of the Atlantic Currents



An Annual Report on Wider Atlantic Perspectives and Patterns

This session was specifically designed to introduce and deepen discussions around the 10th Atlantic Currents report, an annual publication issued by the Policy Center for the New South that provides a strategic overview of Atlantic affairs. This report, which has served as a consistent companion to the Atlantic Dialogues since 2014, aligns with the conference theme by exploring the implications for the world of a more assertive Atlantic. With contributions from 27 experts, the report covers a wide range of topics, including agriculture, trade, geopolitics, energy, industrial value chains, security, and South-South cooperation.



Mohammed Loulichki

Senior Fellow, Policy Center for the New South, Morocco

Mohammed Loulichki emphasized the wealth of knowledge that the Atlantic Currents report makes available to policymakers and researchers, particularly in promoting the concept of a Wider Atlantic. He highlighted the fact that momentum behind this concept has gained traction through recent initiatives on both sides of the ocean, including HM King Mohammed VI's speech on the occasion of the 48th celebration of the Green March, in which he called for more integration through a dedicated African Atlantic initiative, and the Declaration on Atlantic Cooperation. Loulichki stressed that the Atlantic Currents report raises questions about the democratization of the Wider Atlantic approach and Atlantic identity, taking into account the perspectives of 30 contributors. He raised three central questions: does the Wider Atlantic have an identity? Can recent Atlantic initiatives help promote the idea of the Wider Atlantic? What are the topics that are more likely to help drive cooperation within the Atlantic Basin?

Jessica de Alba Ulloa discussed the challenges of building an Atlantic identity in the context of the diverse range of countries involved, emphasizing the limited relations between them, particularly between North and South Atlantic nations. She suggested a focus on Africa, highlighting its significant arable lands and young population. She highlighted the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) as a potential catalyst for integration. Ulloa stressed the importance of realistic approaches, advocating for tangible initiatives such as free trade agreements, and the utilization of opportunities in renewable energy to benefit millions of Africans. She criticized the lack of a comprehensive Mexican strategy and encouraged exploration of opportunities in the Sahel region. Emphasizing the need for self-reliance, underscoring the role of institutions. Reflecting on trade relations, she cited the stabilization of the Mexican economy through alignment with Canada and the U.S. but acknowledged the failure of NAFTA to effectively communicate its benefits to the public. Overall, Ulloa called for a serious approach to national interests, and cautioned against excessive reliance on external support.



Jessica De Alba-Ulloa

Professor, Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, Mexico

Ian Lesser discussed the evolving nature of transatlantic relations, urging a shift from the traditional North-North axis to a more nuanced understanding that incorporates the global North-South debate. He emphasized that Atlantic cooperation discussions must now consider a broader perspective, with Morocco, Portugal, the U.S., and other players making intellectual contributions to the debate. While acknowledging the significance of security and geopolitical issues in shaping the future, Lesser appreciated that Atlantic initiatives are not solely focused on these concerns. He mentioned the topics of climate and energy, digital connectivity, and the impact of economic nationalism. Lesser noted the diverse interests in the Atlantic space, highlighting the energy and potential for initiatives in the South. He underscored the importance of avoiding ideological approaches, emphasizing values such as tolerance, alongside democracy.

Nuno de Noronha Bragança emphasized the Atlantic Center's core principle of uniting countries to address diverse issues, particularly focusing on security, including food and health security. The Atlantic is recognized as crucial for sustainable development, but challenges in this dynamic space are transnational in nature. The growing complexity of issues has led to a need for a collective movement, involving numerous initiatives in the Atlantic Basin, to enhance dialogue and cooperation. Notable examples include the U.S.'s initiative [Partnership for Atlantic Cooperation], the G7+, and the Atlantic Center itself. The growing number of such initiatives underscores, according to Bragança, the imperative of tackling collaboratively shared challenges, such as climate change. Bragança also underscored the concrete threat of rising sea levels across the Atlantic, necessitating united efforts. He advocated for a collaborative approach to navigate the complexities of the Atlantic's geopolitical landscape.

Afaf Zarkik discussed the contrasting energy development scenarios in the U.S. and the European Union, focusing on utility scale, and initiatives in Africa's subregions. In addressing the fiscal burden, Independent Power Producer (IPP) schemes,



involving substantial investments from both private and public sectors, create potential conflicts. These IPPs play a vital role in securing financing for large facilities, with mechanisms covering risks related to, among other issues, foreign exchange, and termination. The creditworthiness of public utilities is crucial, and in sub-Saharan Africa, the cost of capital becomes challenging without creditworthy off-takers, necessitating public intervention. The compounding factors of COVID-19, the Russia-Ukraine conflict, and debt issues in sub-Saharan Africa underscore the urgency of innovative finance solutions for large facilities. Zarkik highlighted the importance of aligning macroeconomic and sectoral policies, emphasizing the potential for foreign currency investments in renewable energy. The discussion concluded by highlighting the significance of COP27 as a platform for reforming the global financial architecture, offering opportunities for financing renewable energy projects.



From
Left to
Right

Olusegun Obasanjo
Former President, Nigeria



12th

THE ATLANTIC DIALOGUES



**Luis Osvaldo Hurtado
Larrea**
Former President,
Ecuador

Uduak Amimo
Founder, Uduak Amimo
Coaching & Consulting, Kenya



A New Atlantic Deal: Southern Perspectives

This session explored the complexities of shaping a new Atlantic deal that reflects the growing assertiveness of the South. Valuable insights from Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo and Luis Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea shed light on the evolving dynamics in Africa, and the potential for formal associations among Atlantic Basin countries. The discussion underlined the need for a distinctive model within the Atlantic Basin and explored the need to promote North-South cooperation.



Uduak Amimo
Founder, Uduak Amimo
Coaching & Consulting, Kenya



Luis Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea
Former President, Ecuador

Luis Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea reflected on the economic disparities between Latin America and Africa, noting Africa's superior growth rate and increased international influence. He highlighted Latin America's diminishing importance on the global stage because of its economic stagnation. He also pointed to the emergence of China as a key partner for both regions. Hurtado dismissed the effectiveness of Latin American integration organizations, attributing the continent's challenges to internal factors, rather than external influences such as "Western imperialism" or Chinese involvement. He advocated for compliance with international rules, stressed the importance of free trade for the progress of Latin America and Africa, and proposed cooperative partnerships with Europe, China, and the U.S.

Olusegun Obasanjo stressed the need for the countries of the South Atlantic to unite in their efforts to gain power and influence. Advocating a transformative approach, Obasanjo called for a new deal in the South Atlantic to counter historical exploitation. Recognizing ongoing global changes, he suggested the creation of an Atlantic Cooperation Organization with a focus on peace, security, and development. Obasanjo urged the extension of Atlantic cooperation to Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean, envisioning mutual economic benefits. Emphasizing the collective strength of cooperation over isolation, he sketched out a just organization that would lead the Global South towards a future characterized by optimism, security, and progress.



Olusegun Obasanjo
Former President, Nigeria





THE ATL
DIALO

Ali Aslan
Moderator, Presenter and
Journalist, Germany

Ana Palacio
Former Minister of Foreign
Affairs, Spain

John Sawers
Executive Chairman,
Newbridge Advisory
United Kingdom

From
Left to
Right



Élisabeth Guigou
President, Association
Europartenaies, France

Birame Diop
Military Adviser, Office of Military Affairs,
Department of Peace Operations,
United Nations, Senegal



The Future of Strategic Partnerships and Multilateralism

The panel explored the multidimensional crisis with economic, democratic, and climate connotations that strangles contemporary international relations, symptomatic of a fragmented international community unable to meet common challenges. The panelists notably emphasized the need to rebuild the foundations of international cooperation and reform multilateral institutions. They also stressed that the generalization of strategic partnerships presupposes balance in relations.

John Sawers affirmed that development cooperation is progressing globally, despite the gloomy context that is engulfing contemporary international relations. The resurgence of conflicts in Ukraine, the Middle East, and Africa calls for the mechanisms of international cooperation to be reinvented, particularly in the field of new technologies. In this context, **the reform of the UN Security Council is crucial, first, through the integration of new permanent members such as Japan and India, and second, through the generalization of the majority decision-making mechanism. Reforming multilateralism means establishing a link between the decisions taken and the realities on the ground.** At a time when unilateralism is increasingly replacing multilateralism, **many observers believe that recourse to negotiation and the peaceful settlement**



John Sawers
Executive Chairman, Newbridge
Advisory, United Kingdom



Ana Palacio
Former Minister of Foreign
Affairs, Spain

of disputes is being eroded. It is important to be realistic in international relations, particularly when it comes to the scope for international organizations to resolve disputes and conflicts. The possible return of Donald Trump to the White House will certainly not make things any easier.

Ana Palacio emphasized that in a world with major challenges, **peace can only be achieved through prosperity and fair development, not only by security.** Encouraging exchanges can play a key role in this process. The international institutions created in the wake of the Second World War were intended to gradually bring peace to contemporary international relations. **Yet contemporary international law is still governed by norms and forms of regulation that correspond to the post-Second World War era, whereas the world has changed completely since then.** As a result, reform of the international multilateral system presupposes an understanding of the realities of today's world.

Growing interest in climate and sustainable development issues demonstrates the international community's understanding of new threats to international peace and security. The dialogue on reducing greenhouse-gas emissions

brings together all the components of the international community. Today, the war is as hot as the temperature. Consequently, it's a paradigm shift the international community needs to internalize.

Elizabeth Guigou pointed out that the post-Second World War international order has been shaken by internal divisions. Yet the scale of the challenges facing the international community, particularly in the areas of climate change and digital technology, require greater multilateralism. At a time when the world seems to be fragmenting, the tricky part is to reinvent the mechanisms of multilateralism and international cooperation, with a view to achieving inclusive multilateral institutions. **To this end, it is important to articulate North/South cooperation logics efficiently within the framework of a partnership of equals, based on concrete prospects. This is what the EU must strive to do regarding Africa, rather than looking to the East.**

Reinventing multilateralism requires us to encourage new partnerships, rather than denigrating international multilateral institutions, while also stimulating the private sector to explore appropriate new sources of financing. Inclusive North/South cooperation must be based on three principles: proximity, complementarity, and solidarity, fostering a mutually beneficial relationship that addresses the diverse needs and strengths of both regions. In this regard, achieving equal footing in relationships requires a balanced approach, which is not yet evident in the AU's relations with the EU, despite the transitions that have begun.



Élisabeth Guigou
President, Association
Europartenaïres, France



Birame Diop
Military Adviser, Office of Military Affairs,
Department of Peace Operations, United
Nations, Senegal

Birame Diop affirmed that overhauling multilateralism is a mammoth task, but a necessary one. One way in which this can be done is by **raising global public awareness of the benefits and added value of multilateralism. It is important to promote universal values such as solidarity, tolerance, and respect. Meanwhile, the international community needs to invest in new communication platforms to convey the benefits of multilateralism.** The erosion of multilateralism could tip the world back towards the old order.

The UN Security Council is no longer able to fulfil its mandate. Consequently, reform of the Security Council is necessary to establish a new multilateralism. **There are three key areas for reform: the type of mechanism to be put in place, the decision-making process, and the compatibility of UN resolutions with the complexities of today's world.** The gap is widening between the UN and the peoples of the world, who have so many expectations of the institution. However, **world public opinion is unaware of the scale of the UN's achievements, particularly in the field of humanitarian aid. This situation calls for the mobilization of all the players in international society to restore the UN's reputation.**



THE ATLANTIC DIALOGUE



From
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Sarah Glover
Vice President of News and Civic
Dialogue, WHY News, USA

Karim El Aynaoui
Executive President, Policy Center
for the New South, Morocco

12th
POLITICAL
ISSUES



Sunjoy Joshi
Chairman, Observer Research
Foundation, India



Paolo Magri
Executive Vice President,
Italian Institute for International
Political Studies, Italy



A Trilateral Think Tank Initiative: The Rise of the Global South – New Consensus Wanted

In a world characterized by constant evolution and increased complexity, the Global South finds itself at a critical juncture, facing substantial challenges and opportunities. The current landscape is shaped by significant changes, including technological advancements, geopolitical tensions, climate change, and socio-economic transformations. These dynamics compel the Global South to strategically articulate its efforts to address its challenges, and to leverage its potential within a more balanced international order. In this context, Plenary II brought together three think tanks - PCNS, ORF, ISPI - from three different regions to discuss the emergence of the Global South and the possibility of forging a new consensus between the Global South and the North.



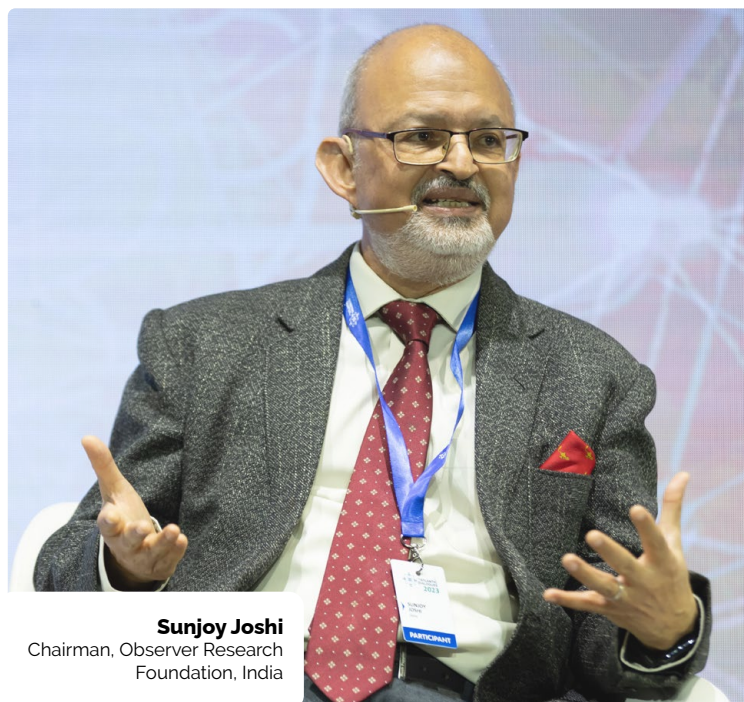
Karim El Aynaoui
Executive President, Policy Center
for the New South, Morocco

Karim El Aynaoui set the tone for the discussion by underscoring the purpose of events like the Atlantic Dialogues, and the importance of collaboration among think tanks. He said: **"Today, our gathering represents a crucial moment to amass ideas, energy, platforms, and projects, providing a rare opportunity for reflection, recharge, and the cultivation of new friendships and partnerships"**. He also highlighted the pivotal role of think tanks, as proponents of ideas, in engaging human ingenuity and innovation to address global challenges. In this regard, recognizing the substantial time and attention required to integrate the Global South and address the challenges it faces, think tanks are a methodological space for this purpose. Karim El Aynaoui then tackled the pressing need for reform of international institutions to meet the development financing requirements of some regions in the Global South, with a particular focus on Africa. He underscored the imperative of a shift in mindsets, emphasizing the importance of tangible actions over mere advocacy. In this pursuit, think tanks and policymakers are urged to take concrete actions and participate actively in discussions, steering towards impactful solutions to global challenges.

In alignment with this perspective, **Sunjoy Joshi** highlighted that the role of institutions in the Global South should be to unite multiple voices to create a more inclusive discourse. Acknowledging the existing discursive divide between the Global North and the Global South, he emphasized the Global South's goal to bridge this divide and foster collaboration. Joshi advocated for a new global order negotiated between civilized nations, rather than determined on today's battlefields. In the same spirit, he stressed the need for collaboration instead of confrontation, and called for a rethink of priorities amidst the current economic crisis. He specified that **"the Global South does not aspire to a world where everything is weaponized,**

whether it be connectivity, food security, energy, or health. This is not the way we move forward". Rejecting a black-and-white worldview, Joshi called for recognizing the diverse colors of the Global South—multiple pathways, government systems, and cultural diversity. He cautioned against prescriptive solutions, urging a nuanced approach tailored to each country's unique complexities, considering the nation's priorities in terms of food security, energy security, and economic stability, among other factors.

Paolo Magri highlighted the shared commitment of the three think tanks to move beyond a one-sided exchange of ideas based on lecturing and being lectured, to a more collaborative and appreciative approach. Referring to the joint book project between the three think tanks, Magri clarified the rationale behind the inclusion of a think tank from the North alongside two from the Global South. He noted "If we think about the initiative's title, 'The Rise of the Global South: New Consensus Wanted',



Sunjoy Joshi
Chairman, Observer Research
Foundation, India



Paolo Magri
Executive Vice President, Italian Institute
for International Political Studies, Italy

a European—Italian—think tank may not have much to say on the rise of the Global South, but it actively engages in shaping this new consensus". Expanding on this idea of consensus, Magri called for the recognition and acceptance of differences and disagreements, and suggested that cooperation can evolve gradually, starting with sectoral common interests and expanding over time. The key challenge, according to him, lies in reforming the international organizational system, and defining the role of the Global South in that context. He emphasized the need to candidly address the deficiencies of the current system, advocating for a pragmatic and reformist approach, rather than an ideological or revolutionary one.

Despite the varied perspectives and viewpoints of the speakers, a common thread emerged, emphasizing the imperative of a balanced dialogue and the need to address the distinct challenges confronting the Global South through collaborative and tangible solutions.



THE ATLANTIC DIALOG



From
Left to
Right

Alec Russell
Foreign Editor, Financial
Times , United Kingdom

Masood Ahmed
President, Center for Global
Development, United
Kingdom

Ferid Belhaj
Vice President - Middle East
North Africa, World Bank
Group, Tunisia



Helyette Geman
Senior Fellow, Policy Center for the
New South, USA

Dominique Strauss-Kahn
Managing Partner, Parnasse International,
France



An International Finance Architecture Fit for Global Challenges

Major stakeholders have been calling for a reform of the global financial architecture, with a particular focus on the multilateral development banks (MDBs). While they contribute financing development and crisis response, there remains an issue of scale when it comes to addressing climate change and development. Reform is vital to effectively tackle current global challenges, manage complex crises, ensure debt sustainability, and ultimately progress toward the attainment of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Masood Ahmed stated that “over the last three or four years, the world has become much more conscious of cross-cutting challenges, global challenges”. He also emphasized the role of the IMF and the MDBs in addressing these issues, adding “all the ideas that we had about mobilizing finance for climate change, for pandemics, did not really pay off. We see these institutions as an effective way of leveraging public money to tackle these new global challenges”. However, he insisted on the necessary



Masood Ahmed

President, Center for Global Development, United Kingdom

radical transformation of these institutions, their business models, their operational models, and the way they are financed, to be fit for these challenges, pointing out that “**the discussions now are about how can you build consensus amongst their shareholders and how to go about their transformation. Can you change big machines, slow to change, to adapt themselves to that new role, in a way that still allows them to do things they were set up for?**”. He further addressed the issue of geopolitical frictions in the reform of the global financial system, which could impede reforms of the governance of International financial institutions (IFIs).



Ferid Belhaj

Vice President - Middle East North Africa, World Bank Group, Tunisia

Ferid Belhaj brought to the discussion the World Bank's perspective on the transformation of the global financial architecture, putting the emphasis on the vision of the institution under its new leadership: “**Ajay Banga is enlarging the mandate of the Bank, fighting poverty is still very much there, sharing prosperity is still very much there, and he is pushing the agenda on a livable planet**”. He added that the bank has evolved

tremendously and is tackling new challenges, while remaining relevant. On climate change, he acknowledged the latter's impact on people's livelihoods, stating that **"it needs knowledge and its needs financing, which is absolutely insufficient today. We need more and we need it from where the money is, that is the private sector"**. He further added that **"while we are not looking at dramatic reforms of the bank, if you look at the evolution of the last ten, twenty, thirty years, you will see that indeed the bank has changed tremendously and reformed itself, without necessarily revolutionizing itself"**. Ultimately, MDBs reflect politics at the member-state level, which can explain the length of processes. However, he also emphasized the importance of allowing the time needed for development to become effective.



Helyette Geman
Senior Fellow, Policy Center
for the New South, USA

Hélyette Geman weighed in on the impact of the IMF's and World Bank's interventions to address climate change and development in Africa. **"Climate and leaving the African continent in the hand of those who own it, deploying their activities, and bringing their people, on these two matters [...], the work of the IMF and the World Bank does exist, but it is too small compared to the task"**. At a more global level, she recalled the recent episodes of financial distress that led to the demise of the Silicon Valley Bank and the fall of Crédit Suisse, noting however that **"the world financial system seems to be**

resisting, in particular thanks to Europe, where rules are more stringent than they are in the U.S., where they released Dodd-Frank". Finally, regarding the role of the IFIs in financing the green transition, she insisted on the possibility of creating a space for a section within these institutions to bring knowledge and funding to the financing of climate mitigation in vulnerable countries.



Dominique Strauss-Kahn
Managing Partner, Parnasse
International, France

Dominique Strauss-Kahn gave a three-pillars analysis of the world financial architecture through the role of the reserve currency, regulating the financial market, and reform of IFIs. On the latter and, especially on the IMF, two questions are of interest: legitimacy and relevance. **"Legitimacy goes back to the question of quotas and the governance of the institution. The last reform which has been made in this direction, to have a governance matching better the reality of the world, was the one in 2010. Since then, decisions have been made but never implemented"**. He further discussed the changing global outlook, stating that: **"We are no more in a traditional economic cycle, we are in a super-cycle, which needs something different. The idea of monetary resources is the only which is big enough to create a change in the game"**. To reach this objective, the IMF is the right institution, being able to leverage special drawing rights without compromising its day-to-day missions, despite the economic consequences (inflation) and political backlash such decisions can provoke.

The panel concluded on the importance of moving forward fast, taking into account the political constraints, and adopting a realistic approach to the reform of the IFIs.



THE ATLANTIC DIALOGUE



From
Left to
Right

Youssef Amrani

Former Minister Delegate of Foreign Affairs and former Secretary General of the Mediterranean Union, Morocco

Rebecca Bill Chavez

President & CEO, Inter-American Dialogue, USA



Erika Mouynes
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Panama



John Yearwood
Editorial Director, Diversity & Culture,
Politico, USA



Perspectives from the Wider Atlantic: Similarities and Variances

The Atlantic region, characterized by nations following diverse economic, political, and cultural trajectories, is undergoing a transition from the dominance of the Washington-Brussels axis towards an inclusive Atlanticism. The conceptual framework of the Wider Atlantic recognizes the historical interplay between the North and South as its defining feature. The acknowledgment of shared roots derived from diverse histories and cultures establishes a foundation for collaborative efforts. Simultaneously, disparities in political systems, economic trajectories, and cultural beliefs introduce tensions, emphasizing the need to bridge differences. This transition reflects a significant strategic shift in twenty-first century geopolitics, prompting an examination of whether emerging powers in the South Atlantic might diminish the roles traditionally held by North Atlantic countries.

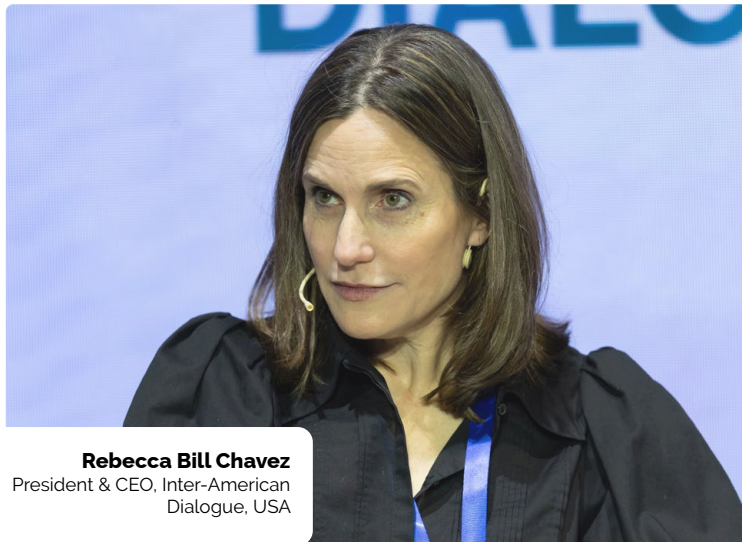


John Yearwood
Editorial Director, Diversity & Culture, Politico, USA



Youssef Amrani
Former Minister Delegate of Foreign Affairs and former Secretary General of the Mediterranean Union, Morocco

Former Minister and current Ambassador **Youssef Amrani** asserted Morocco's view of the Atlantic not just as a geographic expanse but as a collaborative opportunity. In the context of a steadfast commitment to its partnership with the European Union, Morocco positions itself as a vital link between Africa and Europe, propelled by an ambitious vision for Atlantic Africa, with Morocco **"proposing a new deal, a new platform for collaboration"**, prioritizing commercial connectivity, security, and mobility in the Atlantic. Morocco's strategy involves leveraging existing tools, reshaping objectives, and engaging diverse stakeholders, with the private sector playing a vital role for Africa's growth. More importantly, Morocco's vision **"for the Atlantic is not in contradiction with the African Union"**; it aims to foster genuine partnerships that ensure equitable benefits for all. This is exemplified by Morocco's commitment to grant access to the Atlantic to countries in the Sahel region, emphasizing the strategic importance of connectivity for those nations.



Rebecca Bill Chavez
President & CEO, Inter-American
Dialogue, USA

To move towards this vision of the Atlantic as a new platform for collaboration, **Rebecca Bill Chavez** recommended actions focused on the subnational levels, highlighting the importance of **"cities as major players in the wider Atlantic cooperation"**. Bilateral and multilateral initiatives should not overlook the role of civil society and private investment in strengthening municipal innovation. Many opportunities indeed arise from this perspective. However, many structural factors constitute challenges to the southern renaissance. For instance, the global democracy recession, illustrated both in the reemergence of dictatorships and in democratically elected leaders who dismantle democratic institutions, can lead to isolationism and lack of trust. This fragility of democracy is linked to economic performance. In fact, studies show that most Latin American citizens are willing to sacrifice democracy for food, safety, and freedom. This is also one of the reasons why **"subnational engagement can be faster, more pragmatic, effective, and realistic"**.

While recognizing these challenges, **Erika Mouynes** insisted on reclaiming the southern power, reminding the audience that the Atlantic is 90 countries that, together, can emancipate themselves from the North. **"Uniting these voices can transform the challenges into opportunities by changing the narrative**

but also by translating these efforts into action". To achieve this goal, countries should develop long-term visions, especially in policy strategies and investments. These strategies should be able to transcend political mandates, and countries must stay committed to these shared interests. The Atlantic Dialogues has been a space for the recognition of our power, our potential and our competitive advantages in critical resources, supply chains, etc. To deepen this ownership further, Erika Mouynes defended the idea that the countries of the Atlantic Basin should find/create a platform for their voice to be heard, because they are excluded from multilateral institutions. In terms of cooperation, she recommended increasing connectivity, emphasizing that **"the Atlantic countries from both sides are facing similar challenges and can learn from each other's experiences"**. She also recommended creating partnerships on an issue-by-issue basis to increase impact, and creating spaces to include young people, as they are the drivers of innovation.

The panel concluded that the countries within the Atlantic Basin should enhance connectivity and collaboration to stimulate growth and leadership. To accomplish this objective, panelists emphasized the importance of transparent agendas and the re-establishment of trust among leaders at international, national, and subnational levels.



Erika Mouynes
Former Minister of Foreign
Affairs, Panama



THE ATLANTIC DIALOGUE



From
Left to
Right

Alan Kasujja
Presenter, BBC News,
Uganda

Abla Abdel Latif
Executive Director and Director of
Research, The Egyptian Center for
Economic Studies, Egypt

Plenary 5

ECONOMIC NATIONALISM: A MOMENT OR A MOVEMENT?



12th

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Harinder Kohli

Founding Director & Chief Executive,
Emerging Markets Forum, India



Arkebe Oqubay Metiku

British Academy Global Professor, SOAS
University of London, Ethiopia



Economic Nationalism: A Moment or a Movement?

The current wave of economic nationalism has led to adverse effects including the misallocation of resources, a loss of talent, and the exacerbation of global issues. These policies hinder global collaboration, disrupting the delicate balance within the global economy. Global challenges, including climate change, migration, and debt crises, require collective responses beyond national efforts. In Africa, where multilateral solutions are crucial, diversified trade relationships and increased Chinese investment play particularly important roles in fostering job creation and economic growth. To effectively address global shocks such as climate change and pandemics, collaboration with the Global South is essential, aligning with the ongoing process of Africa's emergence and growth. Ultimately, for Africa, active participation in trade, attracting investments, and acquiring technology are indispensable to strengthen its position in the ever-evolving global economic landscape.



Abla Abdel Latif
Executive Director and Director of Research, The Egyptian Center for Economic Studies, Egypt



Alan Kasujja
Presenter, BBC News, Uganda

Abla Abdel Latif stated that “The idea of a ‘good industrial policy’ masks deeper ideological and political differences, extending beyond mere economic considerations”, illustrated by the fact that the emergence of China as a highly influential force has complicated matters for the West, contributing significantly to the rise of economic nationalism. In this regard, the transformation of China into a global challenger, difficult to control, represents a potential risk which may exacerbate existing global challenges. Citing specific country experiences, Abla Abdel Latif pointed out that “While India is focusing on strengthening itself while maintaining global relations, contrasting sharply with the inward-looking stances of some Western countries, the U.S. and European politics are shifting their perspectives toward more insular approaches, which raises questions about their motivations, especially regarding concerns about China”, before concluding that the resurgence of economic nationalism with broader ideological and geopolitical implications is creating a complex global scenario that requires more multilateral cooperation.

Hardinder Kohli discussed the evolving leadership dynamics within the G20, notably with India, Brazil, and South Africa taking prominent roles. He stated that **"The success of multilateralism depends on these BRICS nations' ability to offer global solutions"**. In this regard, Kohli underscored the need to move beyond nationalist sentiments, emphasizing the significance of alliances in addressing contemporary challenges. He then highlighted the impact of U.S. leadership changes on global dynamics, as well as India's role in balancing national interests and collaboration, especially in relation to debt issues and involving the African Union. Then, Hardinder Kohli pointed that **"The surge in economic nationalism, driven by factors like China's rise and responses to crises, was examined with the collaborative efforts during the 2008-2009 financial crisis serving as a precedent"**. Finally, Mr. Kohli stressed the critical need for international efforts, including debt relief, to avert long-term negative consequences. Lastly, he emphasized the global urgency of addressing climate change, particularly for the most vulnerable nations, transcending mere financial considerations and focusing on future generations.



Hardinder Kohli
Founding Director & Chief Executive,
Emerging Markets Forum, India



Arkebe Oqubay Metiku
British Academy Global Professor,
SOAS University of London, Ethiopia

Arkebe Oqubay Metiku analyzed the current surge in economic nationalism, pinpointing key drivers such as the rise of China and Asia, which significantly contributes to over 50% of global growth. He stated that: **"This phenomenon is intertwined with recurrent crises like COVID-19 and the global financial crisis, where state interventions and austerity measures have fueled a growing inclination towards nationalism; moreover, the rise of populism in various countries further amplifies economic nationalism"**. According to Mr. Arkebe, **"While examining multilateralism and industrial policy issues in the light of stimulus measures prompted worldwide after the global recession, a critical observation emerges—national industrial policies often prioritize erecting barriers rather than fostering capabilities"**. Then he stated that at the United Nations, African countries proposed corporate responsibility for multinational corporations, facing objections primarily from rich countries, especially the G7, highlighting a connection between economic nationalism and exclusionary practices impacting emerging economies. Finally, Mr. Arkebe emphasized the need for African countries to diversify partnerships beyond traditional ones, challenging the prevailing notion about Africa's debt concerns, indicating that the primary issue lies in private loans influenced by U.S. Federal Reserve interest rates and the appreciation of the U.S. dollar.



THE ATLAN DIALOG



From
Left to
Right

Ali Aslan
Moderator, Presenter and Journalist
Germany

Hubert Védrine
Former Minister of Foreign
Affairs, France



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Laura Albornoz
Director, National Oil Company
of Chile, Chile



Mats Karlsson
Former Vice President, World
Bank Group, Sweden





What's on the Backfoot? Authoritarianism, Democracy, and Populism Today



Ali Aslan
Moderator, Presenter and
Journalist, Germany

In defiance of the expectations that followed the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the global landscape did not uniformly embrace liberal democratic governance, shattering the anticipated “**end of history**”. Instead, Western elites have acknowledged a resurgence of authoritarianism and a retreat of liberal democracy. Against this backdrop, the panel “**What's on the Backfoot? Authoritarianism, Democracy, and Populism Today**” sought to unravel the complex dynamics shaping contemporary politics.

Populism, complex yet inevitable, surfaces through democratic crises stemming from the rejection of representative democracy. According to **Hubert Védrine**, the current challenge revolves around reinventing democratic governance because “**it is difficult at this moment to imagine a modern democracy and it's also complicated to have the art of government and**

democracy, by listening to the needs of people whilst keeping a certain equilibrium”.

Numerous leaders focus on pivotal facets of public opinion, often influenced by rejection during voting. In Europe, resistance to globalization, seen as excessively swift, is apparent in electoral decisions. However, it is crucial not to portray the global landscape solely as a battleground between democracy and authoritarianism. While this narrative frequently emanates from Western elites, understanding the populist vote demands a more nuanced perspective. For example, within authoritarianism, there is an acknowledgment that authority is essential to address challenges effectively.



Hubert Védrine
Former Minister of Foreign
Affairs, France

Championing democracy is crucial for safeguarding institutions, human rights, and the rule of law. Simultaneously, the pivotal notion of sustaining democracy underscores the Atlantic's commitment to projecting strength. **Mats Karlsson** reflected on past optimism within international organizations during **"the hopeful nineties, envisioning positive globalization and the expanding influence of democracy worldwide"**. Karlsson acknowledged oversights in that vision, emphasizing the need for a nuanced understanding of the challenges ahead. Democracy, deeply rooted in law and human rights, emerges as the bedrock of the global system, embodying enduring principles for a just and equitable global order. Karlsson not only underscored the role of democracy in preserving these vital elements but also positioned it as a dynamic solution to the crisis of multilateralism. The assertion that democracy provides a viable pathway signifies its adaptability and resilience in addressing contemporary challenges. In essence, Karlsson's perspective amplifies the enduring significance of democratic principles, portraying them not just as historical ideals but as integral guides for navigating the complexities of the present and future global landscape.

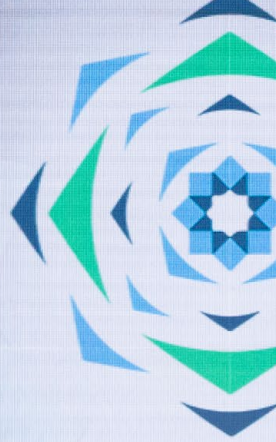


Mats Karlsson
Former Vice President, World
Bank Group, Sweden



Laura Albornoz
Director, National Oil Company
of Chile, Chile

Laura Albornoz emphasized **"the dichotomy between the will of the people and the elites"**, which leads to "the rise of populist ideas and governments". She highlighted factors contributing to this phenomenon, including **"the weakening of democratic institutions"**, with corruption viewed as **"a chain reaction generating dissatisfaction, especially in Latin America and the Global South"**, in addition the the emergence of charismatic leaders opposing the democratic model that further fuels populism. Albornoz contended that democracies suffer from a critical deficiency, attributing their inability to adapt to **"the traditional political elite"**. Lastly, the discussion touched on **"the challenges democracies face during crises like the pandemic and natural disasters"**, exposing **"the fragility of democratic institutions"**. Albornoz called for **"a reevaluation of democratic principles to better address present challenges and mitigate the rise of populism"**.



THE ATLAS DIALOG



From
Left to
Right

Nkosana Donald Moyo
Founder and Chairman, Mandela Institute
for Development Studies, Zimbabwe

Paulo Gomes
Chairman, Paulo Gomes & Partners,
Guinea Bissau

12th
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Kassie Freeman
President & CEO, African Diaspora
Consortium, USA



Uduak Amimo
Founder, Uduak Amimo Coaching &
Consulting, Kenya



Brain Drain and the Global Scramble for Talent

Competition for skilled workers has become a defining feature of the globalized world, with nations fiercely competing to attract and retain talented individuals. However, this struggle is often associated with the phenomenon of 'brain drain', with talented individuals leaving their home countries in search of better opportunities elsewhere. The panel "**The Global Scramble for Talent: Balancing Brain Drain and Opportunity**" explored the various facets of this complex issue, highlighting both the challenges and potential benefits associated with talent mobility in today's dynamic landscape.



Uduak Amimo
Founder, Uduak Amimo
Coaching & Consulting, Kenya



Nkosana Donald Moyo
Founder and Chairman, Mandela Institute
for Development Studies, Zimbabwe

Emphasizing the responsibility of leaders, **Nkosana Donald Moyo** said, "**it is the responsibility of the home country to create an environment that sustains the investment made in the people**". Moyo underscored the importance of fairness, security, and robust infrastructure. He highlighted the value not only of technical expertise but also of management and planning skills. "**This perspective aligns with the idea that brain drain not only diminishes a country's technical resources but also undermines its leadership potential**". It shows the importance of creating an environment that empowers and values citizens, motivating them to contribute to their country's advancement. He added "**The global competition for talent is rooted in the nation-state architecture, and addressing the challenge requires a focus on creating conditions that make individuals want to stay and actively participate in their country's development**".

Kassie Freeman cautioned against oversimplifying the issue of brain drain and emphasized the importance of exploring the broader spectrum of issues around it, beyond migration trends: **"The post-COVID era has reshaped work dynamics, with an increased prevalence of remote work. The rise of the latter, facilitated by technological advancements, has blurred traditional boundaries and redefined talent mobility"**. Indeed, technological advancements, particularly in artificial intelligence, significantly impact workforce development, prompting the need to reassess our approach to brain drain. Freeman emphasized the importance of adapting strategies to accommodate shifts and called for collaborative partnerships to address brain drain holistically. She noted that **"education and cultural considerations play a crucial role in the decision-making process for individuals contemplating migration. Understanding these nuanced factors is crucial for navigating the evolving landscape of talent mobility"**.



Kassie Freeman
President & CEO, African Diaspora
Consortium, USA



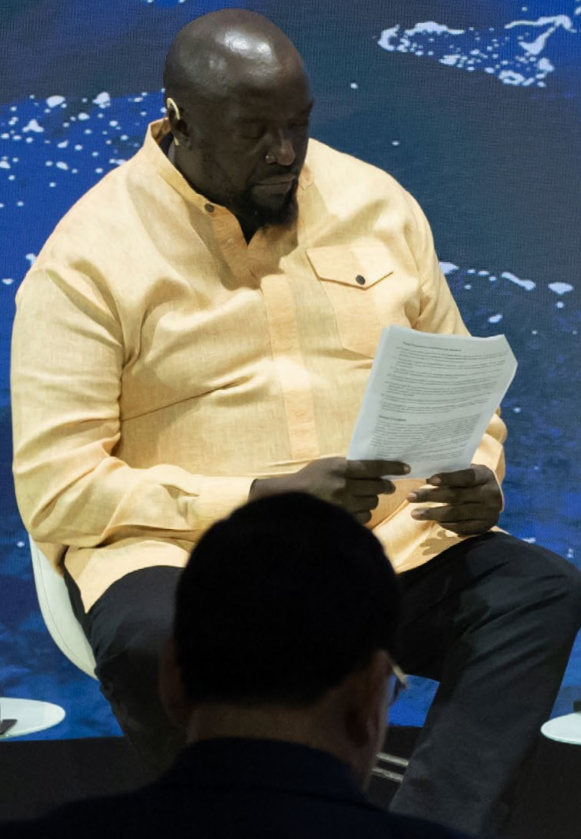
Paulo Gomes
Chairman, Paulo Gomes &
Partners, Guinea Bissau

While acknowledging the negative aspects of brain drain, particularly in public services like education and health, **Paulo Gomes** provided a more nuanced perspective. He pointed out that **"there are positive aspects to brain drain, such as the potential for training and the economic benefits of remittances"**. Creating conducive environments for retention of talent is critical, but Gomes emphasized that **"it is impossible to prevent individuals from leaving"**. Gomes highlighted that even when individuals leave, their skills and contributions can have a broader global impact. He cited the example of Elon Musk to illustrate how movement of individuals that can be initially perceived as brain drain can ultimately become a force for positive change on a global scale.

In conclusion, the panel discussion shed light on the multifaceted nature of the global competition for talent. Although brain drain poses challenges for individual nations, it also reflects and contributes to a broader societal trend towards greater mobility and interconnectedness. Recognizing the complexities of this issue and adopting a more nuanced approach is key to harnessing the potential of talent mobility for individual and collective progress.



THE ATLAN DIALOGUE



From
Left to
Right

Alan Kasujja
Presenter, BBC News,
Uganda

Pascal Boniface
Director, The French Institute for
International and Strategic Affairs,
France

Omar Hilale
Permanent Representative
of Morocco to the United
Nations, Morocco

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Barre Seguin

Director, George C. Marshall European Center for
Security Studies, USA



Nathalie Delapalme

CEO, Mo Ibrahim
Foundation, France





Global Turmoil: Crises Response, Cooperation, and Resilience Building

It is becoming increasingly difficult to navigate the interplay of development, security, and governance, in the current global context, marked by shifts and diverse perspectives. The seventh plenary session of the Atlantic Dialogues shed light on the intricate relationships between development, security, and governance. The plenary session not only underscored the challenges faced by various regions, particularly in Africa, but also prompted us to rethink the dynamics of global power and the role of democracy in fostering stability and progress.

Omar Hilale emphasized the importance of considering the specificities of Africa in the quest for development. His call for improving the conditions of African schools and roads, while also promoting respect for traditions, spoke to the need for a holistic approach that goes beyond the mere right to vote. The skepticism surrounding multipolarity arises from the perception that the proliferation of power sources has, unfortunately, led to more disorder than shared values.



Omar Hilale
Permanent Representative of Morocco
to the United Nations, Morocco

He also highlighted the UN's significant financial commitment to Africa, underscoring the urgency of addressing governance issues. Omar Hilale's plea for a shift in focus, with a substantial portion of funding dedicated to governance, resonated strongly. The challenge lies not only in addressing immediate security concerns but in fostering a sustainable environment for development, prosperity, and, ultimately, security.



Nathalie Delapalme
CEO, Mo Ibrahim Foundation,
France

Nathalie Delapalme started by addressing what Africa's role can be in global governance, as crisis has become the norm in various quarters of the world. **"Now we have the Gilets jaunes in France, you have war in Europe, you have a pandemic born in China that has known of no borders, climate change is everywhere, you have fires in California and Greece, you have floods in Europe"**, she stated. Thus, Africa needs to contribute to global policy dialogues: **"It's not a question of how the world can help Africa to address its challenges, but how can Africa**

(...) help the world to address (...) common challenges calling for global solutions." She also brought up a critical perspective on the notion of democracy. She emphasized that democracy is not merely about periodic elections but should be considered in a comprehensive adherence to democratic principles. She advocated for a democracy that upholds human dignity and rights, recognizing that true democracy respects minorities and ensures representation. Importantly, Delapalme highlighted the symbiotic relationship between security and development, urging the world not to compartmentalize these crucial aspects.



Pascal Boniface

Director, The French Institute for International and Strategic Affairs, France

Pascal Boniface pointed to a key challenge in Africa, which is governance. He stated that good governance was the bedrock for meaningful dialogue and collaboration with foreign countries. He stated that he does not think **"that these coups d'états will bring prosperity"**, but that they were nonetheless applauded by people who did not feel represented by false democracies and kleptocratic systems that were in place. The discussion on coups d'état in Africa raised questions about the nature of democracies and the representation of the people. Boniface called for a consistent application of democratic values globally, challenging the presence of double standards in international relations.



Barre Seguin

Director, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, USA

To achieve progress, security is considered a prerequisite. In that context, **Barre Seguin** emphasized the essential role of security in implementing developmental ideas. Without a secure environment, nations struggle to find common ground and collaborate effectively. His call to utilize all instruments of power, coupled with diplomacy, highlighted the multifaceted approach needed to address security concerns. Seguin's distinction between Russia's polycrisis mentality and China's stability-focused approach underscored the varying dynamics of global power.

The key messages from these discussions underlined the intricate relationship between development and security. Moreover, genuine progress requires a harmonious interplay of initiatives to foster economic growth and ensuring stability. Additionally, the skepticism surrounding multipolarity calls for a reassessment of power dynamics, to ensure that shared values prevail over disorder. In fact, consistency in international relations becomes paramount, emphasizing the need for uniform ethical standards in addressing conflicts across different geopolitical contexts. As the world navigates through these challenges, the call for a balanced and comprehensive approach—in which development, security, and governance are interconnected—resonates as a guiding principle for shaping a more harmonious and just global order.



12

THE ATLANTIC DIALOGUES



From
Left to
Right

Sarah Glover
Vice President of News and
Civic Dialogue, W.H.Y.Y. News,
U.S.A.

Serigne Gueye Diop
Minister Advisor to the President of the
Republic, Senegal



R. Andreas Kraemer
Founder, Ecologic Institute,
Germany

Ricardo Santos
Former Minister of Maritime Affairs,
Portugal



Technological Change for a Sustainable Transition

In the wake of escalating environmental challenges, the issue of sustainability has gained unprecedented momentum as a global imperative. In this context, technology and innovation play a crucial role in challenging longstanding unsustainable practices and opening up avenues for new approaches to production processes.



Sarah Glover
Vice President of News and Civic Dialogue, W.H.Y.Y. News, U.S.A.

Ricardo Santos initiated the discussion by directing attention to the ocean ecosystem, emphasizing a significant change in societal perception. Until recently, prevailing attitudes perceived the ocean as an inexhaustible resource, often approached with a “careless admiration”. However, growing awareness of imminent threats, such as acidification, oxygen depletion, and a reduced capacity to absorb excess carbon dioxide, has underscored a critical climate emergency. In response to these challenges, Ricardo Santos stressed that “**without reindustrialization, technological advancement, innovation in clean energy,**

and the adoption of sustainable practices in production and fisheries, the integrity of the ocean is endangered”. Consequently, achieving environmental sustainability, as articulated by Santos, requires a technological revolution coupled with stringent regulations and responsible governance. Specifically, encouraging innovation and technologies with minimal ecological footprints is imperative. However, considering the regional disparities in terms of technological capacities, particularly with technologically advanced countries located in the North, Ricardo Santos underscored the importance of establishing strong cooperation in terms of technology transfers. Finally, acknowledging the damage inflicted on ecosystem services, he concluded by highlighting the long journey ahead, emphasizing the imperative to invest in sustainable practices for a healthier planet.



Ricardo Santos
Former Minister of Maritime Affairs, Portugal

Andreas Kraemer highlighted the unsustainable nature of our current technological systems, stating that **“over the past 150 years, we have developed a habit of always choosing the wrong technologies, even when we recognize that the technology is bad, as we did 70 years ago with the burning of fossil fuels, and 20 years ago with the plastics. We still don't have the regulatory mechanisms and the political will to correct the mistakes we made in the past”**. Delving into the dominance of unsustainable energy systems, particularly in the Atlantic space, Kraemer stressed the shared responsibility of Atlantic nations for these technological missteps. Shifting the focus to the ocean, he warned of the risk of limited capacity to absorb excess heat and carbon dioxide due to unsustainable practices, further emphasizing the urgent need for appropriate technologies. Kraemer criticized the inclination towards capital-intensive solutions, identified as a key factor explaining the choice of environmentally damaging technologies. In addition, he underlined the need to reconsider concepts imported from the West, particularly the concept of private property, which gives the right to use but also abuse the property. In this regard, he stated **“it doesn't matter if you destroy a glass, but it matters if you destroy a forest, an agricultural soil, or an aquatic ecosystem”**. Andreas Kraemer concluded by underscoring the importance of good governance and of combating corruption to rebuild natural capital.



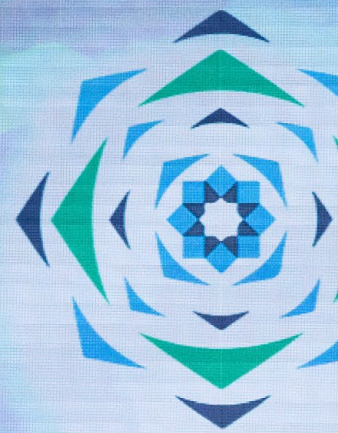
R. Andreas Kraemer
Founder, Ecologic Institute,
Germany



Serigne Gueye Diop
Minister Advisor to the President
of the Republic, Senegal

Serigne Diop pointed out some of the most pressing environmental challenges in Africa, including deforestation, soil degradation, drought, and water scarcity. Beyond their ecological implications, these issues pose a significant threat to the food security of the African population. Hence, the dilemma faced by African countries involves balancing climate change efforts with ensuring the sustenance of African farmers. Diop highlighted the pivotal role of science and technology in responding to this question, advocating for practices like recycling, waste minimization, and more resource-efficient production processes. In addition, he presented some innovative projects to address environmental and agricultural challenges in the continent. First, he advocated for the adoption of organic fertilizers as a sustainable alternative to chemical fertilizers. Furthermore, he insisted on the role of genetic modification to boost crop yields and enhance their nutritional value. **“The North must recognize the distinct priorities of the South [...] It is crucial to establish a common ground to address the intertwined issues of sustainability, food security and migration of young Africans”**. In conclusion, Diop emphasized that the voice and perspectives of the South should not only be acknowledged but also actively considered in the development of policies and strategies.

This discussion about the complex interplay between sustainability and technological change underscores a shared focal point: the collective responsibility to promote more sustainable practices through a unified global effort. International collaboration and thoughtful action are essential to ensure a safer and healthier planet for future generations.



THE ATLAN DIALOGUE



From
Left to
Right

Jacques Attali
Writer and Futurologist,
President, Attali Associates,
France

Zeinab Badawi
President, SOAS University of
London, United Kingdom

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Charles Kupchan
Professor of International Affairs, School of
Foreign Service, Georgetown University, USA



Skills of Tomorrow: How to Shape the Education System?

In today's swiftly evolving world, the indispensable role of education in shaping the future is undeniable. The panel on "Shaping the Education System" addressed pressing issues and proposed innovative strategies to rejuvenate education.



Zeinab Badawi
President, SOAS University of
London, United Kingdom



Jacques Attali
Writer and Futurologist, President,
Attali Associates, France

Jacques Attali highlighted the significant strides made in enhancing global education over the past fifty years, albeit with a notable decline in quality, particularly in developed and developing nations. Attali underscored the importance of addressing inadequate financing as a pivotal factor contributing to this decline, emphasizing the critical need to restore educational systems to ensure equitable access to quality education globally. Moreover, the COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated existing challenges, disproportionately affecting women, and fueling high school dropout rates, especially among girls. As Attali emphasized, **"We have to remember that Covid had taken out of school for two years almost half of all students"**.

As education evolves, **Charles Kupchan** stressed the need to reposition education as the cornerstone of national identity and good citizenship, advocating for a greater focus on civics education. Kupchan also highlighted the transformative impact of women's education on communities and societies, stating, "**When I look at the data, I see few steps that produce better results in terms of building social capital economic development than educating women; and I think that has to be top of our agenda**". Moreover, Kupchan emphasized the need to adapt education to the digital era and to nurture comprehensive citizenship beyond STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) education, cautioning against overemphasis on technical subjects at the expense of humanities and liberal arts disciplines. "**I worry that we are moving toward an educational system ... that's too focused on STEM, and I would be very forlorn to see humanities, history, literature drop out of mainstream education**", he said.



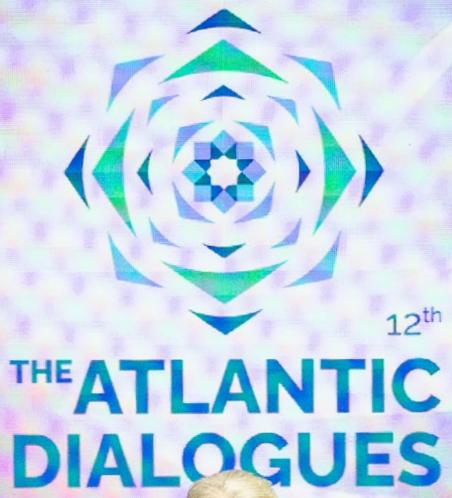
Charles Kupchan
Professor of International Affairs, School of
Foreign Service, Georgetown University, USA





From
Left to
Right

Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo
President, NATO Defense
College Foundation, Italy



Jorge Castañeda
Global Distinguished Professor of
Political Science and Latin American
Studies, New York University, Mexico

Kimberly Dozier
Global Affairs Analyst, CNN,
USA



NATO and BRICS Enlargements: From Ambiguities to Realpolitik

The discussion on international alliances focused on NATO's expansion and the strategic considerations guiding enlargement of the BRICS grouping. This exploration delved into the complexities of these processes, examining the geopolitical implications, regional dynamics, and global consequences. As NATO eyes expansion in Europe, Article 10 of the NATO Treaty outlines its commitment to accept any European state contributing to North Atlantic security. With 31 allies, including recent addition of Finland, pending applications from Sweden and Ukraine highlight NATO's growing influence. The central question emerges, asked by the Moderator **Kimberley Dozier**: BRICS or NATO—who is winning in global popularity?



Kimberley Dozier
Global Affairs Analyst, CNN, USA



Jorge Castañeda
Global Distinguished Professor of
Political Science and Latin American
Studies, New York University, Mexico

In reaction to this question, **Jorge Castañeda** stated that the BRICS are winning in terms of popularity in the Global South. He offered a critical perspective on the BRICS, especially its leaders. He emphasized that these nations struggle to establish unified positions on critical international matters. Their goal as an organization is inversely proportional to their institutional capacities. For instance, their attachment to national sovereignty will block Lula's project of unifying BRICS countries' currencies. Moreover, the BRICS do not exist as a powerful structure outside of the current global division into two blocs—the United States and China. The adherence to the BRICS is read as an alignment to China. In fact, the BRICS face many challenges in pursuing influence over the international scene, such as constituting a non-alignment bloc.

In opposition to NATO, he presented BRICS as an external creation that appeared in a bank report on emerging economies. The political will followed.

In discussing NATO's dynamics, **Alessandro Minuto Rizzo** emphasized that NATO is not a traditional institution but an alliance with both military and political sides, challenging the perception that the U.S. dominates it. He noted the global trend of enlarging memberships and the challenges associated with managing an enlarged NATO. Rizzo highlighted that NATO, contrary to its image, is primarily a political organization, with decisions requiring unanimous agreement and not subject to a vote. He attributed the trend of enlargement to the post-Second World War shift from a few powerful nations to an increasing number, though he cautioned against assuming the world is inherently safer. Regarding Sweden's NATO membership, Rizzo explained that the public's demand followed Russia's attack on Ukraine. He refuted claims that NATO provoked Russia, pointing to earlier negotiations for potential Russian membership.



Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo
President, NATO Defense College
Foundation, Italy

While **Jorge Castañeda** noted the BRICS grouping's popularity in the Global South with critical insights into the challenges it faces, Alessandro Minuto Rizzo emphasized NATO's dual military and political nature, challenging perceptions of U.S. dominance, and discussing the challenges of managing an enlarged NATO. The panelists concluded the discussion on international alliances by tackling NATO expansion and strategic considerations for the BRICS. The debate encapsulated the complexities of these alliances in the evolving global landscape.





ATLANTIC DIALOG
EMERGING
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From
Left to
Right

Jens Meijen
AI Consultant, Ulysses AI,
Belgium

Oumaima El Idrissi
City Councillor, Casablanca City
Council, Morocco

Hillary Briffa
Lecturer in National Security
Studies, King's College London,
Malta

Closing Plenary

WIDER ATLANTIC CHALLENGES VIEWED BY EMERGING LEADERS

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SPIR



Roxy Ogechi Ndebumadu
Mayor Pro Tem & District 4
Councilmember, City of Bowie,
Maryland, USA

Pedro Vormittag
Chief of Staff to the Presidency,
Brazilian Center for International
Relations (CEBRI), Brazil

Nik Gowing
Founder & Co-Director, Thinking
the Unthinkable, United
Kingdom



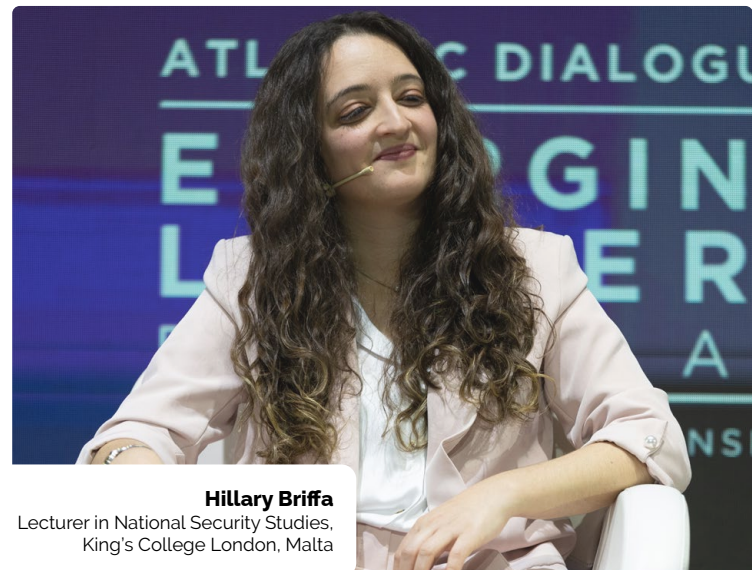
Wider Atlantic Challenges Viewed by Emerging Leaders



Nik Gowing
 Founder & Co-Director, Thinking the Unthinkable, United Kingdom

The closing plenary session of the Atlantic Dialogues Conference was marked by interventions from emerging leaders on critical global issues. Speakers emphasized the urgency of addressing climate change, advocated for intergenerational partnerships, and highlighted the importance of recognizing the potential of younger generations. Themes such as reframing conversations on social issues, and the importance of collective intelligence in addressing global challenges, were also discussed.

A highlight of the discussion was the urgent need to address climate change. **Hillary Briffa** asked, "Are we doing enough to care about climate, to take action? We have nine planetary boundaries. Six of them have been breached, according to scientists. This is happening now". This highlights the current urgency of the climate crisis. In light of this, there is a need to reevaluate the effectiveness of existing measures like debt cancellation, and to thoroughly assess the vulnerability of small states and their exclusive economic zones. Beyond the evaluation of existing structures, a call to action emerged, emphasizing the need for everyone to seize opportunities to contribute to the fight against climate change. This underscored the need for multidisciplinary cooperation, involving both the sciences and the humanities, to find solutions and overcome divisions in order to address crucial climate challenges that will affect future generations.



Hillary Briffa
 Lecturer in National Security Studies,
 King's College London, Malta



Oumaima El Idrissi
City Councillor, Casablanca City
Council, Morocco

Speakers also advocated for intergenerational partnerships. Focusing on social reform, **Oumaima El Idrissi** stressed the importance of recognizing the right of younger generations to have a seat at the decision-making table. She called for meaningful collaboration at local and international levels to build bridges between generations: "We want a partnership and an exchange of ideas between different generations, an exchange of ideas but also of actions". El Idrissi encouraged subnational cooperation, involving local governments across borders, and the fostering of meaningful partnerships and dialogue. The younger generation seeks to bridge generational gaps, urging elders to engage with genuine intentions. Their harmonious approach involves connecting with others, challenging stereotypes to break down barriers, and encouraging mutual understanding. In essence, El Idrissi emphasized the contribution of the younger generation in terms of novelty and innovation, challenging perceptions of obsolescence and advocating for their active participation in shaping the future.

Pedro Vormittag highlighted the theme "Building Bridges Across Generations" and underscored the crucial importance of fostering connections between different age groups to harness collective intelligence: "The theme 'Building Bridges Across Generations' emphasizes the need to connect different generations". Vormittag introduced a significant perspective by advocating for the prevention of intergenerational conflicts, emphasizing the necessity of an inclusive and collaborative approach in overcoming contemporary challenges. He articulated the importance of mobilizing generational capital through cooperative means. Furthermore, Vormittag emphasized the necessity of leveraging the unique strengths and resources inherent in each generation. This served to fortify the call for intergenerational collaboration in addressing both emerging and persistent issues collectively.



Pedro Vormittag
Chief of Staff to the Presidency, Brazilian Center
for International Relations (CEBRI), Brazil



Jens Meijen
AI Consultant, Ulysses AI, Belgium

Jens Meijen emphasized the collective responsibility of leaders to address critical issues such as artificial intelligence. His call for humility as the number one trait of a leader reinforced the idea that acknowledging mistakes is essential for progress: The challenge of finding concrete solutions, even at the cost of economic sacrifice, was addressed. He raised a crucial question about the underestimation of the potential contribution of the younger generation to politics and suggested a necessary shift in perspective. Meijen's analysis focused on artificial intelligence and the increasing activity of young people in social media, particularly using applications such as ChatGPT. Envisaging a future internet dominated by content produced by generative AI, he encouraged reflection on the implications of AI advances, which are mainly concentrated in the North, especially in the United States.

Finally, **Rošann Ndebumadu** emphasized the need to reframe conversations on issues such as climate change. She emphasized the importance of understanding personal problems as a driver of change, moving beyond alarmist discourse: "What is my role as a private citizen when I am struggling with personal issues, be it maternal health, mental health, etc.? People's struggles are very different. We can't force people to change. We must reframe the conversation and make them understand what's at stake for them". Indeed, Rošann Ndebumadu explored the complex relationship between personal struggles and societal engagement, advocating for reframing the conversation rather than forcing change. Closeness to the community offers valuable insights but may lack realism for distant observers. Ordinary citizens facing immediate financial concerns struggle to engage with broader issues. Understanding individual roles is complicated by personal difficulties such as mental health. Ndebumadu stressed the importance of a common language to communicate responsibility.



Roxy Ogechi Ndebumadu
Mayor Pro Tem & District 4 Councilmember,
City of Bowie, Maryland, USA

In summary, this session called for global cooperation, bold action on climate, and recognition of the contributions of younger generations in solving global problems. Different perspectives converged on the importance of a holistic approach to address current and future challenges.



UNDER THE HIGH PATRONAGE OF HIS MAJESTY KING MOHAMMED VI

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THINK - STIMULATE - BRIDGE



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LEADERS
PROGRAM
CONNECT - INSPIRE - GROW

ATLANTIC
DIALOGUES



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