



Shifting Dynamics: The International Order in a Post-Pandemic World

— 1st - 2nd of December | 2020 —

Multipolarity in the Age of COVID-19: The Future of Global Solidarity



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Keynote Speech

The Future of Technology in the Post-Pandemic World

Mustafa Varank



Minister of Industry and Technology, The Republic of Turkey

Born in 1976 in Trabzon, Mustafa Varank received his undergraduate degree from the Department of Political Science and Public Administration at the Middle East Technical University. He holds a master's degree from the Department of Computer Science at Indiana University in the US. He also worked as a specialist at Florida State University and as a researcher and system administrator at the Pervasive Technology Institute of the University of Indiana. In 2005, he started working for the Prime Minister's Office. He was assigned as the Prime Minister's Chief Counsellor in 2011 and the Chief Counsellor within the Presidency in 2014. In 2016 he was awarded the title of "Ambassador". Minister Varank's key interests include high technology, computer technologies and applications, and defence industry R&D. In 2018, he was appointed as the Minister of Industry and Technology.

Distinguished Participants,

It's a great pleasure for me to address you at the fourth annual TRT World Forum. I would like to take this opportunity to extend my warmest greetings to all of you. This Forum creates its distinctive atmosphere by inviting outstanding experts to solve the most puzzling global issues. Thanks to this platform, we can direct novel solutions to real world problems in a collaborative way. This year, we will be focusing on the theme: "Shifting Dynamics in a Post Pandemic World" and frame our discussions according to many aspects of life and society. But here, I would like to share my thoughts on how the future of technology can open up new opportunities.

As you well-know, the pandemic has forced all of us adopt a kind of new world order. And in a period of economic downturn such as this, we may normally expect a simultaneous slowdown of innovative activity. However, this

pandemic differentiates itself in many ways. Corporations are finding new tools to boost their innovation capabilities. Remote working, online shopping, digital and contactless payments, distance learning, robot deliveries, tele-health and even these video meetings have become our new realities. In addition to that, we expect to see remarkable breakthroughs in several key areas over the next decade.

Let me be more specific. Increased AI-driven methods will reduce manufacturing costs by up to a factor of 2. A new generation of quantum computers will substantially shorten research and development cycles. A combination of clinical and information technologies will merge to develop new health care systems. New energy technologies will be harnessed to improve our carbon footprint. We have no idea about the limits of this progress as we look to the future. We can say though that our near future's technology advances can be framed around three concepts: people-centricity, location-independence and resilient delivery.

In this context, the top trends for the future we look to are:

- IOT,
- Privacy-enhancing computing
- Distributed cloud
- AI engineering and Hyper-automation
- AI based anomaly and fault detection systems for UAVs

But you should keep in mind that, this is true just for the time being. Such a rapid worldwide technological transformation will of course have effects on the competitive power of countries. As policy makers, we are faced with a challenging responsibility in this dynamic unpredictable environment: If we don't pay enough attention, we will for sure be left behind. That is why we feel compelled to take early action to accommodate this paradigm-shifting reality. Before returning to this point, I want to quickly prime you on a public awareness campaign and policy that pervades the work in our Ministry.

We started what we call "The National Technology Movement" to ensure our economic and technological independence. In line with this vision, we prepared a

medium-term industry and technology strategy with special emphasis on:

- Artificial intelligence and Machine learning
- Internet of Things
- Big Data
- Cyber security
- Blockchain
- 5G
- Space technologies
- Nanotechnology and Biotechnology

to further improve our skill sets and competence. Nowadays, we are preparing concrete road maps in these areas. Among them, artificial intelligence plays an increasingly important role in our lives. So, let me briefly inform you about our upcoming national AI strategy that has been prepared by a collective effort of public, private and academic bodies. In our strategy, we have defined 6 priorities covering human capital, research, entrepreneurship, infrastructure and data quality. We also address social and economic perspectives, international and bilateral cooperation, structural and labour force transformation. On the institutional side, we made a big step and structured a national Artificial Intelligence Institute that involves a complete ecosystem including young researchers, entrepreneurs, data engineers and more.

Our institute will have a multi-disciplinary vision that will include research departments, competency centres, and co-creation laboratories. Collaboration across the ecosystem will increase the impact of our AI output. Our co-creation vision will welcome global actors to our ecosystem as well. Investing in human resources is another priority for us. As a big step, we have launched the International Fellowship Programme for Outstanding Researchers last year. Thanks to this programme, we have been providing scholarships in AI-related fields. Big data, natural language processing, image processing, autonomous driving and voice recognition are only a few examples of them.

Speaking of autonomous driving, it would be unfair not to mention the Turkey's Automobile project: TOGG. TOGG is way more than a car production project. We are both using and developing state-of-the-art technologies by designing

Such a rapid worldwide technological transformation will of course have effects on the competitive power of countries. As policy makers, we are faced with a challenging responsibility in this dynamic unpredictable environment: If we don't pay enough attention, we will for sure be left behind.

an electric car as a smart device. With this project, Turkey will have a global mobility brand in the market. In addition to these steps, we also support R&D and innovation-led research activities for digital technologies. Turkey ranks sixteenth in the world by the number of publications in the field of AI. TÜBİTAK, our national research institute, has funded nearly 2 thousand AI projects within the last 10 years. These projects include deep learning, machine learning, decision support systems, e-commerce and big data related ones. Last, but not least, we also finance tech-based start-ups.

We recently established a new Technology and Innovation Venture Capital Fund which will provide effective financing opportunities for start-ups and spin offs. We are also working on developing real-life AI applications with our counterparts.

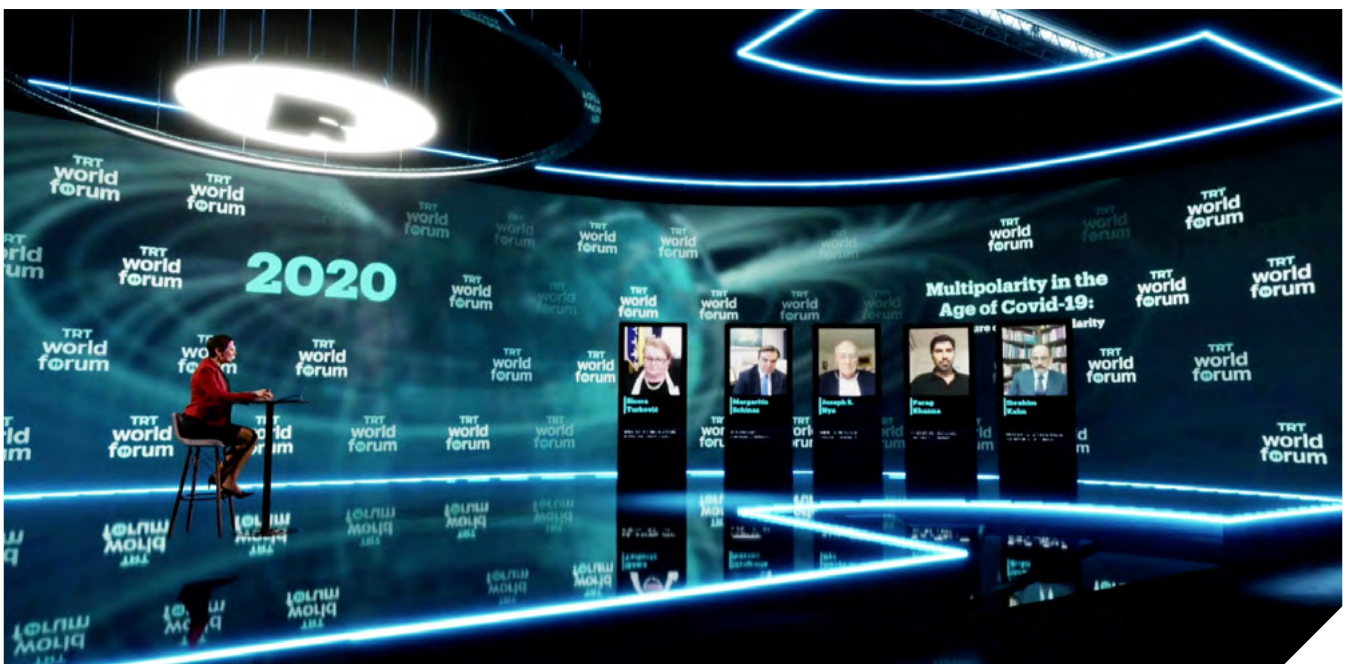
Let me share a recent example here. Our Digital Transformation Office is carrying out The Turkish Brain Project. This AI based project supports the physician by detecting anomalies successfully from brain MRIs in a very short time. Likewise, we are hoping to transmit these kind of solutions into other areas, such as finance, agriculture and education to develop a human centric view.

Distinguished Participants,

Turkey has been implementing an innovative, high value-added and export-oriented development model to achieve its ambitious targets. We are establishing industrial and technology parks where high-tech products are being designed and produced. We support model factories to accelerate lean production and digital transformation. Our visionary Technology-Oriented Industry Program aims to boost value added production and exports. In the last 10 years, we have made great progress in increasing the share of renewable in energy. We are planning to continue to invest more in renewable energy technologies. So, the future is very bright for Turkey. Our doors will always be open for researchers and business people from all around the world. Bearing these in mind, I would like to once again thank everyone who has participated and tirelessly worked for this event. Thank you and I wish you well!

TOGG is way more than a car production project. We are both using and developing state-of-the-art technologies by designing an electric car as a smart device. With this project Turkey will have a global mobility brand in the market.

Multipolarity in the Age of COVID-19: The Future of Global Solidarity



- The COVID-19 pandemic has disrupted and led to a re-thinking of our understanding of globalisation. However, it has also caused a realisation that increased cooperation is the only way to solve truly global problems.
- The COVID-19 pandemic has acted as an accelerant of processes already underway and a dramatisation of our interdependence.
- The United States will remain a ubiquitous presence in the international system, however, it will not necessarily maintain the mantle of global leadership.
- Narrow and maximalist definitions of national interest should be transcended in order to facilitate a more effective multilateralism embodied by the maxim that 'none of us our safe until all of us our safe.'
- The international system's failures have been laid bare by the humanitarian disasters in Syria, Yemen and elsewhere. However, the question of the reform of key international institutions remains a point of contention.
- Globalisation has contributed to raising millions out of poverty over the last several decades. However, the COVID-19 pandemic has demonstrated the increased vulnerability that comes with increased interconnectivity.
- In spite of differences of opinion over its specifics, the post-pandemic world will witness an increase in multilateral engagement.

Summary of the Session

The panel “Multipolarity in the Age of COVID-19: The Future of Global Solidarity” discussed the increasingly multipolar nature of the international system and the role and future of multilateralism with particular reference to the impact of the pandemic.

Addressing one of the key questions of the session regarding whether or not the post-COVID world will witness what some have referred to as ‘de-globalisation’, Joseph Nye, argued that although the pandemic has caused a shock to the system, rather than a comprehensive and radical de-coupling and an increase in isolationism, there are areas where the world will actually become more tightly coupled. As an example of the latter, Professor Nye pointed out that what he referred to as ‘ecological’ globalisation, which entails interdependence at intercontinental distances, necessarily involves a tighter coupling in order to find solutions to truly global problems such as pandemics and climate change.

Echoing the broad agreement among panellists regarding looking at globalisation from multiple perspectives, Minister Bisera Turković emphasised that the pandemic has not only challenged conventional understandings of globalisation as well as our approach to global solidarity by creating or exacerbating interstate frictions and undermining social convergence, but it has also reconfirmed the necessity of bolstering cooperation on a global scale.

On the question of the role of the United States in the emerging global system, Parag Khanna argued that the impression we often get from news coverage that the role of the United States in global affairs is constantly in flux misrepresents the reality of America’s ubiquitous presence in much of the global system. He pointed out, however, that this presence does not necessarily translate into global leadership. Mr. Khanna advanced the argument that the question of America’s place in the emerging global order will not necessarily have one global answer and will, in large part, depend on local and regional dynamics.

Concerning the future of multilateralism, Mr. Ibrahim Kalin offered a critique of what he views as the ‘Eurocentrism’ that permeates predominant understandings of multilateralism, arguing that it is only recognised as such when it includes the participation of Western states, something that needs to change if we are to see real positive change in the international system that has witnessed colossal failures in places such as Syria and Yemen.

Magaritis Schinas, while agreeing with Mr. Kalin that the international system has failed to address certain issues and that more multilateral engagement was needed, disagreed with the “Eurocentric” characterisation, arguing that Europe is in fact leading by example in areas from development aid to climate change.

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Bisera Turković's Highlights



Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Dr. Bisera Turković is the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Vice-Chairwoman of the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina. She has served as the country's Ambassador to the United States, its Permanent Observer to the Organisation of American States (OAS) and as its Ambassador to Mexico and Brazil. From 1993 to 1994, she served as Ambassador to Croatia, followed by ambassadorial appointments to Hungary (1994-1996) and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) (1996-2000). From 2000 to 2001, Turković worked as Bosnia's Minister for European Integration. Between 2001 and 2004, she served as the Executive Director of the Centre for Security Studies in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as a lecturer at the Faculty of Criminal Justice, University of Sarajevo. Prior to her current appointment as a University professor, Turković served as the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations Office in Vienna, and as Ambassador to the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organisation and the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation.

” Interstate cooperation between the EU and the Western Balkans, to which Bosnia Herzegovina belongs, still remains a very relevant topic for us. It includes many aspects like digital connectivity, enhancing business, cultural exchange, fostering ties between youth, and so on.”

” Regional connectivity in the Western Balkans can be seen as a precondition for economic growth, modernisation, sustainable development goals implementation and overall prosperity of the citizens of South-Eastern Europe. Globalism, foreign direct investment, economic growth in the existing economy. And of course, many things could be done regionally from the involvement of the national government.”

” The international order has been shattered in historical ways [...] And the return of geopolitics has challenged the EU's self-conception as a normative power. The market economy crisis has deepened inequalities and populism, while climate change and the environmental threats loom over the world as we know it.”

” If you add the COVID-19 pandemic, which [raises] many questions about the geopolitical balance in how the world's strongest economies will look like after the dangerously unique global economic recession, we are coming to a really complicated situation. It is important to address how the distribution of geopolitical power will change in the post-pandemic world. Will it impact the EU's transformative power and its leading role as a global player in how far it is going to go? Is the EU going to have more geo-economic priorities than geopolitical ambitions? How does the EU's geopolitical agenda and principle paradigms and pragmatism intersect with the EU's value-laden legitimation processes?”

” I think that the ongoing pandemic has challenged globalisation and [international] cohesion in many ways. It's has created friction among states, undermined social convergences and tested inter-generational solidarity. However, this extraordinary situation re-confirms the necessity of further enhancing cooperation not only within the region where we are living, where I'm living, but beyond, in between states and between continents. Even when we are discussing the exchange of information, methodological and procedural knowledge of research, exports, political skills, etc. all that needs much, much more cooperation, much more openness, and we need to restructure our current situation in order to be on more friendly terms and recognising the needs of each other.”

Interstate cooperation between the EU and the Western Balkans, to which Bosnia Herzegovina belongs, still remains a very relevant topic for us.

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Margaritis Schinas's Highlights



Vice President, European Commission

Margaritis Schinas took office as Vice-President for Promoting the European Way of Life in the Von der Leyen Commission in December 2019. Schinas started his career at the European Commission in 1990. Since then, he has served as the European Commission's Chief Spokesperson, Resident Director and Head of the Athens Office of the European Commission's Directorate General for Economic and Financial Affairs, and Deputy Head of the Bureau of European Policy Advisers. He was also a Member of the European Parliament from 2007 to 2009. He holds an MSc in Public Administration and Public Policy from the London School of Economics, a Diploma of Advanced European Studies on European Administrative Studies from the College of Europe in Bruges, and a Law Degree from the Aristotelean University of Thessaloniki.

” “One of the gains of the pandemic is that the society at large, from elementary school kids until grannie's at home, our societies familiarised themselves with their digital realities and we had an incredible gain in terms of familiarising the population with online tools for teaching, learning, finding information, organising markets, the economy, prosperity and so on and so forth. So what do we need to do in the future is make the best of this achievement and [also] continue to strive for more digital skills and more digital knowledge in Europe. And it's an urgent need now. Europe needs a skills revolution, and we'll make sure that in the years to come, through our training programmes, but also through other means, like legal migration or international cooperation, we can find these people.”

” “On the macro level [...] I think that it's Europe's moment to decide on these mega issues like the future of platforms in Europe, the way we protect ourselves from attacks from state and non-state actors and hybrid threats, the way the many enemies that the pandemic has brought around can use the system to go through our cracks to produce [so-called] miracle cures, misinformation, shape the way our societies vote, affect our democracies, all these are issues that we need to see in the years to come. And I use the term 'we' because of course, this is mainly a European concern, but all these areas are areas where we, the planet, would have a lot to gain if we were to meet with other like-minded forces. And I really hope that this will be possible in the years to come.”

” “I do not quite agree though with [the characterisation of Eurocentrism]. In fact, I haven't come across this term before Mr. Kalin used it. The European Union and its member states are the biggest donors of development aid in the world. No one contributes more in terms of

development aid than we do, in Africa, in Asia, in the poorest areas of the planet. We have free trade with the 'nothing that harms' with the poorer countries of the planet. We are leading by example in noble causes for the planet like climate change and the Paris Agreement. This is not Eurocentric. This is totally the contrary. It's Europe taking the lead to help the world.”

” “Recently, we have presided [over] a donors conference that raised 16 billion euros for vaccine development and therapeutics for the rest of the world beyond what we're doing within the EU, especially in these areas of the world where we have more fragile health systems. And we are one of the most ardent supporters of COVAX in this clear area, working with COVAX and the G20 to step up our contribution worldwide. So I do not see all of this as being Eurocentric. Of course, I agree also with Mr. Kalin that the international system failed to address certain problems. Syria, Libya are good examples, but the logical conclusion of this failure is not that it's Europe's fault or it's anyone's fault. I would say that this is the most compelling factor to move towards multilateralism, effective, cooperative solutions that involve everybody else.”

We are leading by example in noble causes for the planet like climate change and the Paris agreement.

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İbrahim Kalın



Presidential Spokesperson, the Republic of Turkey

Prof. İbrahim Kalın is the Spokesperson to the President of Turkey, Deputy Head of the Security and Foreign Policy Council of the Turkish Presidency, Ambassador, and the Senior Advisor to the President. Prof. Kalın previously served as Deputy Secretary-General at the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, Assistant Undersecretary of State and Senior Advisor to the Prime Minister of Turkey before taking up his current post. Prof. Kalın is the founding-director of the SETA Foundation for Political, Economic, and Social Research. A graduate of Istanbul University, he received his Ph.D. from the George Washington University. Prof. Kalın has taught courses and published widely on Islamic philosophy, comparative philosophy, Islam-West relations, and Turkish foreign policy. His books include: *Islam and The West*; *Mulla Sadra*; *Reason and Virtue: Turkey's Social Imagination*; *Self, Other and Beyond: Introduction to the History of Islam-West Relations*; *Barbar, Modern, Civilized*; and *The Veil and The Meaning*.

” “Regarding a point Professor Nye raised in his comments earlier where he said that defining national interest in a narrow manner will be, in fact, against the national interests of any country, of any society. I fully agree with this principle that it will be self-defeating to define one’s national interests or self-interest in a very narrow and maximalist manner, because we live in this age of growing interdependence where, for example, in terms of security, none of us are safe until all of us are safe. None of us can share in wealth and prosperity or safety until all of us share in these values. So, “my country first, my region first” approach is very much self-defeating in this age of interdependence and multilateralism.”

” “Solidarity [...] means going beyond your own narrow national interests or personal self-interest. It means genuine openness to others and the moral principle that to help others should be an end in and of itself without any regard for profit or long term gains or calculations and the like, but we know that reality is not like this. The current global order is run by the most powerful countries in the world, which tend to be very unfair and greedy when it comes to these issues.”

” “I have to raise a couple of points about multilateralism and Eurocentrism, how it [multilateralism] is defined in a very Eurocentric context. Multilateralism means that more than one or two countries participate in an effort to address the regional issues, but multilateralism is recognised only when prominent Western European countries are part of the process. If, say, for example, Japan, China and South Korea do something and somehow some Western countries are absent, it really doesn’t count as multilateralism. Multilateralism means that powerful European nations or the United States must be part of it, otherwise, it’s not multilateralism. That needs to change, because I believe at the end of the day, Eurocentrism hurts European interests and Western nations as well.”

” “We have to address these issues in an honest manner if we are going to address the international global order in the post pandemic world, when we reach there. When we call for reform of international institutions such as the UN, for example, President Erdogan, calling for a reform of the UN Security Council when he says “the world is bigger than five”, [this] is referring to this self-proclaimed structure and institutional organisation at the UN where everything is blocked and everything is dependent on the views of the five countries. [When] whether this is geographically or demographically fair, demographically, it’s not of course. It is a very old ancient structure that is not able to address the pressing issues of the 21st century. We need to talk about these issues now in a much more serious and earnest manner, otherwise, injustice, greed, unfairness or all these problems will continue, whether it is the refugee crisis or poverty or inequality or injustices or wars, migration and a number of other issues.”

” “We have seen the failure of the international system in Syria, we have seen it in Iraq, we have seen it in Yemen, in Somalia, in the Palestinian question, in a number of other parts of the world. This creates a lot of space for what I call the ‘clash lobby’, which then manipulates a sense of identity, fosters populism, even encourages fascism and authoritarianism. That is not a good thing for anyone, for either Eastern countries or Western countries, for rich or poor countries, because if the world is stuck in this kind of chaos, everybody is affected by it. And another pandemic, God forbid, another COVID-20 or COVID-21, or something of that magnitude will make things even worse for all of us. To avert all this, we really have to work together [...] do it with genuine openness to others so that we can help others and help ourselves.”

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Joseph Nye's Highlights



University Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus and Former Dean of the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Joseph S. Nye, Jr. is the University Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus and former Dean of Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. He received his bachelor's degree summa cum laude from Princeton University, won a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford, and earned a Ph.D. in political science from Harvard. He has served as Assistant Secretary of Defence for International Security Affairs, Chair of the National Intelligence Council, and a Deputy Under Secretary of State, and won distinguished service awards from all three agencies. His books include *The Future of Power*, *The Power Game: A Washington Novel*, and *Do Morals Matter?* He is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the British Academy, and the American Academy of Diplomacy. In a recent survey of international relations scholars, he was ranked as the most influential scholar on American foreign policy, and in 2011, *Foreign Policy* named him one of the top 100 Global Thinkers. In 2014, Japan awarded him the Order of the Rising Sun.

” “We have seen a shock to the system as a whole, but I think if anything, we've learnt that rather than decoupling and isolation and so forth, that there are some areas where we're going to be more tightly coupled. It's true that on some of the economic globalisation that the world has seen, there has been more concern about security when it comes to supply chains. So in that sense, 'just in case, is going to replace just in time.'”

” “One should also remember that there are two types of globalisation: economic globalisation, which we've referred to, but also ecological globalisation, which is interdependence at intercontinental distances. And there, if anything, the pandemic has showed that we're more tightly coupled and will increasingly be tightly coupled. Alas, this is not the last pandemic, and also, alas, we're on a path in climate change where we're seeing carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases crossing borders without any concern about nationality, just the way viruses cross borders without any concern about the humans that they kill. So I think in that sense, we're learning that we have no escape.”

” “The term 'America first' is not bad, per say. I would imagine Macron says France first, but I think the problem is how narrowly Trump defined 'America first', that it was always a short run and transactional and didn't include the interests of others. I think what we've heard this morning from all the panellists is that, in fact, there are times when helping others is in your own interest, and I think you're going to see a greater realisation of that when Biden takes office.”

” “I think the question of will there still remain Trumpism? Yes, populism and a narrow interpretation of one's tribe, so to speak, is endemic in all societies. And there is a group in the United States which will urge the narrow

interpretation of the national interest. Fortunately, that's not the majority [...] I think you will see a residual Trumpism, or if you want, call it a narrow, populist approach. I liked this term Mr. Kalin used about the 'Clash Lobby', I think that's a nice way of caricaturing it. That will exist. It's going to exist in the United States, it's going to exist in other countries.”

” “We've learnt that there are certain areas where efficiency, just having a supply chain that gets you a slightly cheaper cost to your product, is not always crucial if you have to have security [...] But that doesn't mean you drop international trade as a whole, which would be a huge loss for the planet [...] After all, if you look at what's happened to global poverty in the era of globalisation over the last 50 years or so, it's greatly declined. People don't always pay attention to that, but there has been progress, but we also have to realise that with greater interconnection comes greater vulnerability, and it makes sense for people to pay attention to security against those vulnerabilities.”

” “I think the pandemic has been an accelerant of people's learning and attitudes. We don't want to pretend that the world changed overnight. After all, there was a movement to deal with climate which was growing in strength, particularly amongst younger generations. And if you look at the difference of the progress between, let's say, the Copenhagen meeting in 2009 on climate, which was something of a mess and the Paris climate accords in 2015, there was always some progress occurring ahead of time. I think what you're seeing, though, is that the pandemic has brought this to the forefront, that we're going to have to do more. It's been an accelerant or a dramatization of our interdependence, but let's not pretend that there wasn't already movement going on before 2020.”

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Parag Khanna's Highlights



Founder and Managing Partner, FutureMap

Parag Khanna is a leading global strategy advisor and best-selling author. He is the founder & managing partner of strategic advisory firm FutureMap. His latest book is titled *The Future is Asian: Commerce, Conflict & Culture in the 21st Century*. Khanna has also authored *The Second World: Empires and Influence in the New Global Order*, *How to Run the World: Charting a Course to the Next Renaissance*, and *Connectography: Mapping the Future of Global Civilization*. Some of his other works include *Technocracy in America: Rise of the Info-State and Hybrid Reality: Thriving in the Emerging Human-Technology Civilization*. He was named one of Esquire's "75 Most Influential People of the 21st Century," and was featured in WIRED magazine's "Smart List." He holds a Ph.D. from the London School of Economics, and bachelor's and master's degrees from Georgetown University. He is a Young Global Leader of the World Economic Forum.

” I think we tend to view the US far too much as a fluctuating presence in the world based upon the news cycle or based upon our views of the occupant of the White House. The truth is that, you know, on a 24/7, 365 days on a day in and day out basis, the United States plays an incredibly in-depth, far reaching role in many important parts of the world. That's true in Asia, that's true in Europe and so forth. So if we ignore for a moment the image or impression that we draw from the news, let's not forget the role of the American financial system, the American military and so many aspects of what comes out of American decision making and policy and its global presence and its impact on the world. That doesn't necessarily mean leadership per say [...] I think we should not confuse presence with leadership. I think America's presence is ubiquitous still in so many important areas. Whether or not [it will act] as a leader is a different question.”

” I think that what is happening in the world more broadly and has been happening for a long time is a certain sense of awakening and desire of regions, most certainly in Europe, most certainly in Asia, these wealthy, confident corners of the world, to be in control of their own fate, to make their own decisions and to exercise their own sovereignty, to decide what the best manner in which they are going to relate to their neighbours is. So rather than viewing the issue as whether or not the world as a whole will welcome back America, I think we should be looking at these bottom up realities that are actually quite robust. Again, it's the rising self-confidence of regions to try to determine their own fate, and then the question for America becomes, to what

extent is it listening? Is it contributing, is it helping those regions achieve what it is that they want to achieve for themselves? And I think that's the question that needs to be asked in Washington.”

” When you look at the role of America's military or sanctions policy for example, there are going to be geographies and partners with whom that still remains very important and where there is consensus and agreement, there are going to be areas of huge disagreement. Between the United States and Europe, there are areas where they cooperate very strongly and, as we've seen in just the last few days, European leaders and the European Union has issued something of an action plan to guide future cooperation around issues like technology, regulation and also screening of investment from China and these kinds of things. So there is enormous scope for cooperation in the transatlantic arena.

” There are still very strong American relations with Asian powers, in fact, they're only getting stronger. If we look at the level or the renewal of cooperation between the United States, Japan and Australia and India are now playing a growing role as well in what we call the quad set of countries. Thus, I would very strongly resist us having one global answer to the question. But I want us to think about how the answers to future problems lie very much in the regions themselves. And I would like to see, again, US policy focus on supporting those palatable ground up inside out solutions. That is the recipe for a more stable world.”



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