

# **A New World Order**

BMI Conference Report

TAU – Sciences Po Paris  
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Prof. Itai Sened, Petr Pesov

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## **Executive Summary**

After recovering from the COVID-19 Pandemic, the world plunged into one of its darkest moments in modern history, unveiling fundamental challenges within our society's political, economic, and social tissues. The War has demonstrated multiple faults in the existing governance systems on both the national and international levels.

The Sciences Po – Tel Aviv University conference aims to explore facets of this frightening reality to see if we can develop some strategic responses to these global challenges. Ignoring such difficulties would lead to catastrophic consequences for humanity as such. Developing new institutional solutions and reorganizing existing ones is vital to creating a standard for the global ecosystem for society for the future.

We focused on four topics as cornerstones for the conference. The first two focus on the heart of the problem, while the two others explore where answers might be coming from. Two hotbeds of conflict are the War in Ukraine and the Middle East. The other two panels will look into what may change things around. The first panel will focus on political and economic institutions: to what extent the existing institutions are failing us, how, why, and what we could propose as optional remedies. The last panel focuses on general digital governance and cyber governance. We believe that future institutions will be primarily digital or, at the very least, rely heavily on digital mechanisms to govern. The most obvious example with which we have accumulated significant experience and knowledge is the cyber world. Digital structures of governance primarily govern this arena. The most renowned global experts were gathered in all panels to explore the options.

## **Introduction**

Challenges created by the Pandemic and War in Ukraine, exacerbated by others like climate change and rapid technological advancements, supply-chain crises, and energy and food insecurities as a direct result of the failure of the contemporary institutional structure.

International academic collaboration - can be mobilized in the most extensive ways to solve challenges that democracies do while learning from successes and failures and brainstorming solutions. As TAU's Vice President for International Affairs, Prof. Milette Shamir mentioned in her opening remarks – it is on the academic world to try and find solutions to the posed challenges and fix the democratic systems, some of which are currently under attack from populist political leaders. Each academic has dozens and hundreds of connections, and the field itself is the widest-spread network held by core values: academic freedom and the pursuit of knowledge.

Sciences Po's President Mathias Vicherat was happy to open the ongoing collaboration. He stood firmly in explaining his belief in the need to utilize the interdisciplinary and international approach through comparative to understand better the challenges we are currently facing. Hence, this becomes increasingly important as all the global issues we try to disentangle are interconnected.

The partnership between Sciences Po and Tel-Aviv University has been around for a long time; however, this conference was the first event of its kind. It brought several incredible panels together to promote the perspectives of academic experts and former government officials of the highest stature. During the discussions, scholars and practitioners expanded upon the most pressing challenges within the framework of conflict resolution, cybersecurity, and institutional development. While proposed solutions may be different, all agreed that promoting cooperation and trust-building is one of the keys to a successful future.

**Address by Dr. Boris Mints, President of BMI:**

"It is a great honor for me to welcome you to our conference. I want to thank you for your participation and ask for your attention for a few minutes, during which I would like to share a couple of remarks before we begin.

The most important geopolitical event of the past year is Putin's aggression in Ukraine. Today, after eleven months, Russia's military invasion of the territory of a neighboring, sovereign state has devastating consequences, both for Ukraine and Russia and for all of mankind. The presence of nuclear weapons in the aggressor country turns a military conflict into a crazy act of collective suicide. I adhere to the point of view that the War unleashed by Russia in Ukraine is not just a war for the territory, natural, and other material resources of a neighboring state; it is an attempt to eliminate the existing civilizational world order. A world order based on the fact that all people share common values and interests based on basic freedoms.

Unfortunately, we have to admit that Putin is not the only politician in the world whose activities are based on the denial of universal values and the desire to destroy the existing civilizational world order. All dictators and other populist politicians justify their destructive position with the national interests of their countries. In their understanding, national interests and globalization are not compatible. But this is so - only if nationalism is understood as xenophobia. Otherwise, if by nationalism we mean the creation of optimal living conditions for all people living in the country, regardless of their age, gender, religion, sexual orientation, then there are no contradictions between nationalism and globalism.

We face considerable challenges in restoring the system of international cooperation based on the improvement and development of international law. Regrettably, Russia's aggression in Ukraine has largely violated the existing order established after the end of the Nuremberg trials. It has undermined faith in international institutions and revealed their helplessness and inability to withstand such challenges. The scarceness of international law has led to the inability of legal entities to enforce the decisions of international institutions, primarily on officials who make decisions contrary to international agreements. We also see the need for mechanisms by international institutions that assure compliance with the existing legal norms by state leaders. Within the framework of a new, more perfect world order, special attention should be paid to the commitment of people to the national interests of their countries. If Putin's aggression succeeds, its result will be the final collapse of the existing global order. This, we should remember every moment.

**Prof. Paul Romer**, New York University, Nobel Laureate 2018, Former Chief Economist of the World Bank: "Norms for a New World Order?"

There are existing norms that could be reshaped to have a well-functioning international system. Such norms include the treaty of Westphalia, which commits states to the principles of non-interference and respect for the rule of law. These are important traditional norms; each subject has a varying view on norms. From the international law perspective - they are very important, but within International Relations - it raises a very important question - how do norms make a difference? People that believe they do, think that they influence behavior. Norms can also change over time - the abolition of slavery is an example. The European monarchical system ignored national boundaries and nation-states, which would be bizarre coming from the nation-states. These patterns in European monarchies emerged before the nation-states. Before 1648 – people could not imagine what it would be like to live in a world of a nation-state; thus, it is difficult to imagine things we are unfamiliar with. In monarchies - the head of the nation is someone purely chosen by their birth, and people are the ultimate anchor to the suitability of the government. In the late 19th century - the system of divine monarchy was going away, but people couldn't imagine what the change would be like. There could be a way for a better system, but we need to understand there could be a better one. One of Prof. Romer's suggestions deals with leasing land to other countries that want to invest in infrastructure. The central premise is that you can't pay back the investment with what people are charged for using it. However, creating real-estate projects on the same land could offset costs and help create wealth through investments. These areas would function on the territory of a third state, which is being invested in, while residents for it could come from destabilized, insecure, impoverished areas and given livelihood with their majority population, while government services would be exported from the state where the investment takes place with some degrees of democratic autonomy and full cultural autonomy. While this, as Prof. Romer described it himself, is something out of the world of science fiction within the modern world, it is a powerful example that we should be open-minded to new ideas and constantly try to develop new solutions to better our existing conditions. This becomes an issue increasingly, as Gallup estimates 750 million people that would leave the country where they are now, given a chance, which is probably an underestimation. The proposed solution is indeed more straightforward than the alternative - establishing the rule of law, as that takes centuries. At the same time, the populists are thinking about 750 million or billions, which is scary migration – which is an increasingly polarising issue, as statistically, at low rates, Immigration goes just fine, but at high rates, it poses threats. But now the populists may have a point - if the speed is

too high, the new arrivals will swamp the existing population, voluntary segregation, strongholds of the norms, as Prof. Romer explains. Thus, protecting the Westphalian commitment is very important on the current and future tracks, so some of the existing norms must be reinforced while we search for additional solutions to crises.

## **The Middle East in a Contemporary Global Perspective**

**Moderator: Francois Heilbronn**, Adjunct Professor, Sciences Po

This panel focused on the developments in one of the most troubling regions, the Middle East, and three questions: What has happened in the last few years in the Middle East that you did not expect? Where have the institutions need to function better? What should we do about it?

**Prof. Alain Dieckhoff**, Director, Center for International Studies (CERI), Sciences Po

As an academic – Prof. Dieckhoff expected the failure of the Arab Spring. Due to the weakness of the liberal democratic forces - the sociological structural possibility for democratic transition was doomed, and states ended up with autocratic leaders. However, the Abraham Accords and the movement of the Palestinian question becoming marginalized came unexpectedly as the agenda shifted towards the Gulf-Iran picture. In the last months, the region has seen new Palestinian activists gaining ground with the weakening of the Palestinian Authority. This, combined with the hardening of the Israeli position, will likely lead to worsening security. Regionally, institutions are weak in the Middle East, but this has nothing to do with regional organizations. The main actors have always been the states. Yet, there are only a few Middle Eastern states that are stable. Many countries are in an alert category, as Libya, Syria, and Yemen are failed states, and others are deeply divided - Iraq and Lebanon. The shape of states is bad; Israel and Jordan are exceptions. The international community should address the question of the states and reconstruct them so that they function well, deliver basic goods, and have security instead of nations or new institutional mechanisms.

**Dr. Sami Miaari**, Department of Labor Studies, Tel-Aviv University

According to Dr. Miaari - all the mass politics in the Middle East cannot be solved without a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Agreement between UAE, Bahrain, and Israel – begs the question of whether the population believes in them. Every peace agreement in the Middle East should start with the Palestinians. Saudi Arabia and Qatar populations will not accept peace without solving the issue. Demography is another problem - many people are entering the labor force. Now within the PA, there are many protests and many problems related to the youth - so the change will be coming from there. This will shape the leadership transition in the coming years. There will likely be a resurgence of the Arab Spring. The most important thing about the Israel-Palestinian conflict is to worry about the economic conditions there. The public sector within the Palestinian Authority has already reduced 20% of the salaries, decreasing the total economy. Most countries started to import from China and stopped exporting from Middle Eastern countries, including the Palestinian Authority. It exports to Israel, but Israel reduces imports, closing manufacturing and employment opportunities. These



localities were the first in the confrontation within the second Intifada. We should control the economic changes. Non-integration of women and youth is collapsing the economy, and civil society will deteriorate the situation further. It is important to keep economic opportunities for the Palestinian Authority with the international community's help.

**Prof. Laurence Louër**, Sciences Po

There is an amount of support for strong men in countries like Tunisia, returning to old distributing social contracts – which was a central argument of Prof. Louër. Failure of democratic processes - is the most depressing thing; in the only two Middle Eastern democracies - Lebanon and Israel, it is weakening. Lebanon has collapsed because of corruption between factions in the government rather than confessionalism. Israel also has its problems - with a sign of crisis by Likud's turn to far-right populism. The failure of democratic institutions cannot be understood without social contracts and mass public sector employment within this region. In the Middle East, most countries - were socially authoritarian regimes. Social protection distribution fed authoritarianism rather than democracy. A large middle class of civil servants only pushed this further. The level of poverty and inequality was traditionally lower here than in South America and Africa. The 1980s debt crisis, leading to the collapse of oil and destructive capacity, as most of the region was linked to oil and gas, was a very worrying situation. This started the downgrade of the middle class. All these young people who were pushed to universities to secure their post-graduation position are unable to do so, and many find their first jobs in unregulated sectors. International and domestic success of social authoritarianism can be seen in the Gulf states, which are much better off, such as Qatar and UAE. These populations are very well protected, working in state-owned firms, because of their specific socio-economic conditions, huge welfare, and small populations. The most unexpected is that these two states became strong military powers on regional support, without depending on anyone, taking security into their own hands.

**Ambassador Prof. Itamar Rabinovich**, Former Ambassador of Israel to the USA and President Emeritus of Tel-Aviv University

Russian military intervention in Syria in 2015 was very surprising for Prof. Rabinovich. The USSR did intervene in Europe; however, intervening in a civil war far from Russia was not common, especially without strict ideological proximity. At that point - Iran persuaded Putin that Assad would lose the civil War, knowing that the whole policy of Russia coming back to the Middle East relied on Syria. If Assad was to be toppled - the whole configuration in the region would change. Intervention far away could be a disaster; however, Iranians have committed to fighting on the ground, with Russia using the Air Force as the main power. The

international community did not see the same war crimes that Russia committed in Ukraine in Syria, despite their presence. The capture of Aleppo put an end to the Civil War and surviving Assad. Putin was allowed to intervene because we did not deter him. Within the military and political strategy used in Georgia, Crimea, and Syria - there was a sense in the world that Putin had found a key. But this was not the case in Ukraine. The second surprising issue was the Abraham Accords - it was a common Arab position that any progress toward Arab-Israeli confrontation depended on significant progress to a two-state solution. Yet, a right-wing government signed them, which came as an unintended consequence of Trump's policy. A big part of getting the next deal is Saudi Arabia. Relations under the table will continue; however, they are unlikely to be normalized.

## **The Aftermath of The War in Ukraine**

**Moderator: Prof. Sergei Guriev**, Provost, Sciences Po

At the panel regarding the brutal invasion that Russia is perpetrating in Ukraine, the questions were quite similar to those asked in the previous panel: What has happened in the last few years that you did not expect? Where have the institutions and have not functioned well? What should we do about it?

**Dr. Igor Luksic**, UDG, Former Prime Minister of Montenegro

Many stakeholders carefully watch what is going on in the War, and people argue about the causes of the War. Some say it's an obsession, others say that this is to deal with internal problems, and some argue for security. Dr. Luksic believes that, as with all other conflicts - there has to be a transactional agreement. Another problem is that there is no obvious successor to Putin. The narrative in Ukraine is similar to some Yugoslav narratives, and at the same time, the same nationalistic tones can be heard in the youth in Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The firmness of the West – positively surprised Dr. Luksic, counting on them. NATO's decision to expand, the attempt to join done by Finland and Sweden, with Turkey's denial is another twist of this War. Following the issue between Serbia and Kosovo closely, the former tries to sit on two chairs. The West has intensively pressed Serbia to reach a normalization agreement with Kosovo - meaning that Serbia accepts its independence. In Russia, one of the main arguments in the international arena is that what the West did in Kosovo legitimizes the Russian takeover. Another consequence is the potential energy crisis; however, what is more, pressing is the food crisis. The only agreement that occurred was one mediated by Turkey on grain. This points to the fragility of the international system. Is this a sign for regional food banks as a possibility to prevent this in the future? In the long-run economic deterioration in Russia will occur due to the green-energy transition within Europe. Will this lead to an inability to properly manage the nuclear arsenal? A narrow economy shows that it suffers from a structural disparity. Given the strength of nationalism in the West Balkans, the EU should be worried about new membership integration and develop new strategies for adopting new members. Integration of Western Balkans in the EU should provide economic opportunity.

**Prof. Marie Mendras**, CERI, Sciences Po

Deep down, Putin is a protectionist that always resisted globalization. Kosovo was instrumentalized in getting Chechnya for the second War, according to Prof. Mendras. There has never been a liberal world order, and we are moving from the delusion of world order, trying to monitor disorder; it is impossible to have order. Unexpected is the ferocity and cruelty of the War, the insanity of the war goals with attempts to kill Zelensky and take over Ukraine.

It was strange to see that Russia thought it possible to annihilate a huge state with a well-functioning system. The fake narrative and delusion inside the Kremlin led to the biggest mistake they could have made. Resistance to Ukraine and strategic intelligence was an expected moment, as they were anticipating Russian aggression. So many people wanted to believe that Russia had a big well-developed, modernized army, which was proven false. People do not read enough to understand how and why the Regime does what it does. Vladimir Putin never meant to negotiate, and when Putin went for the all-out War of annihilation, it was very difficult to envisage how we could react, and there was a lot of fear of War in Europe. Anticipating the aftermath of the War - it's very important not to think about the aftermath of the War but to make decisions. In Europe, we have to work with the idea that the War is in its last months and be ready strategically for short-term, mid-term, and long-term, completely revisioning our notion of security, affirming that security means people's security, as Prof. Mendras proposes.

**Prof. Moritz Schularick**, Department of Economics, Sciences Po

For many, a big surprise was that Russia's energy weapon against Europe did not work. In March 2022, Prof. Schularick proved that the shock would be manageable. Using the state-of-the-art energy sector model, assuming the difficulty of shifting energy inputs, one big reference point was the Fukushima incident. It was not a theoretical argument but a rather practical one, as it included crucial substitutes and elasticity. The shock was not pleasant yet manageable. So, to what extent is trade and openness to trade promote security? Insurance has openness to trade and opportunity; however, there is a trade-off between efficiency and interdependence. More interdependence was thought of as more secure and peaceful; however, now it creates conflict and chokepoints, raising a broader question of costs and benefits. The big issue for Russia now is its dependence on fossil fuel exports, and the economy is under pressure but doing well thus far. Time is running out, but not doing so fast enough to make Putin stop.

**Dr. Charles Tenenbaum**, Tel Aviv University, Sciences Po Lille, and Sciences Po Paris

Dr. Tenenbaum's reaction on the multilateral level to the invasion of Ukraine, political cohesion, and diplomatic unity in reaction to the War was very surprising. On more concrete aspects: the sanctions put on Russia and new mechanisms that provide military support to Ukraine showed how united the West was on this topic. This recognized the multilateral dynamic, transforming the EU as a political power. Military support from the EU states helps with weapons and finances. Oil and gas cap prices are also new instruments, getting political consensus on pressing matters. At the multilateral level - the UN also plays a role, where the votes at the UN are an important statistic with countries condemning Russian aggression. The

West tried to create a global consensus. But what did not function well? Preventive measures and negotiations did not go beyond the expectations of good offices and mediation offers of the diplomatic community. France decided to maintain an open line with Putin, as it did not want Turkey to be the only world power going to Russia. Calls for a joint ceasefire effort have failed. People recognize this War as a world war, and Europe must get better at negotiation strategies, reviving opportunities that seem to be lost. Improving diplomatic communication strategies is crucial.

## **The New Institutional Order**

**Moderator: Prof. Itai Sened**, Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences at Tel Aviv University  
This panel focused on issues and disruptions facing current political and economic institutions facing daily pressing challenges.

**Arancha Gonzalez**, Dean, Paris School of International Affairs, Sciences Po

There are many disruptors of the international system, as Arancha Gonzalez stated. Nation-states used to be constructors within the world order, but it is not possible anymore. Philanthropists and NGOs organize local systems; however, they must be heard internationally. Inventing a new system is also related to the concept of order, a response to what is happening on the ground. It is very important to have technology considered. For such fields as Intellectual Property, agriculture, business, and trade, there cannot be vertical systems; they have to be interconnected. How do we address interconnection? The national and supranational divide keeps increasing. Local-level problems like health have become supranational. All of this speaks to our need to fit into this reality. Any new global order needs to be based on understanding what is good and what is bad as a function of collective preferences. The world today is much bigger than the West - so we need to incorporate the values of the other parts of the world. The EU is a new experiment where we have gone away from the nation-state with limitations. Productivity and competitiveness are the way you deal with the system. If people's skills are not good, products won't be competitive. Arancha Gonzalez argued for a need for a mix between democracy and efficiency.

**Prof. Philippe Martin**, Dean, School of Public Affairs, Sciences Po

There is an issue of the return of protectionism, which rose under Obama and was exacerbated under Trump, with no return from the Biden administration, a challenge that seemed clear to Prof. Martin. The return of this is caused by rising inequality, and the work by economists suggests that shocks have been attributed to that. Trade generates efficiency gains, taxing the winners and compensating the losers. The consequences of globalization have been mismanaged due to these assumptions. It is difficult to tax the winners of globalization. Trying to defend efficiency issues should be addressed by regulating tax avoidance. The world should be keeping globalization without retreating completely. Countries that do protectionist measures are the ones with larger trade deficits – and that is the reasoning for the policy. There are macroeconomic imbalances, but we also have to think that it generates inefficiency gains. Trade and climate are interconnected. The EU and the US lack convergence to fight climate change. Taxes are efficient, but the dynamic between parties will be damaged in a world where approaches are mismanaged. The liberal view of trade is very naïve, as Prof. Martin explained.

The role of trade in peace is ambiguous. A lot of bilateral trade can put an incentive to not escalate. If multilateral trade is increased, reducing bilateral trade removes the incentive for peace.

**Prof. Paul Romer**, New York University, Nobel Laureate 2018, Former Chief Economist of the World Bank

It is hard to design a justice system that would protect people from the employer, as Prof. Romer explained. The world bank has a very small portfolio to make a big difference. Capturing 1-2 billion USD by the World Bank is being given to salaries for employees; therefore, not a lot of wealth can be created. The diplomatic reputation of the world bank is important, and compromises come at the price of misinterpreting the truth. The commitment to compromise and absence of truth that occurred in the World Bank, as Prof. Romer explained, should remove research or statistics published by it. The system of European science is an amazing system that should be kept at all costs. It was built into the system that there would be compromises, but it's not good to have those. Speaking about efficiency – Prof. Romer claimed that letting people move from one country to another would reduce the waste of people working in inefficient systems. However, democracy would be dead if that was what the people were told.

## **A Cyber World and the future of Digital Governance**

**Moderator: Constance de Leusse**, Director, McCourt Institute

The final panel focused on the challenges of developing digital governance as a new institute that helps alleviate some of the problems the old institutional order is facing. The field of digital governance is relatively recent and still emerging. In the 1990s and 2000s, serious scrutiny was given to the Internet. Governments of the world have agreed on several central norms.

**Prof. Itzhak Ben Israel**, Head of the Blavatnik Interdisciplinary Cyber Research Center at Tel Aviv University

It is not a secret that computer technology has become dominant in the last 50 years. Prof. Ben Israel said that this happens because of Moore's Law - computers become smaller, cheaper, and more accessible. The Internet is a good example, as we cannot avoid it today. People started to store information on computers as media. Intelligence organizations in the developed world were looking to take the information, having to find a way to hack into computers. This was the case almost for the first 20 years. At the beginning of the 1990s, defense organizations developed a new type of Cyber technology, not hacking to affect the information but to cause physical damage to a system that was controlled by a computer. After the Internet was already introduced - every platform was controlled by computers. The first time the world became aware that physical damage attacks were possible was in Iran in 2010 at the Natanz nuclear research facility. Once that got to the public, cybersecurity became crucial. Every year there is a new generation in technology. We need the right people to sit in the right places to understand what is happening since we can't predict the flow of technology. We tend to solve problems with technology, but most of the problems are not technological; thus, we must adhere to human nature. The privacy and security dichotomy cannot be solved by ignoring either. People are becoming increasingly aware of Artificial Intelligence - a case we succeed, and we will have one that would replace some of the functions we have today – the need for cybersecurity will increase. This would include secured intelligence systems, emphasizing security by design.

**Professor Eviatar Matania**, Head of the MA in Cyber, Politics, and Government Program at Tel Aviv University

There needs to be a qualitative difference in the cyber dimension between the Internet and cyber. Prof. Matania explained who was defending the cyber domain of Ukraine in this War. To some extent, it's the US cyber command and Ukrainian expert, but the most important player is Microsoft. National security comes into the hands of corporations. Governments that are strong in cybersecurity – know that it is impossible to do it without huge companies. The exact structure that should be adopted is to be independent. All of the governmental structures need



cyber aspects. The real struggle for democracy is to influence information through cyber means. The world was used to the fact that governments don't enter into the content. Prof. Matania also posed a rhetorical question: "What is the middle class of the cyber era?" Technologists are the new class within the different economies. This is a new class that others sometimes cannot compete with. We need enough human capital in the technological arena to educate others to be part of it. The government has a role in trying and understanding how the countries are changing using a cross-sectoral approach to the division of functions: private, public, social, and academic.

**Gabriela Ramos**, Assistant Director-General for the Social and Human Sciences, UNESCO  
Gabriela Ramos stated that The UN is trying to move forward with many programs with technologies at the center. So, who should be in charge of digital governance? There are many points of view, and geopolitics is central to some actors, while others focus on human rights. New technologies are not just tools; they change how we operate, especially after COVID. Our vulnerabilities have increased too, since the beginning of the Pandemic. We are talking about global development by private sector companies, as the governments are not fully operating when dealing with cybersecurity. One question that we have is the question of the speed of adoption. This is not about replacing our functions; tech is already doing that. AI will help with the transition to a different world. Defense system challenges and cyber-attacks are increasing exponentially. The realization of the vulnerability of government capacity limits must be central in working towards a new world order. Biassing is another problem that needs fixing within the cyber domain. Ensuring that when something goes wrong, there are mechanisms in place to start fixing the problem immediately. If you are a developer, the data representativeness has to be there, as Gabriela Ramos explained. A lack of diversity in the development teams will only exacerbate existing challenges. The infrastructure, capacity, and access to the technology have to be increased, but balancing this access with transparency, ensures reliance on trust.

## **2022 BMI Prize Award & Closing Keynote: "The Shadow of the Future"**

**Prof. Robert M. Axelrod**, University of Michigan, 2022 BMI Prize Laureate

As Prof. Axelrod explained – studying cooperation in the world of egoists can be improved through the useful example of the Prisoner's Prisoner's dilemma. In a one-game scenario, defection is always best for either player. However, in a multi-game situation, like the real world, a much better strategy is 'tit-for-tat', when you respond by playing what the other player played previously, starting by cooperating. This is the simplest of all possible strategies, but it works the best, and the rules are not complicated. But why does this strategy do well? The properties of tit-for-tat are that players are nice, provoke, and forgiving, so it wins by evoking cooperation from the other agent. It also has limitations since getting ahead of the other player is impossible. A real-world conflict example of this continuation of restraint of the use of force occurred in trench battles in WWI by communication through mutual force restraint, representing a tit-for-tat strategy. For cooperation to emerge and be sustained, there must be a sufficient chance that the players will interact again. US and China competition is a good example to support the strategy, yet Putin and Ukraine are a counterexample to the theory. Prof. Axelrod furthermore stated that to sustain a norm, there is a need for a "meta norm" with players needing to punish violators and those who don't. Norms developed for military conflict are now adopted in cyber conflict as well. The advice from Prof. Axelrod for conducting Prisoner's Prisoner's dilemma where the interaction is likely to continue is that one should not seek relative advantage, using reciprocity such as tit-for-tat to evoke cooperation from the other side, being keen, provoke, and forgiving. Some issues remain within cooperation since many misunderstandings can occur due to lack of communication. People also demand respect and status; others desire vengeance; therefore, understanding the opponent's intentions become crucial. Russian problem right now is that it needs respect, but it does not get it from the world, similar to China, and that has to be considered by policymakers. Willingness to trust is another crucial element of cooperation from the standpoint of research, as lack of it is a key barrier to mutual gains.

## **Conclusion & Discussion**

It is evident that a lot of work must be done to reform the existing institutional structure to create a sustainable new world order. The panels and lectures have shown the vast array of challenges the human race faces. To solve these challenges – each part of a given society must take part: civil servants, the private sector, and academia. Furthermore, there must be an inclusion of all cultural and social perspectives from around the globe to ensure that all countries are being heard and take part in decision-making instead of leaving them out.

Innovation in the field of public policy is another crucial aspect that must be developed to succeed with the "New World Order". Within conflict resolution, whether in the Middle East or Europe – approaches to negotiations have to be shifted, and there must be attempts to revive what many political leaders call "missed opportunities". Furthermore, institutionally, the cross-sectoral, inclusive, and interdependent focused approach has to be taken, thus alleviating some of the problems the modern structure is currently dealing with. For digital governance, promoting education and security becomes critical, as humanity is more dependent on technology than ever and as a result, is presented with both threats and opportunities.

To strive for progress, key steps to be taken globally and locally are to increase trust, transparency, and access to resources. The role of academia here is to provide applied, novel research to be tested out by policymakers to bring change with the help of the private sector for increased financial and technological support. Only through the cooperation between key industry actors would we be able to create a truly new world order, which will bring prosperity worldwide and fix the institutional failures that the 21st century has brought to light. Focusing on key norms, mechanisms of compliance, enforcement, strategic collaboration, and correct modeling of challenges and potential solutions are the initial and vital steps the world must take to start rebuilding the international system.

## Agenda

**Wednesday, 25.01.2024: Amphi Emil Boutmy, 27 rue Saint Guillaume**

16h00 - Gathering and mingling in a side room of the Amphi

17h00 - **Opening Statements:**

**Mathias Vicherat**, President, Sciences Po

**Prof. Milette Shamir**, Vice President of Tel Aviv University for International Affairs

**Dr. Boris Mints**, President of BMI

17h30 -19h

**Prof. Paul Romer**, New York University, Nobel Laureate 2018, Former Chief Economist of the World Bank: “Norms for a New World Order?”

**20:00 Gala Dinner**

**Thursday, 26.01.2024: Salons de Saint Thomas, 1 Place Saint Thomas d’Acquin**

10h00-11h30 **The Middle East in a Contemporary Global Perspective**

**Moderator: Francois Heilbronn**, Adjunct Professor, Sciences Po

**Ambassador Gerard Araud**, School of Public Affairs, Sciences Po, former  
Ambassador of France to the UN, the US, and Israel

**Prof. Alain Dieckhoff**, Director, Center for International Studies (CERI), Sciences Po

**Prof. Laurence Louër**, Sciences Po

**Dr. Sami Miaari**, Department of Labor Studies, Tel-Aviv University

**Ambassador Prof. Itamar Rabinovich**, Former Ambassador of Israel to USA and  
President Emeritus of Tel-Aviv University

11h30 -11h45 Coffee Break

11h45 - 13h15 **The Aftermath of The War in Ukraine**

**Moderator: Prof. Sergei Guriev**, Provost, Sciences Po

**Dr. Igor Luksic**, UDG, Former Prime Minister of Montenegro

**Prof. Marie Mendras**, CERI, Sciences Po

**Prof. Moritz Schularick**, Department of Economics, Sciences Po

**Dr. Charles Tenenbaum**, Tel Aviv University, Sciences Po Lille, and Sciences Po  
Paris

13h15 Lunch

14h15-15h45 **The New Institutional Order**

**Moderator: Prof. Itai Sened**, Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences at Tel Aviv  
University

**Arancha Gonzalez**, Dean, Paris School of International Affairs, Sciences Po

**Prof. Philippe Martin**, Dean, School of Public Affairs, Sciences Po

**Prof. Paul Romer**, New York University, Nobel Laureate 2018, Former Chief Economist of the World Bank: “What can we do now?”

15h45-16h15 Coffee Break

16h15-17h45 **A Cyber World and the future of Digital Governance**

**Moderator: Constance de Leusse**, Director, McCourt Institute

**Prof. Itzhak Ben Israel**, Head of the Blavatnik Interdisciplinary Cyber Research Center at Tel Aviv University

**Professor Eviatar Matania**, Head of the MA Cyber Governance Program at Tel Aviv University

**Gabriela Ramos**, Assistant Director-General for the Social and Human Sciences, UNESCO

17h45-18h30 **2022 BMI Prize Award & Closing Keynote: "The Shadow of the Future"**

**Prof. Robert M. Axelrod**, University of Michigan, 2022 BMI Prize Laureate

18h30-18h45 **Concluding Remarks:**

**Prof. Itamar Rabinovich**, Founder and President of the Israel Institute; Former Ambassador of Israel to USA and President Emeritus of Tel-Aviv University

**Prof. Sergei Guriev**, Provost, Sciences Po, Paris

### **List of Participants (in alphabetical order)**

1. **Prof. Robert M. Axelrod**, University of Michigan, 2022 BMI Prize Laureate
2. **Prof. Itzhak Ben Israel**, Head of the Blavatnik Interdisciplinary Cyber Research Center at Tel Aviv University
3. **Dr. Haim Ben-Yaakov**, Senior Resource Executive - Russian-Speaking Countries, Tel-Aviv University
4. **Natalia Borovik**, Mints Family Charitable Foundation
5. **Prof. Alain Dieckhoff**, Director, Center for International Studies (CERI), Sciences Po
6. **Ayelet Fishman**, Director, International Graduate School of Social Sciences, Tel-Aviv University
7. **Arancha Gonzalez**, Dean, Paris School of International Affairs, Sciences Po
8. **Prof. Sergei Guriev**, Provost, Sciences Po
9. **Francois Heilbronn**, Adjunct Professor, Sciences Po
10. **Constance de Leusse**, Director, McCourt Institute
11. **Prof. Laurence Louër**, Sciences Po
12. **Dr. Igor Luksic**, UDG, Former Prime Minister of Montenegro
13. **Prof. Philippe Martin**, Dean, School of Public Affairs, Sciences Po
14. **Prof. Eviatar Matania**, Head of the MA Cyber Governance Program at Tel Aviv University
15. **Prof. Marie Mendras**, CERI, Sciences Po
16. **Dr. Sami Miaari**, Department of Labor Studies, Tel-Aviv University
17. **Dr. Boris Mints**, President of BMI
18. **Dr. Alexander Pesov**, Representative of BMI President
19. **Petr Pesov**, BMI Fellow
20. **Ambassador Prof. Itamar Rabinovich**, Former Ambassador of Israel to USA and President Emeritus of Tel-Aviv University
21. **Gabriela Ramos**, Assistant Director-General for the Social and Human Sciences, UNESCO
22. **Yuri Ratomski**, Director, BMI
23. **Prof. Paul Romer**, New York University, Nobel Laureate 2018, Former Chief Economist of the World Bank
24. **Prof. Moritz Schularick**, Department of Economics, Sciences Po
25. **Prof. Itai Sened**, Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences at Tel Aviv University
26. **Prof. Milette Shamir**, Vice President of Tel Aviv University for International Affairs
27. **Dr. Charles Tenenbaum**, Tel Aviv University, Sciences Po Lille, and Sciences Po Paris
28. **Mathias Vicherat**, President, Sciences Po