



High-Level Conference organised by the NATO Defense College Foundation in co-operation with the NATO Political Affairs and Security Policy Division, Fondazione Compagnia di San Paolo and the NATO Defense College









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ARAB GEOPOLITICS 2022

A region between conflict and normalisation

High-Level Conference

Organised by the NATO Defense College Foundation in co-operation with the NATO Political Affairs and Security Policy Division, Fondazione Compagnia di San Paolo and the NATO Defense College

Rome | Tuesday, the 11th of October 2022

Venue: MAXXI - National Museum of 21st Century Arts, via Guido Reni 4a, 00196 Rome

13,30 – 14,30 CET Participants Registration

14,30 – 14,45 *Welcome Remarks*

- Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo, President, NATO Defense College Foundation, Rome
- Christopher Schnaubelt, Dean, NATO Defense College, Rome
- Nicolò Russo Perez, Head, International Affairs, Compagnia di San Paolo, Turin

14,45 – 14,55 Opening Remarks

 Mariem Ben Hassine, Deputy Head, Middle East and North Africa Section, Political Affairs and Security Policy Division, NATO HQ, Brussels

14,55 - 16,10

PANEL 1 A REGION LOOKING AT THE FUTURE?

The region is experiencing for the first time a recomposition dynamic after decades of general disintegration. What is the new path for regional arrangements? The Strategic Concept has confirmed its priority of projecting security in the area, proving the value of partnerships. How can be further developed the cooperation between NATO and major international organisations?

Chair: Claire Spencer, Visiting Senior Research Fellow, King's College, London

• Abdulaziz Sager, President, Gulf Research Center, Jeddah

- Oded Eran, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for National Security Studies, Tel Aviv
- Raffaella Del Sarto, Associate Professor of Middle East Studies, Johns Hopkins University, SAIS Europe, Bologna
- Robert Watkins, Research Fellow, Centre on Conflict, Development, and Peacebuilding, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva

Q&A Session

16,10 – 16,40 *Coffee Break*

16,40 - 17,50

PANEL 2 THE ABRAHAM ACCORDS

These normalisation agreements have brought a remarkably constructive element in the regional environment by boosting economic, cultural and people-to-people relations. Two years after their inception, the economic development leverage is visible, while other aspects may be further developed. What are their security implications and practical cooperative potential in different areas including those within NATO's partnerships?

Chair: **Ian Lesser,** Vice President and Executive Director, The German Marshall Fund of the United States, Brussels

- Naser M. Y. Al Belooshi, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Bahrain to Italy, Rome
- Alon Bar, Ambassador of Israel to Italy, Rome
- Mahmoud Karem, Professor, British University; former Ambassador to the EU and NATO, Cairo
- Ebtesam Al-Ketbi, President and Founder, Emirates Policy Center, Abu Dhabi

Q&A Session

17,50 – 18,10 *Coffee Break*

18,10 - 19,10

PANEL 3 NORMALISING THE FIGHT AGAINST SMUGGLING

The geoeconomics of organised crime and trafficking in the region show that a combination of fragile states, embargoed governments and grey zones is at the centre of illegal flows of goods and persons (human trafficking, arms deals, money laundering, tobacco smuggling etc.). Can the normalisation process provide for new opportunities? How to tackle flows stretching from Sahel to Iran, also via third countries?

Chair: Ahmad Masa'deh, former Secretary General, Union for the Mediterranean, Amman

- Claudia Gazzini, Senior Libya Analyst, International Crisis Group, Tripoli
- Mark Micallef, Director, North Africa and Sahel Observatory, Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime, Geneva
- Amer Al Sabaileh, Nonresident Fellow, Middle East and North Africa, Stimson Center, Washington DC

O&A Session

END OF THE WORKING DAY



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Speakers' Biographies

WELCOME REMARKS

Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo

President, NATO Defense College Foundation, Rome

After having served at the Italian Embassy in Washington DC and as Commercial Counselor at the Embassy of Italy in Prague, Ambassador Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo worked as Head of the External Relations Office of the EEC from 1981 to 1986. In the following years, his career focused on Europe and Space Policy. In 1997 he was appointed Diplomatic Counselor of the Minister of Defence Beniamino Andreatta, then of his successors Carlo Scognamiglio and Sergio Mattarella. In 2000, Minuto-Rizzo held the position of Italian Ambassador to the Western European Union and to the Political and Security Committee of the EU, of which he was among the founding members. He was Deputy Secretary General of the Atlantic Alliance between 2001 and 2007. His mandate was mostly carried out in the strategic-political industrial area and in the relations with sensitive countries such as those in the Gulf and the Southern Mediterranean. He is the author of the books: "The road to Kabul" (Il Mulino-Arel, 2009); "A political journey without maps. Diversity and future in the Greater Middle East" (Rubbettino, 2013); and "NATO and the Middle East: The Making of a Partnership" (New Academia Publishing, 2018).

Christopher Schnaubelt

Dean, NATO Defense College, Rome

Dr Christopher M. Schnaubelt is Dean of the NATO Defense College. He earned a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California, Santa Barbara and a M.S.S. in Strategic Studies from the U.S. Army War College. His publications include more than thirty articles and book chapters on security and defence-related topics. As a US Government civilian, he was assigned to US Embassy in Baghdad, Iraq, as the Deputy Director for National Security Affairs with duties that included helping to write the joint campaign plan to implement "the surge" of coalition forces. During a later civilian posting, he served in Kabul as the Senior Advisor to the Afghan Deputy Minister of Interior for Strategy and Policy. His military service included tank battalion commander, command of a training regiment, and deployments as Chief of the Policy Division, Combined Joint Task Force-Seven in Iraq and as Director of Logistics for Area Support Team-Balkans at Camp Bondsteel, Kosovo, and Camp Butmir, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Nicolò Russo Perez

Head, International Affairs, Compagnia di San Paolo, Turin

Nicolò Russo Perez is the Head of the International Affairs Program at the Compagnia di San Paolo Foundation, based in Turin (Italy). In this capacity, he is in charge of several grant-making and operational activities promoted by the Foundation in the field of international relations, covering transatlantic and European studies, as well as Mediterranean and emerging countries affairs. Previously, he worked at the European Commission, at the International Labour Organization and was a Senior Associate Fellow at the EUISS in Paris. A council member of the European Council on Foreign Relations and Visiting Senior Fellow a The German Marshall Fund of the United States, Dr Russo Perez is currently also part of the Scientific Board of the NATO Foundation in Rome. He is a member of the Strategic Reflection Group on European affairs set up by the Italian Presidency of the Council of Ministers.

OPENING REMARKS

Mariem Ben Hassine

Deputy Head, Middle East and North Africa Section, Political Affairs and Security Policy Division, NATO HQ, Brussels

Mariem Ben Hassine is Deputy Head of the Middle East and North Africa Section in the Political Affairs and Security Policy Division of the NATO Headquarters in Brussels. In this capacity, she is responsible for developing and promoting NATO policy, political relations, practical cooperation and better public understanding with Middle Eastern and North African countries, especially those participating in NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue (MD) and in the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI). She also ensures coordination with all other Divisions of NATO's International Staff, International Military Staff and relevant NATO Military Authorities for all aspects of NATO's cooperation with countries in the Middle East and in North Africa. Before joining NATO, Ms Ben Hassine worked several years at the United Nations, including at the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA).

PANEL 1 A REGION LOOKING AT THE FUTURE?

Claire Spencer

Visiting Senior Research Fellow, King's College, London

Dr Claire Spencer is an independent consultant and Senior Visiting Research Fellow at the Policy Institute of the King's College in London, most recently engaged in advising the British Council, inter alia. She was previously Senior Research Fellow and Head of the Middle East and North Africa Programme at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House), having advised policy-makers and the private sector on security, economic and political developments in the MENA region for over thirty years. Dr Spencer has published and spoken extensively on the geopolitics of the area, and has a growing interest in the role of new technologies and climate change in reshaping the landscape of the MENA region and its international links in the coming years.

Abdulaziz Sager

President, Gulf Research Center, Jeddah

Dr Abdulaziz Sager is the founder and Chairman of the Gulf Research Center, a global think tank based in Saudi Arabia with a well-established presence and worldwide network of partners and offices in both the Gulf region and Europe. Saudi expert on Gulf politics and strategic issues, Dr Sager is author and editor of numerous publications, and frequently contributes on major international media channels such as Al Arabiya, France 24, CNN and BBC. Dr Sager also chaired and moderated the Syrian opposition meetings in Riyadh in 2015 and 2017.

Oded Eran

Senior Research Fellow, Institute for National Security Studies, Tel Aviv

Ambassador Oded Eran is currently Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) in Tel Aviv, and served as Director of INSS from July 2008 to November 2011, following a long career in Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other government positions. Before joining INSS, he served as Secretary General of the Israel branch of the World Jewish Congress. From 2002 to 2007, he was Israel's Ambassador to the European Union, covering NATO as well. Prior to that, Dr Eran was also Ambassador to Jordan, and Head of Israel's negotiations team with the Palestinians. Among his previous positions: Deputy Director General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Chief of the Israeli Embassy in Washington DC. Between 2007 and 2013, Ambassador Eran served as an advisor to the Knesset sub-committee on Foreign Affairs. He holds a Ph.D. from the London School of Economics.

Raffaella Del Sarto

Associate Professor of Middle East Studies, Johns Hopkins University, SAIS Europe, Bologna

Professor Raffaella A. Del Sarto is the Academic Director of the Master of Arts in International Affairs (MAIA) and Associate Professor of Middle East Studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), SAIS Europe campus in Bologna. Her areas of interest and expertise include the international relations of the Middle East and North Africa, particularly in relation to Europe, the domestic-foreign policy nexus, questions of borders and regional order in the Middle East, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and Israel's foreign and domestic policies. Prior to joining SAIS Europe, Professor Del Sarto was a part-time professor at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy, where she directed the "BORDERLANDS" research project, funded by the European Research Council. She has published three books and edited several others, and her articles have appeared in major academic journals. Her latest book is "Borderlands: Europe and the Mediterranean Middle East" (Oxford University Press, 2021).

Robert Watkins

Research Fellow, Centre on Conflict, Development, and Peacebuilding, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva

Dr Robert Watkins has more than thirty-five years of experience working in political, humanitarian, development and post-conflict recovery areas with international organisations, principally in the Middle East, Central and South Asia. He served as United Nations Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Afghanistan (2009-2011) and in Lebanon (2011- 2014); at the level of Assistant

Secretary-General, as well as UN Resident & Humanitarian Coordinator, and UNDP Representative in Georgia (2006-2009), Djibouti (2014), and Bangladesh (2015-17). Before the UN, Dr Watkins has worked for the European Commission as Head of the ECHO Regional Office for the Middle East, based in Amman, Jordan, focusing on activities in the Palestinian Territories, Iraq, Yemen, Lebanon and Syria. After his retirement, he began working as a Research Associate at the Centre for Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva.

PANEL 2 THE ABRAHAM ACCORDS

Ian Lesser

Vice President and Executive Director, The German Marshall Fund of the United States, Brussels

Dr Ian Lesser is Vice President at The German Marshall Fund (GMF) of the United States and a member of GMF's executive team, managing programs across the organisation. He also serves as Executive Director of the Transatlantic Center, the Brussels office of the GMF, and leads the GMF's work on the Mediterranean, Turkey, and the wider Atlantic. Prior to joining GMF, Dr Lesser was a public policy scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center, as well as Vice President and Director of studies at the Pacific Council on International Policy. Dr Lesser is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, and the Pacific Council on International Policy. He serves on the advisory boards of the Delphi Economic Forum, the Atlantic Dialogues, the NATO Defense College Foundation and the Turkish Policy Quarterly. A frequent commentator for international media, he has written extensively on foreign and security policy issues.

Naser M. Y. Al Belooshi

Ambassador of the Kingdom of Bahrain to Italy, Rome

H.E. Naser M. Y. Al Belooshi is the Ambassador of the Kingdom of Bahrain to the Italy. Ambassador Al Belooshi served at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the Advisor to H.E. the Minister Shaikh Khalid bin Ahmed bin Mohammed Al Khalifa for Political and Economic Affairs. From 1992 to 2003 he was also the former Executive Director of Management Services at the Central Bank of Bahrain. From 1995 to 2001, Ambassador Al Belooshi served as a non-resident Executive Director of the Arab Monetary Fund, Abu Dhabi, UAE. In August 2005, H.E. Al Belooshi was appointed Ambassador of the Kingdom of Bahrain to the United States, and a non-resident Ambassador to the Republic of Argentina and to Canada. Moreover, in 2008, he was appointed Ambassador of the Kingdom of Bahrain to France, and a non-resident Ambassador to the Holy See, Switzerland and Spain.

Alon Bar

Ambassador of Israel to Italy, Rome

Alon Bar is the Ambassador of Israel to Italy and San Marino since September 2022. During the years 1989-2000, Ambassador Bar served in a variety of posts both in headquarters and in embassies of Israel abroad. Among those postings, he was assigned to Guatemala, in the bureau of the Deputy Foreign Minister, then served as Counselor in the Embassy of Israel in Madrid, and also worked at the Egypt department in the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affair (MFA). In the period 2000-2006, he was Director of

the Arms Control department in the MFA: in this capacity, he was in charge of Israel's delegations to the UN General Assembly First Committee (Disarmament and International Security) and was a member of Israeli delegations to the IAEA General Conference as well as to other multilateral fora in the field of disarmament and arms control. In 2009 he was appointed Deputy Director General in charge for Strategic Affairs, and then, between 2011 and 2015, he served as Ambassador of Israel to Spain. During the years 2016-2020 he was Deputy Director General for the United Nations and International Organizations, then serving as Political Director of the MFA from 2020 to 2022.

Mahmoud Karem

Professor, British University; former Ambassador to NATO and the EU, Cairo

Ambassador Mahmoud Karem currently teaches at the British University in Egypt. He also holds the title of Special Advisor to the President of the University for International Relations and leads the Egypt and Middle East Centre (CEMES) in Cairo. He served as Ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt to Belgium and Luxembourg, as Head of Mission of Egypt to the European Communities, and as Permanent Representative of Egypt to NATO, from 2005 till 2010. He was also a member of the Advisory Board of the Secretary General of the United Nations for Disarmament Matters. In July 2017, the Foreign Minister of Japan announced the establishment of a group of eminent persons for substantive advancement in nuclear disarmament and Ambassador Karem was chosen for the Middle East.

Ebtesam Al-Ketbi

President and Founder, Emirates Policy Center, Abu Dhabi

Dr Ebtesam Al-Ketbi is the Founder and President of the Emirates Policy Center, as well as Professor of Political Science at the United Arab Emirates University. In recognition of her position as the leader of one of the Arab world's most influential think tanks, in 2015 Dr Al-Ketbi was appointed Consultative Commission Member of the Gulf Cooperation Council. In July 2018, the Arabian Business magazine featured her among the 50 Most Influential Women in the Arab world. In 2019, Dr Al-Ketbi received the Women Super Achiever Award during the World Women Leadership Congress. In 2021, she was named Advisor to the Global Commission for Post-Pandemic Policy. She is currently a member of the Board of Directors of the Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington DC, the Global Advisory Board of Observer Research Foundation in India, and the Advisory Council of the Middle East Institute in Washington DC. Her two recent books are entitled "The UAE Power-Building Model and Foreign Policy Shifts" (2021) and "Iran and the Biden Administration: A Potential Return to Negotiations" (2021).

PANEL 3 NORMALISING THE FIGHT AGAINST SMUGGLING

Ahmad Masa'deh

Former Secretary General, Union for the Mediterranean, Amman

Dr Ahmad Masa'deh served as Minister, Ambassador, and chief of an international organisation. Today he practices law and is the Managing Partner of Khalaf Masa'deh & Partners Ltd. From 2000 to 2005, he was Assistant Professor of International Business Law at the University of Jordan, where he also held the position of Assistant Dean for Development. Between 2006 and 2010, Dr Masa'deh was the seventh Ambassador of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to the European Union, Belgium, Norway and

Luxembourg. He was also the Jordanian Coordinator at the Union for the Mediterranean and the Jordanian Representative to NATO. In January 2010, he was elected Secretary General of the Union for the Mediterranean.

Claudia Gazzini

Senior Libya Analyst, International Crisis Group, Tripoli

Dr Claudia Gazzini is the International Crisis Group's Senior Analyst for Libya since 2012. Between October 2017 and March 2018, she also served as policy advisor to Ghassan Salamé, Special Representative and Head of the UN Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL). Dr Gazzini travels regularly throughout Libya, and researches and produces reports on security, politics and economic governance of the country, including its oil sector. Prior to joining the International Crisis Group, Dr Gazzini worked for the Associated Press in Rome and for Reuters in Jakarta. She was Max Weber fellow at the European University Institute in Fiesole (Florence) and Visiting Fellow at the Program of African Studies at Northwestern University (IL). Dr Gazzini did her post-graduate studies in Middle Eastern History at Princeton University and Oxford University.

Mark Micallef

Director, North Africa and Sahel Observatory, Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime, Geneva

Dr Mark Micallef is Director of the North Africa and Sahel Observatory at the Global Initiative Against Transnational Organised Crime, where he leads research on organised crime, based on a field network of more than 160 Monitors, comprising local journalists, researchers and academics established in Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, southern Algeria, Niger, Chad, Mali and Sudan. He carries out research in human smuggling and trafficking in Libya and bordering Sahelian states, and he has been engaged with irregular migration from Africa to Europe for more than 15 years. As a journalist, he reported extensively from Libya, both before and after the overthrow of Muammar Gaddafi as well as during the 2011 revolution.

Amer Al Sabaileh

Nonresident Fellow, Middle East and North Africa, Stimson Center, Washington DC

Dr Amer Al Sabaileh is currently a Nonresident Fellow on the Middle East and North Africa Section at the Stimson Centre in Washington DC. He is a recognised Jordanian expert on terrorism, deradicalisation and security studies. Dr Al Sabaileh is also a leading columnist in national, regional, and international media, he offers consultancies to think-tanks and speaks at international conferences on Middle East politics and developments. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Pisa, Italy, in 2006 in intercultural conflict management, and holds a Master's degree from the University of Rome III in Education for Peace, Conflict Management, International Co-operation, Human Rights and Politics of the European Union.



ARAB GEOPOLITICS 2022

A region between conflict and normalisation

Background Policy Paper

The global fallout of an ongoing major crisis and conflict had deep and lasting consequences on the Arab geopolitics, reinforcing existing trends that were already pushing the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) towards a regional *détente*, but also showing multiple emerging challenges at the same time. In a context marked by a normalisation process, involving not only Israel and its Arab partners, but also regional foes up until now fighting each other in different conflict theatres, still active in the region, the neutral stance adopted by many Arab leaders during the current crisis is certainly not surprising.

With implications that go well beyond the Arab world and extend to many developing countries, the new version of the non-aligned movement has long been in the making, eased by what has been perceived in many Arab capitals as the unpredictable behaviour of Western partners. Only in part compensated by the legacy of the Abraham Accords, Washington's disengagement from the wider region (emphasised by the chaotic withdrawal from Afghanistan) is accelerating under the Biden administration, increasing the disillusionment of the Arab leaders looking for reliable security providers while facing external threats.

The variability of the US foreign policy certainly helps explain the circumspection with which Arab partners are hedging their bets while facing difficult choices. Out from the cold, Riyadh's non-commitment to the normalisation of ties with Israel for the time being surely sets an example, as well as the UAE's decision to abstain from a vote on a UN Security Council resolution condemning Russia's attack against Ukraine in the early days of the war. These cases show all the limits of the recalibration promised by the Biden administration, a compelling argument for local stakeholders eager to find endogenous solutions to the multiple crises affecting the region.

And that is exactly where the 'other' normalisation between regional competitors engaged in various forms in the civil wars in Libya, Syria and Yemen came into play. Warming ties between Egypt, Qatar and Turkey, but also the rapprochement between Ankara and its main geopolitical rivals (Saudi Arabia and the UAE) are raising hopes of a new era for the Middle East, now ready to leave the chaotic post-Arab Spring transitions

behind. Direct talks between Iran and Saudi Arabia could also push the normalisation wave to new heights, if and when a comprehensive settlement, addressing not only the different regional crises, but also the impending nuclear issue is reached.

The dangers of not seizing the moment offered by this window of opportunity are certainly huge and could reinforce pre-existing tendencies prone to widen the regional divide. In these uncharted waters, arms transfers risk giving a military dimension to the normalisation front, corroborating reports about the establishment of an Arab NATO that, however, still looks like a very distant prospect that could further antagonise emerging regional blocs. Not many in the region necessarily see the activities of Iran and its proxies as a threat and, if the opportunity presents itself, they could join forces, this time not in the name of a common Islamist ideology, but in order to share a mutual anti-normalisation stance.

In this challenging context, the return of popular politics in the MENA after a lull of two years due to the restrictions imposed by COVID-19 adds to the complexity. The recent wave of protests in Iran has highlighted the frail basis on which long-standing regimes have built their legitimacy, making the prospect of a change from within a real possibility once again. Growing pressure on local elites is also driven by the devastating consequences of the climate change, which has exposed the vulnerability of the region to rising temperatures, water scarcity, droughts and desertification, at a time when Egypt is expected to host the next UN Climate Change Conference (COP27).

On the other hand, violent attacks against parliaments in Iraq and Libya suggest a manifest democratic regression. Driven by populist tendencies that have found a breeding ground in times of economic crisis, exacerbated by the disruption of wheat supplies, a return to the authoritarian rule is increasingly seen as the only way out of the democratic quagmire considered as the main responsible for the decline of living standards. Tunisia, where the Parliament has been first suspended and then dissolved, is certainly a case in point, while the imbalance of power contained in its new hyper-presidential constitution represents the inevitable outcome.

In a context marked by an ongoing authoritarian turn, the US reset has evidently left Washington and its Western partners vulnerable to the pro-Russian propaganda in a region crucial for energy supplies. Nevertheless, the new neutralism 2.0 certainly works both ways and some oil and gas producers in the MENA would not mind nuancing their sympathies for Moscow to gain some financial breathing room. Algeria for example has been reinforcing ties with Italy, agreeing to expand its gas exports despite a bilateral military cooperation with Russia rooted in history.

Thanks to its proximity and an infrastructure system already in place, the Maghreb could soon become a new energy hub for Southern Europe, also considering long-term projects to build new pipelines from untapped reserves in sub-Saharan Africa. However, resuming tensions between Algeria and Morocco cast a long shadow over these ambitious plans and are already making energy supplies from the sub-region increasingly volatile, a collateral damage of the expanding ramifications of the Maghreb rift caused much more by the ongoing normalisation process rather than being a side-effect of the unsolved Western Sahara issue.

Umberto Profazio, Maghreb and Gulf Analyst, NATO Defense College Foundation

THE NATO DEFENSE COLLEGE FOUNDATION

The NATO Defense College Foundation, the only existing think-tank bearing the name of the Alliance, was established in Rome in 2011. It grew out from a common intuition of the President Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo and the NATO Defense College top decision makers, who understood the value of a non-profit NGO that could work beyond usual and institutional outreach, training, communication and scientific research activities.

The principles stated in the preamble to the Washington Treaty of 1949 are our heritage.

Our mission is to promote the culture of stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area and in NATO Partner nations.

Our aim is to meet the highest standards in contributing to public debate and future deliberations on strategic, security and geopolitical issues.

Therefore, the NDCF strives at considering relevant issues not just in a descriptive or prescriptive way, but by catching the sense of events and the essential vectors of future developments.

In a claim: Charting ahead.

CONTACTS

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