The Diplomat-Intellectual in the 21st Century: An Analytical Biography of Adrien Abecassis

Introduction

Adrien Abecassis represents a significant and evolving archetype in international affairs: the diplomat-intellectual who navigates with equal facility the corridors of national power, the elite forums of transatlantic academia, and the nascent structures of global governance. His career offers a compelling case study in the trajectory of policy influence in the 21st century, moving from the direct service of a nation-state to the complex task of architecting frameworks for transnational challenges. This report posits that Abecassis's professional path is not merely a sequence of prestigious appointments but a deliberate and coherent intellectual journey. It traces a clear arc from managing the immediate political and geostrategic interests of France to confronting the long-term, systemic risks facing the global community.

This analytical biography will deconstruct this trajectory, demonstrating how experience gained within the high-pressure environment of the French presidency directly informed a subsequent period of scholarly reflection and, ultimately, a leadership role in shaping global policy dialogue. The central pillars of his work—the evolution of European sovereignty, the governance of emerging technologies like artificial intelligence, and the strategic response to existential threats such as climate overshoot—will be examined as interconnected elements of a singular, overarching project: the adaptation and reinforcement of democratic governance principles in an age of profound disruption.¹ His career illuminates a broader shift in the nature of statecraft, where the ability to convene networks, shape intellectual narratives, and design governance for problems without borders has become as critical as the traditional exercise of national power.

Chapter 1: Foundations of a Public Career: Law, Diplomacy, and

Academia (Pre-2012)

The formative years of Adrien Abecassis's career were marked by the concurrent development of three distinct but complementary pillars of expertise: a rigorous legal education, practical experience in the French diplomatic corps, and an early commitment to academic instruction. This tripartite foundation established a pattern of operating at the nexus of theory and practice that would become the hallmark of his professional life. The deliberate interweaving of these domains from an early stage suggests an ambition that extended beyond a conventional civil service career, pointing toward a profile as a "pracademic"—an expert grounded in both the mechanics of statecraft and the conceptual frameworks of political science.

Table 1: Chronological Career, Affiliations, and Key Focus Areas of Adrien Abecassis

Period	Organization/Instituti on	Title/Role	Primary Focus/Notable Output
2007–2010	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France	Policy Officer (Rédacteur)	Management of ministry salary mass ⁵
2007–2012	Paris Institute of Political Sciences (Sciences-Po)	Lecturer (Chargé de conférences)	Academic Instruction in International Affairs
2010-2012	Fondation Jean-Jaurès	International Manager	Policy analysis, expert group animation, project management ⁵
2012–2015	Presidency of the French Republic (Élysée Palace)	Advisor for Bilateral European Affairs	Deputy to the Europe Sherpa; French policy on EU affairs ⁵
2014-2017	Presidency of the French Republic (Élysée Palace)	Senior Political Advisor	Political situation analysis, policy foresight, public opinion research ⁵

2017–2020	Harvard University (Weatherhead Center)	Visiting Fellow	Diplomacy, populism, European affairs ⁵
2018-2020	Harvard University (Belfer Center)	Fellow	Science and technology policy research ⁵
2019–2023	Frontiers of Tech Governance Initiative	Co-founder	Dialogue on digital technologies with Global South civil society ⁵
2020–2021	UCLA (Emmett Institute on Climate Change)	Emmet Fellow in Environmental Law and Policy	Governance of international climate interventions ⁵
2020-2022	Harvard University (Mossavar-Rahmani Center)	Fellow	Research on technology and climate policies ⁵
2020-Present	Paris Peace Forum	Executive Director of Policy Initiatives	Leadership of policy department; development of global governance initiatives ⁵
Jan-Jul 2023	Presidency of the French Republic	Deputy Special Envoy	Preparation and negotiation for the Summit for a New Global Financial Pact
2023-Present	Climate Overshoot Commission	Principal and Special Advisor to the co-chair	Strategies for managing climate overshoot risks ⁴

1.1 Educational and Early Professional Formation

Abecassis pursued a formidable academic path that laid the legal and administrative groundwork for his future career. In 2005, he earned both a Master's degree in

International Law from the Université Paris 2 Panthéon-Assas and a Master's in Public Affairs and International Relations from the prestigious Paris Institute of Political Sciences (Sciences-Po Paris). This was complemented by a Diploma in Arabic Language and Civilization from the Department of Arabic Studies in Cairo in 2004 and was followed by his graduation from the Institut régional d'administration (IRA) of Metz in 2006, one of the key training institutes for French civil servants.

His entry into the professional world was marked by a dual track that immediately set him apart. From 2007 to 2010, he served as a Policy Officer (*Rédacteur*) within France's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he was responsible for monitoring the ministry's salary mass.⁵ Simultaneously, from 2007 to 2012, he held a position as a lecturer (

Chargé de conférences) in international affairs at Sciences-Po.⁵ The decision to pursue these two demanding roles in parallel was unconventional for a junior diplomat. It signaled a clear intent to cultivate a hybrid identity, bridging the gap between the practitioner's world of policy implementation and the academic's world of theoretical analysis.

1.2 Forging a Political-Intellectual Network: The Fondation Jean-Jaurès

In 2010, Abecassis made a decisive career move, transitioning from the politically neutral diplomatic corps to the influential, center-left think tank, the Fondation Jean-Jaurès, where he served until 2012 as International Manager (*Responsable international*).⁵ In this capacity, he was responsible for animating expert groups, managing projects and teams, and overseeing publications, positioning him at the heart of the policy debates animating the French Socialist Party's intellectual sphere.⁵

This was not merely an intellectual detour but a highly strategic pivot. The timing, just two years before the 2012 presidential election, was critical. By joining a think tank so closely affiliated with the political opposition, Abecassis was effectively moving from the state's permanent civil service into the orbit of a potential future government. This role provided him with a platform to build relationships, demonstrate his policy acumen, and engage with the key figures who would soon form the core of François Hollande's administration.⁸ The move illustrates a sophisticated understanding of the French system, where influence is cultivated not only through bureaucratic hierarchy but also through the political-intellectual networks of think tanks and foundations. It

was this preparatory phase that made him a logical choice for a high-level advisory role immediately following Hollande's electoral victory.

Chapter 2: At the Center of French Power: The Élysée Palace Years (2012–2017)

Following François Hollande's victory in the 2012 presidential election, Adrien Abecassis was brought into the inner sanctum of French power, the Élysée Palace. His five-year tenure as a key presidential advisor was a period of intense, high-stakes policy-making that profoundly shaped his understanding of the interplay between international diplomacy, domestic politics, and public opinion.³ This experience provided him with a practitioner's perspective on the limits and possibilities of state power, a perspective that would become the empirical bedrock for his subsequent academic and global policy work.

2.1 The European and Political Advisor

Within the Hollande administration, Abecassis held two distinct but overlapping roles. From 2012 to 2015, he served first as a technical advisor and then as Advisor for Bilateral European Affairs, acting as the deputy to the Europe Sherpa, Philippe Léglise-Costa.⁵ This position put him in charge of overseeing French policies on bilateral relations across the continent during a series of rolling crises, including the sovereign debt crisis in the Eurozone and the migration crisis.⁵

From 2014 to 2017, he took on the role of Senior Political Advisor to the President.⁵ This portfolio was far more nuanced and politically sensitive than a standard diplomatic advisory role. It involved providing the President with strategic briefs, evaluating and monitoring political situations, coordinating policy foresight efforts, and conducting public opinion research.⁵ This dual mandate demonstrates an exceptional level of presidential trust. He was tasked not only with managing the substance of France's European policy but also with interpreting the national mood and advising on the political framing of the administration's actions. This experience forced him to move beyond technical policy details to grapple with the deeper drivers

of public perception, populism, and the erosion of political legitimacy—themes that would become central to his later research.

2.2 Navigating the French Electorate and the Rise of Macron

Immediately upon leaving the Élysée in 2017, Abecassis leveraged his unique vantage point to produce a series of incisive analyses on the state of French politics for the Fondation Jean-Jaurès. This period was marked by a prolific output of commentary for major French publications, including

Le Figaro, Les Echos, Le Nouvel Observateur, and the Huffington Post.⁵ These writings are not dispassionate academic exercises; they are a form of real-time intellectual processing of the political earthquake that had just occurred—the collapse of the administration he had served and the system that produced it.

In a flurry of articles published in mid-2017, he dissected the sentiment that propelled Emmanuel Macron to power.⁵ In pieces such as "Comment les Français voient Macron : le bénéfice du doute" (How the French See Macron: The Benefit of the Doubt) and "Les Français et Emmanuel Macron : le temps des premières questions" (The French and Emmanuel Macron: Time for the First Questions), he analyzed Macron's appeal as stemming from a public desire for authority, dynamism, and a clear vision, even if it was accompanied by doubt and vigilance.⁵ He wrote of the "de-vitalization" of the traditional Socialist (PS) and conservative (LR) parties, arguing they had become empty political labels, and analyzed the lessons from the previous administration's controversial labor law ("loi travail") to inform the new government's approach.⁵ These works transform his insider experience into a valuable first-hand account of democratic transformation, providing a rare depth that bridges political practice and political science.

2.3 International Recognition: The MBE

In 2014, midway through his tenure at the Élysée, Abecassis's effectiveness as a diplomat and advisor was recognized internationally. He was appointed an honorary Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (MBE) in the Civil Division.¹³

The honor was conferred during a state visit to the UK by President Hollande, and the official citation specified that it was for "services to UK/France cultural relations". At the time, he was serving as a "Special Adviser to the President of the Republic". This award is a significant acknowledgment of his crucial role in managing the Franco-British relationship, one of Europe's most vital and often complex bilateral axes. Receiving this honor during a period of escalating euroscepticism in Britain underscores his contribution to maintaining a constructive dialogue between Paris and London at a critical juncture for the future of Europe.

Chapter 3: The Scholar in America: A Transatlantic Intellectual Pivot (2017-Present)

After five years at the epicenter of French and European politics, Adrien Abecassis embarked on a new phase of his career, pivoting from the role of practitioner to that of scholar. His move to the elite academic ecosystem of the United States in 2017 was not a retreat from public life but a deliberate "retooling" period. The high-pressure, short-term focus of presidential politics was replaced by the time and intellectual space to develop a more systemic, long-term perspective on global challenges. This transatlantic sojourn allowed him to process his practical experience, deepen his theoretical knowledge, and progressively shift his focus from the immediate crises of national government to the foundational, long-range risks confronting the international system.

3.1 The Harvard Nexus: Broadening the Geopolitical Aperture

Abecassis's integration into Harvard University was both deep and multifaceted, involving a series of overlapping fellowships. His initial base was the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, where from 2017 to 2020 he was a Visiting Fellow and developed French influence at the university in connection with the Consulate General in Boston.⁵ His affiliations included the Weatherhead Research Cluster on Comparative Inequality and Inclusion (2018-2020) and the Weatherhead Scholars Program (2019-2020).¹⁴ His research interests were explicitly defined as "Diplomacy, international cooperation and relations, European affairs, governance, public opinion,

and populism," a direct reflection of the challenges he had grappled with in the Élysée.¹⁴

He then became a Fellow at the prestigious Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) from 2018 to 2020, where he conducted research on science and technology policies under the direction of Nicholas Burns. From 2020 to 2022, he continued at HKS as a Fellow at the Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government, researching technology and climate policies under the direction of Larry Summers. This period also saw him co-author scholarly articles in academic journals, such as a 2021 study in

Poetics on the subjective interpretation of media output in France, demonstrating a deep engagement with sociological and media theory.³³ These roles represented a clear progression from analyzing the political dynamics of populism to formulating policy responses for emerging technological, security, and climate challenges.

3.2 The Climate Frontier: Specializing in Existential Risk at UCLA

The final and most forward-looking stage of Abecassis's academic journey took him to the West Coast, as an Emmet Fellow in Environmental Law and Policy at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) School of Law from 2020 to 2021.⁵ This fellowship marked a critical specialization in one of the most complex and contentious areas of global policy: the international governance of climate interventions, including solar geoengineering.⁵

At the Emmett Institute, his work became highly focused and practical. He was instrumental in developing a "Track 2 Diplomacy" exercise, a structured consultation designed to bring together policymakers, experts, and other stakeholders to explore the profound international governance challenges posed by these novel climate technologies. This initiative was a direct application of his diplomatic skillset, honed in European negotiations, to a new frontier of existential risk management. The intellectual trajectory is clear and logical: from the political science of populism at the Weatherhead Center, to the geopolitics of technology at the Belfer Center, and finally to the governance of planetary-scale environmental risk at the Emmett Institute. This progression mirrors the evolving hierarchy of global challenges, demonstrating a keen intellectual agility and an awareness of where the most critical future policy debates

Chapter 4: An Anatomy of Influence: Key Intellectual Contributions

Adrien Abecassis's period in American academia was exceptionally productive, resulting in a body of work that articulates a coherent and sophisticated worldview. A powerful, unifying theme runs through his publications: the urgent need to adapt and reinforce the principles of democratic sovereignty against the disruptive forces of the 21st century. Whether addressing European defense, digital rights, or the future of globalization, his core intellectual project is to equip democratic states and their citizens with the conceptual and institutional tools necessary to navigate a new and more dangerous era. The timing of his key publications, particularly a burst of activity in the spring of 2020, reveals an ability to think systemically, connecting the immediate shock of the COVID-19 pandemic to pre-existing and accelerating trends in technology and geopolitics.

4.1 Rethinking European Sovereignty and Defense

In the wake of Brexit and amidst growing questions about the transatlantic security relationship, Abecassis made a significant contribution to the debate on European strategic autonomy. His May 2020 Belfer Center report, "Breaking the Ice: How France and the UK Could Reshape a Credible European Defense and Renew the Transatlantic Partnership," co-authored with the eminent scholar Jolyon Howorth, is a landmark piece of analysis. ¹⁶ Written after the UK's departure from the EU, the paper argues against the grain, proposing that a revitalized Franco-British defense partnership could become the cornerstone of a more credible European security architecture. The report meticulously examines the geo-strategic realities and the historical complexities of the relationship, ultimately providing a pragmatic roadmap for renewing a partnership essential for European security. ¹⁶ This work, along with his other analyses of Brexit's impact, demonstrates a commitment to building a Europe capable of acting independently and defending its own sovereign interests. ¹⁸

4.2 Architecting Governance for a Digital World

Abecassis has been a prominent voice arguing that our existing legal and ethical frameworks are dangerously inadequate for the digital age. He saw the COVID-19 pandemic as a critical stress test that exposed this structural vulnerability. In an April 2020 article for *Foreign Policy*, titled "Privacy and the Pandemic: Time for a Digital Bill of Rights," he and his co-authors argued that the crisis necessitated a fundamental rethinking of data governance. They called for a new social contract for the digital world, one that moves beyond the incomplete notion of individual consent to establish a "collective digital rights agenda" that balances individual liberty with societal obligations.

This call for robust governance frameworks evolved into concrete policy analysis through his work with the Centre on Regulation in Europe (CERRE). As a key author for CERRE's "Global Governance for the Digital Ecosystems" project, Abecassis co-authored a series of influential reports on the global governance of Artificial Intelligence.²⁰ In one report,

Global Governance of Digital Economy: Artificial Intelligence, he analyzes how technological specifics and geopolitical dynamics create regulatory fragmentation.²¹ The work identifies three critical functions for effective AI governance: creating a shared assessment of AI risks and advancements, ensuring equitable access to its benefits, and establishing robust safety and risk mitigation protocols.²¹ This series of reports advances core concepts like "AI Adequacy"—a principle for transparent and ethical governance drawn from frameworks like the GDPR and the EU AI Act—to guide policymakers toward global regulatory convergence.²¹

4.3 Theorizing the Global Order

Abecassis's geopolitical thinking is rooted in a long-standing engagement with the dynamics of the international system. An early and formative experience was his collaboration with Hubert Védrine, a towering figure of French foreign policy, on the 2008 book *Continuer l'Histoire* (published in English as *History Strikes Back*).²⁴ This work challenged the post-Cold War illusion that Western values would inevitably

triumph, arguing instead for a realist understanding of a world where states, nations, and conflicts were returning to the forefront.²⁵ This collaboration provided Abecassis with a strong foundation in the French "realist" tradition of foreign policy analysis.

He updated this perspective for the Trump era in a March 2020 article titled "The Day That Trump Failed to End Globalization". Writing at the very moment the pandemic was shutting down borders, he argued against the simplistic narrative that globalization was dead. Instead, he posited that the crisis demonstrated the deep-seated resilience of global interconnectedness, which nationalist-populist leaders could disrupt but not destroy. Across these works, the central theme remains the preservation of an open, rules-based order, managed by sovereign democratic states capable of navigating its complexities and withstanding its political backlash.

Chapter 5: Leading Global Dialogue: From Theory to Practice

In the most recent phase of his career, Adrien Abecassis has transitioned from the role of advisor and scholar to that of a convener and architect of global policy solutions. His leadership positions at the Paris Peace Forum, his co-founding of a technology governance NGO, and his high-level appointments to address global climate and financial challenges represent the institutional embodiment of the intellectual work he undertook in the United States. He is no longer simply writing about the need for new forms of international cooperation; he is now building the platforms to enact it.

5.1 Architect of Policy at the Paris Peace Forum

Since 2020, Abecassis has served as the Executive Director of Policy Initiatives at the Paris Peace Forum (PPF), where he created and now directs a policy department of 15 people. The PPF serves as a global incubator for governance solutions, and in his role, Abecassis develops initiatives on global public goods, including climate, cyberspace, outer space, AI, and global health. His focus on global health was further evidenced by his co-authorship of a 2021 commentary in

The Lancet, which outlined five key priorities for achieving universal COVID-19

vaccination and addressing global inequities in vaccine access.³⁵ His work is focused on catalyzing concrete action, exemplified by his moderation of a roundtable for the "Nutrition for Growth" summit and a co-authored call to action in

Les Echos urging the international community to mobilize the political will to end malnutrition.²⁶ His role extends to shaping the Forum's agenda on critical digital issues, as detailed below.

5.2 Pioneering Digital Rights and Al Dialogue

At the Paris Peace Forum, Abecassis has been instrumental in moving beyond theoretical discussion to build practical platforms for digital governance. He helped incubate **Initiate: Digital Rights in Society**, a multi-stakeholder initiative designed to bridge the North-South divide in technology policy.²⁸ This initiative, which he also supported through the co-founding of the NGO

Frontiers of Tech Governance Initiative (2019-2023), focuses on creating common standards for automated technologies and establishing dialogues with civil society actors, particularly from the Global South.⁵

A landmark outcome of this work is the report, *Beyond the North-South Fork on the Road to AI Governance: An Action Plan.* Developed with a working group featuring strong representation from Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the report was one of the first of its kind to prioritize the concerns and interests of the Global South in the AI debate.²⁸ It argues that societies in the Global South are entitled to both equitable economic benefits and meaningful protection from powerful platforms, proposing a framework of "AI constitutionalism" to treat AI and big data as fundamental public resources.³⁰

Demonstrating a commitment to innovative forms of public engagement, this initiative also produced **Human in the Loop**, in partnership with the ARTificial Mind studio.²⁸ This project is an immersive artistic simulation that allows users to experience the complex societal and policy dilemmas of a future embedded with AI.²⁸ By placing users in a series of challenging scenarios across domains like health, law enforcement, and personal finance, the simulation moves the debate from abstract principles to tangible choices, making the future of AI governance accessible to a broader public.²⁸

5.3 Special Envoy for Global Finance

In 2023, Abecassis was appointed Deputy Special Envoy of the President of the French Republic for the Summit for a New Global Financial Pact.⁵ In this temporary but high-impact role from January to July 2023, he was responsible for the preparation and negotiation of the summit's outcomes, working in close coordination with the President's diplomatic unit and the ministries of foreign affairs and finance.⁵ This appointment demonstrates his continued trust at the highest levels of the French state for critical multilateral negotiations.

5.4 Confronting Climate Overshoot

Perhaps his most significant and forward-looking role is as Principal and Special Advisor to the co-chair of the Climate Overshoot Commission.⁶ This high-level, independent body is tasked with proposing strategies to mitigate the profound risks should global warming exceed the 1.5°C target.⁴ The commission's work is groundbreaking in its holistic "CARE" agenda:

Cutting emissions, Adapting to impacts, Removing carbon, and Exploring novel approaches like Solar Radiation Modification (SRM).⁴ Complementing this work, his co-founding of the Frontiers of Tech Governance Initiative focused on fostering dialogues about digital technologies with civil society actors from the Global South.⁵ These dual leadership roles are mutually reinforcing, positioning Abecassis at a critical nexus to ensure that specialized, expert conversations on climate and technology are integrated into the wider global governance dialogue.

Appendix A: Select Political Commentary (2017-2018)

The period immediately following his departure from the Élysée Palace was marked by intense analytical activity, where Abecassis processed his experience through public commentary. The following is a selection of his publications from this time, primarily

focusing on French politics, public opinion, and the political transformations underway.⁵

- "Gauche-droite : quelle évolution des Français depuis trente-cinq ans?"
 - o Le Figaro, February 13, 2018
- "Les Français et Emmanuel Macron : le temps des premières questions"
 - BVA / Fondation Jean-Jaurès, July 27, 2017
- "Tout commence maintenant"
 - o Huffington Post / Fondation Jean-Jaurès, July 17, 2017
- "État de l'opinion face au nouveau pouvoir" (with Chloé Morin & Marie Gariazzo)
 - Huffington Post / Fondation Jean-Jaurès, July 15, 2017
- "Enseignement de la loi travail 1 : l'importance du cadrage initial" (with Chloé Morin)
 - Fondation Jean-Jaurès, July 13, 2017
- "La méthode Macron plaît aux Français, ils attendent maintenant d'être convaincus par son action" (with Chloé Morin)
 - Huffington Post / Fondation Jean-Jaurès, June 28, 2017
- "Comment les Français voient Macron: Entre bienveillance et vigilance"
 - Le Nouvel Observateur, June 24, 2017
- "Tirer les leçons de la première loi travail pour réussir la seconde"
 - o Les Echos, June 15, 2017
- "Le PS et LR, des étiquettes politiques dévitalisées?"
 - o Paris Match / Fondation Jean-Jaurès, June 15, 2017
- "Pas d'état de grâce pour le gouvernement, mais un 'état d'attente"
 - Paris Match, June 2, 2017
- "Comment les Français voient Macron : le bénéfice du doute" (with Adelaïde Zulfikarpasic)
 - Le Nouvel Observateur / Fondation Jean-Jaurès, June 1, 2017
- "Comment le triomphe annoncé de Marine Le Pen n'a pas eu lieu" (with Marie Gariazzo & Chloé Morin)
 - Paris Match / Fondation Jean-Jaurès, May 26, 2017
- "Présidentielle : à la veille du scrutin, plusieurs catégories d'indécis"
 - o Le Figaro, April 21, 2017
- "Paroles de Français : et la campagne replongea..."
 - o Les Echos, April 4, 2017
- "Présidentielle : la campagne que veulent les Français"
 - Les Echos, March 20, 2017

Appendix B: Select Academic and Scientific Publications

- "Varieties of resonance: The subjective interpretations and utilizations of media output in France" (with Bo Yun Park & Manon Revel)
 - Poetics: Journal of Empirical Research on Culture, the Media and the Arts,
 October 2021 33
- "Five priorities for universal COVID-19 vaccination" (with multiple co-authors)
 - The Lancet, July 2021 35

Conclusion: The Evolving Role of the Policy Expert

The professional trajectory of Adrien Abecassis offers a compelling portrait of a new generation of policy intellectual, one whose influence is defined less by holding a single, static position and more by the fluid movement between the worlds of government, academia, and global civil society. His career arc charts a deliberate and logical progression: from a national civil servant and political advisor operating within the traditional structures of the French state; to a transatlantic scholar who used the intellectual freedom of academia to develop new analytical frameworks for 21st-century challenges; and finally, to a global policy entrepreneur actively building the institutions and networks needed to manage those challenges.

This journey from the Élysée Palace to the Paris Peace Forum and the Climate Overshoot Commission is more than a personal story; it is indicative of a fundamental shift in the nature of power and effective statecraft. In an era defined by problems that defy national borders—from digital disruption and pandemics to climate change—the ability to convene diverse networks, shape international narratives, and design innovative governance structures has become as critical as holding formal office within a national government. Abecassis's career demonstrates that the modern policy expert must be multilingual, fluent not only in the language of diplomacy and law but also in the vernacular of political communication, technological change, and scientific risk assessment. By successfully translating his intellectual agenda into institutional action, he has crafted a model of influence for the 21st century, one where the most pressing work is not only to serve a state, but to help states and the

global community govern a future of unprecedented complexity and risk.

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