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JONES: Good morning everybody. Thank you for joining us. I'm delighted to have you all here and so many of you. I'm also delighted that we're doing this virtually because it's awfully cold where we are, in DC. So it's nice to be inside to have this conversation. I'm really thrilled to be able to host this event on what I think is a really important initiative, and to have a chance, with a really terrific panel to discuss the issue and then to take questions from the audience. I'll be co-moderating with Melanie Sisson, my colleague at Brookings. Together we run the Seas and Strategy speaker series of which this forms a part. To discuss today's topic, we have a terrific lineup of people. We're going to start with Dan Hamilton, who is a senior fellow at SAIS' Foreign Policy Institute, as well as a nonresident senior fellow at our, at Brookings' Center on the United States and Europe. He's also the president of the Transatlantic Leadership Network and co-leads the United States, Europe, and World Order postdoctoral program at Johns Hopkins. And I would say has been one of the kind of key intellectual contributors to the notion of taking the Atlantic seriously in terms of the governance side and pushing for this new partnership. The person who actually made the partnership happen is Ambassador Jessye Lapenn, who is the senior coordinator for Atlantic cooperation in the Bureau of Oceans and International Environment and Scientific Affairs at State. She served as ambassador to the African Union and as perm rep to the UN's Economic Commission for Africa, as well as in the embassies in South Africa and Kigali, and has really been the animating force of taking this partnership for Atlantic cooperation from an idea a couple of years ago to an operational reality now. Also joining us is Dr. Ali Kamal-Deen, who is a founding member and executive director of the Center for Maritime Law and Security in, from Ghana. He teaches law and international relations at the University of Professional Studies in Accra, and is an adjunct professor at the Nelson Mandela University and a visiting lecturer at the International Maritime Law Institute in Malta, for which assignment I'm very jealous. And delighted to have you all with us.

JONES: So Dan, let me start with you. We've got, Houthis attacking commercial shipping in the Red Sea. We've got tankers being kidnaped in the Gulf of Oman. We have Russian and Chinese ships doing suspicious things in the Baltic Sea. We have Russian submarines in the north. We have the PLA in the Philippines shooting cannons at each other, water cannons at each other in the West Philippine Sea. The Atlantic seems relatively calm compared to all that. Why is it important that we focus on this body of water?

HAMILTON: Thank you. Bruce. It's a pleasure to be here, to join the other panelists. You know, I noticed some decades ago, the international strategic community had turned its gaze away from the Atlantic, because, as you know, many of the sort of state-to-state conflicts are happening in other ocean basins. And the Atlantic seems devoid of sort of the big flashpoints that strategic thinkers like to spend their time thinking about. In fact, you could argue that the Atlantic is the most pacific of all the oceans. But that's only in its very narrow, state-centric way. If you think about, if you want to start with security, which you did, you know, the notion of security within societies, not just between states, is a common challenge across the full Atlantic space. All of our societies are facing challenges to human safety and security, whether those are flows of guns and drugs, piracy - much of the piracy that you noted in the Red sea is actually move now to West Africa, so even that issue is also an Atlantic phenomenon. But beyond the, sort of, you know, the kind of traditional security issues, the Atlantic has things that are just very distinctive. It is - it, not the Pacific or the Indian Ocean is the most heavily traveled ocean. It's the inland sea to most of the world's democracies. Commercial flows in the Atlantic outpaced those of the Pacific. And in areas like services, investment, digital commerce, they far exceed those happening elsewhere in the world. The data seaway, the new world, the digital world, is most built out in the Atlantic and moving faster in the Atlantic than elsewhere as well. And the Atlantic is actually becoming a principal energy reservoir for the world. Not just fossil fuel, but fossil free. If you think where energy innovation is happening, it's happening mainly in the Atlantic space. It's, you know, US, Brazilian, Guyana, production last year offset the OPEC cuts. So an Atlantic initiatives sort of dealt with, you know, more traditional things even in the energy space. And the Atlantic Ocean itself plays a particular role in with regard to climate change and the world's oceans, because the world's thermohaline system, the currents that shape where everything goes, are centered in the Atlantic. Scientists like to talk of the world ocean, but there are some specific attributes of the Atlantic that affect the entire globe. And someone in Singapore might not just be paying as much attention to it

as someone who's sitting, you know, in the Atlantic space. So for all of those reasons, it deserves, you know, equal attention. And it's been striking to me that until this recent initiative that Ambassador Lapenn is going to talk about, there had been no framework of what I call a pan-Atlantic notion. The United States, we tend to think of Atlantic, we have traditionally thought North Atlantic. And we, and even from a U.S. national interest perspective, we were North Atlantic and fully Pacific. Why weren't we fully Atlantic and fully Pacific? That's we're shortchanging our own role in the world if we do that. I understand there are legacy issues: slavery, colonialism, you know, disputes between wealthy and poor countries. But the commonalities now, both the opportunities and the challenges seem to be finally coming together to at least prompt us to take another look at the Atlantic basin.

JONES: Well that's terrific. And it's also a terrific set up for for Jessye. But just before I turn to Jessye, let me ask you, draw you out, you know, one more sentence on the digital piece of this. I know that you've been particularly focused on that element. If you could just say one more, you know, sort of go one one notch deeper on the digital dimension of the, of the Atlantic.

HAMILTON: Sure. You know, we always, when you think of the, you know, digital connections, we always think it's up there in the air somehow, but 99% of our digital connections are under the, under the sea. And so the cables that connect our continents are what bind us together, and that densest cable infrastructure is in the Atlantic basin, not elsewhere. And the rates of growth, of build-out by private companies and others to connect the Atlantic is happening faster than elsewhere in the world. It provides an opportunity to help the digitally excluded, because, in Africa and South America in particular, there's still billions of people that don't have access to the digital world. You see content providers, U.S., European, working with African countries now to build cable links all across, all along the African coast, to Africa. This big cable link will have 38 landing sites all across the African continent and the largest, you know, hub where land and sea cables come together in the world is in Fortaleza, Brazil. That's the hub of the cable world. So these are things that are counterintuitive, I think, to some of us who tend to think, you know, that the Atlantic is not so central, because it is becoming quite central. We have both the opportunity to help people who are excluded from that world. But we also have to take account of the dangers and the risks now, to the cable infrastructure that we can see are evident given damages and attacks on cable links elsewhere. That's going to become much more important issue for all of us.

JONES: Good, thank you very much. Ambassador, let me turn to you. And I think Dan set it up very well in terms of the stakes. But I also want to highlight, it seems to me that the Partnership for Atlantic Cooperation that you have shepherded has is pretty creative. It actually takes, moves away from the traditional sort of transatlantic, sort of Europe to the U.S. ties, looks at the entire Atlantic basin, and goes beyond, you know, there are so many initiatives that are either strictly in the economic space or strictly in the environmental space. And actually you have a very wide agenda covering economic, environmental, commercial sovereignty issues. So, two questions to you really: how did you go from the idea to an actual agreement, and how do you think about that sort of wider framework and the and the wider concept of the partnership?

LAPENN: Thanks. And really thanks for for this discussion. For us who have been living in this space, it's really exciting to participate, especially with, with the broader audience. So I I'll start I think, where Dan laughed and he really laid out the, the types of challenges, the importance of the challenges and, and, and in many ways, the newness of the challenges. Some of these challenges are not ones we've faced historically, and we do now. We increasingly understand our dependance on the Atlantic Ocean, its fragility. What I think is common to many of these challenges, though, is the idea that they can't be solved by one country very much, and none of us can do it alone. And so that's really the spirit, the principle around which we have operated. I, I'll share a little bit of the basics, because as much as we've been in this space, probably many don't know the Partnership for Atlantic Cooperation. So a little maybe is useful. What is it? Why now? I'll start, and I, I think this very much gets at your question, echoing my boss, Secretary Blinken, who said we are working with purpose and urgency to deepen, broaden and align our friendships in new ways. He was talking about U.S. foreign policy broadly, but I think it's a really good description of the work we're

doing in Atlantic cooperation. We often organize ourselves by continent, by land. But in this initiative, we're saying, what happens when you put the ocean instead at the center? And we organize ourselves around the Atlantic Ocean, and we think of it as a way of connecting as opposed to dividing. As Dan said, the U.S. is not unique in recognizing these challenges. Many others, key others in the audience, other states have identified the importance of a pan-Atlantic approach before. Building on that work, we began a process really probably two years ago, pulling together a small group of countries to to, in the first instance, articulate a joint statement on the value of a pan-Atlantic approach. From there, we engaged in really intense consultations, a lot of listening as well as talking and a lot of engagement, really inclusive, open ended conversations with partners all around the Atlantic. And the result in September was the launch of the Partnership for Atlantic Cooperation. That's now 36 and counting countries. They come from the north, the south, the east and west of the Atlantic. All of them have endorsed the Declaration on Atlantic Cooperation. That's really the foundational document that outlines the challenges, goals, principles of cooperation. And a lot of the focus then is on collective problem solving. What are the problems that we have, and what are the problems that benefit from coming together. With the caveat that we are still talking about some of those priorities and that it is really a consultative structure. I can I'll give one example because I think it's useful for understanding sort of how does this function, one of the priorities partners have identified for this year is marine spatial planning. And that's a really useful tool for thinking about how do you use your marine space, how do you use it for economic development? Well, at the same time, thinking about commitments that - the 30 by 30 commitments, which are protection of 30% of the ocean by 2030 - how do you do both those important activities, meet both those important needs, and recognize their interaction, and do it in an open and transparent way. So to address marine spatial planning or or any of the other priorities within the partnership, different partners will bring different things. That's resources, that's insight, that's experience. I think there'll be quite a lot of focus on sharing of experience across and around the Atlantic. And the partnership is really well positioned to do that because of this consultative ethos. It's clear to me that not all the activities within the partnership will look the same. Some will benefit more from a working group, others from one-off convenings, and we see what sparks. For me that flexibility is is a real strength, and I think it also really reflects the emphasis on action, on impact, on functional reform that characterizes the partnership. One thing, though, that will be common across the lines of effort is they'll be multi-stakeholder. That means although the partnership is intergovernmental, its activities will be inclusive of of expertise and insight and resources from elsewhere, whether it's NGOs, private sector foundations, think tanks, and maybe on on the think tank reference is a stop there since again, this is a really useful conversation for us.

JONES: Teriffic. No thank you. And we'll probably come back to several of the points that you, you raised and get you to unpack more of them as we go. But I want to turn now to Dr. Ali Kemal-Deen. Kemal, Ghana has had stakes in the Atlantic since its independence. Dan talked about the, energy productivity of the of the Atlantic, Ghana was one of the first to find offshore oil in the, in the 1970s. Obviously now there is contestation around that and, the piracy issue, that Dan talked. But from your vantage point, how do you look at the issues of the Atlantic and if you want also, how do you look at this new partnership? You're muted. Kamal, you're still muted.

KAMAL-DEEN: Yeah. Thank you very much for the question. And that is a good follow up and the build up on the, what we've already heard from Ambassador Lapenn and, and, Daniel. If you look at it, are we in a new phase or are we are in a renewed phase of the Atlantic? Those are the key questions, especially from a West African perspective, that we will have to put at the fore in every discussion of the Atlantic. The Atlantic has very much shaped the political, cultural and, every facet of the West African landscape. The Atlantic has been a door to many things, and, today, the Atlantic still facilitates, much of the socio-economic development of the region. You do, you did, in fact, even mention some of the historical antecedents. And, if we look at some of the landmark historical happenings in that region, whether from slavery to colonialism, the Atlantic has been at the center of it. So the question that we do ask is, where are we with the Atlantic? Are we in a new phase or we are in the renewed phase of the Atlantic? Ambassador Lapenn have very much indicated that, we are looking at a new phase of the Atlantic where we very much want to see what

opportunities addressed in the Atlantic. And I think I do agree with that, and this fora, this forum is an indication that the declaration and goal of the Atlantic cooperation are not meant just to be on the books or be on the shelf, but there is a commitment to take action. If we look at it, what is going to continue and what is going to change in the Atlantic? The truth is that the ocean governance regime that we certainly have now, based on the United Nations Convention on the law of the sea, have always anticipated, if you want initiatives such as the Atlantic Cooperation Charter. Because we look at the ocean space, and as Daniel explained that there are many things that unite us together in the ocean space, but in terms of the wider Atlantic, we really didn't have something that bring us all together. And looking at those prospects, prosperity that we can harness in the Atlantic, but also addressing the challenges. And this cooperation is what has given, that's, if you want a new phase of of doing that. You referred in particular to the issue of oil and gas. Oil and gas, and that is offshore oil and gas, is becoming very pivotal to the economic prosperity of many states in the Gulf of Guinea. Ghana, Nigeria, Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome and Principe, new developments and explorations are coming up in Sierra Leone and Liberia. So this is what it represents. So it means that, Gulf of Guinea states are increasingly see shared opportunities, but also, economic drivers in that in the, in the, in the Atlantic space. But this also comes with contestation. And more importantly, it comes with certain challenges. And those challenges are what we are also supposed to address. If you look at the Atlantic Charter and the declaration that has been made, there are certain important things there that are supposed to help Gulf of Guinea states or states in the region. But that is, again, where the question that I ask comes in, whether we are in the face of continuity or we are in the face of change. Transfer of technology, for example, is one of the central tenets, especially science and development and transfer of technology, is one of the central tenets in the Atlantic Charter for Cooperation. Transfer of technology is something that has been old, dating back to the negotiations of the Law of the Sea Convention, it has been very central. Over that period, however, the reality is that we still have a technological divide and a huge technology gap, between the, the global South and then the global North. And this is, the global North and the global staff are represented in this Atlantic space and in this new initiative. So the question is, if we even pick out just a single theme of transfer of technology, how much are we committed to shifting from the 35 years of inaction, for example, in the law of the sea space, what for 35 years, we committed ourselves in the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea to make change so far as the transfer of technology is concerned and we have done little about it. So in terms of a new phase, we are going to be looking at how will the Atlantic Charter and the Atlantic cooperation change and make this something actionable so that it doesn't remain and end up on the shelves. So these are the initial remarks that I will have, and I'm very much happy to follow on on that.

JONES: Thank you very much. Actually, I want to ask Jessye a question that follows from that, which is how how does the administration or others within the partnership think about the challenge that Kamal raised of technology transfer and sort of changing the economic balance? What I have in my mind, I gave a talk at the Sea Power Symposium in Sydney a few months ago, and I showed two graphics. I should have thought of doing a shared screen, but one is, if you look at a map of all shipping lanes in the world, and you see every country in the world connected, every port, every city. It's a total global grid of connectivity. But then if you reshade it by value, by the economic weight of those flows, it's essentially a whole set of flows across the north, and some small flows from the south to the north and very little, across south, south. So how do you think about that space? Is the administration interested in that piece of the agenda, or how do you think are there resources that you're sort of pursuing with Congress to, to, to, to, to tackle that piece of the problem? And Dan,if you want to add on on that question.

LAPENN: I'll start on that, that last part on the on the resources, which is, there, there are resources, that are, that are specifically for the partnership. And in addition, as we work through sort of a process with other parts of the USG which are working within the Atlantic space, we hope to also grow the pot through co-design, through greater efficiency and, and thinking about the Atlantic as a whole. So there're both designated resources and, maybe, leveraged resources. And we're also talking to other non-government partners about what are they doing and where where can can we partner? I, I will say that in the process of developing the declaration, the issue of

technology was was a very important one. Both, sort of, I would say as a demand signal, but also as an area for collaboration, for cooperation and as a, as a new area. We've had really interesting conversations also with non-government partners who are building out a whole new blue tech sector. And I think that's really, really useful. I think - the partnership is is non-binding, and so there is no, there is no directed transfer of technology. But as a platform for sharing, I think it's really, really useful and really, really perfect. I think there is a lot of new technology as well that shows us what's happening, what what's going on in our ocean, and how do we understand it. And as you were describing that graphic, I was actually thinking, I wonder if sort of the the value in the power of simply seeing that graphic, right. It gives you, one, an understanding, and so putting it up - I don't mean now, but in general - putting it up as a prompt for for conversation, north, south, east, west. Sounds to me like a really valuable starting point.

JONES: It's a very useful advertisement for a piece I have coming out fairly soon that has those two graphics as the the the end point. And as part of my broader point I'll make here is that I do think in this conversation that has become a little bit more alive in Washington than it was even four years ago about, about north-south issues, global South issues. I think unless we understand this distinction between global connectivity on the one hand and global connectivity by value, that's sort of where the actual value is being created and move, we won't really get at the core issues. Dan, do you want to add in on my my question built out of Kamal's point or raise any other issues at this stage?

HAMILTON: Just briefly, you know, like, yeah. sorry. Your, your, shipping analogies is interesting. So my colleagues and I over the years have done also these maps because I think we do need new mental maps. We need to understand these connections and how they're flowing. And many of them are counterintuitive to sort of the mainstream, you know, media policy debates that are having, based on the things I was talking about earlier. Even your shipping analogy. You know, there's, it's not a Atlantic versus Pacific type of dichotomy here. The great demand now, the Pacific, from China, is changing the nature of Atlantic shipping. So the ports across much of the Atlantic have build out to take, take, be able to accommodate these supertankers. So you look at what they've tried to do in the Panama Canal, but the Tanger Med port, you know, on the other side of the Atlantic, these types of big ports have been changing because of the flows are changing, themselves. So, and that much of that's happening across the south Atlantic or the southern parts of the Atlantic, not just north, north, north, the North Atlantic, Europe, U.S. So that's why I say we need new maps. We need understand how the flows start to change because of this connectivity issue. So I would think that's -- on your technology issue, you know, some of this is interesting because it's not only a north-south issue, if you think about renewables innovation, Brazil is one of the world's leaders in renewable technologies and innovation. They have a lot to offer. I've had some very interesting experiences, also, on energy debates where African colleagues have met with Central American colleagues to learn about Central American regional energy markets. And that they find that that the how they've done that, not with necessarily gee-whiz technologies but simply working together, has application for regional African efforts. The north doesn't even have to be involved in that. I was sort of a fly on the wall listening, and it was very interesting. But countries across the Atlantic can find common cause and some common learnings. If we can have a platform like this, this platform is being offered now, we can start to bring those people and have a convening power about these types of things. So I think that's why the initiative is so promising.

JONES: Doctor Kamal, before I turn to Melanie to moderate some of the questions from the audience. Any, any responses to Dan and Jessye's points?

KAMAL-DEEN: Yes, I think that, those are very important the responses and views in addressing what you call this huge gap and how we can together ensure a shared Atlantic prosperity. I think the truth, the truth is that we move in two parallels. We move in, in a state to state environment, but we also move in the private sector environment. And the level of technology that is in the hands of the private sector is huge. And this is not necessarily something that although states may desire to, to transfer, that they have the ability to transfer. So what it means is that we need very much

innovative models. The truth is that the global North can be committed, although non-binding, as mentioned by Ambassador Lapenn, to transfer technology, in a very good way, committed to it. But when it comes to action, the technology may be in private hands. So how do we look at the private sector, having a long term economic relationship with the other side of the Atlantic and sharing, just not sharing for nothing, but sharing in such a way that the value is looked at in the very long term. So of course, so we have to think beyond the fact that, this, just as at the state-to-state level. And even when we, we also look at it from the point of view of the shipping that we mentioned, it's almost about the same thing; that historically, although we all still look at the, the global commons from shipping and the use of sea lines of communication, shipping and maritime trade itself has also moved into the hands of private hands, and private companies. And what it means is that in that dialogue, we need to broaden it. In dealing with Gulf of Guinea states, for example, West African states, the truth is that when it comes to even something as easy as providing for maritime security or providing for security, if you were ever to look at the cost of doing that pay state. As quite, as you know, again, the resources that are available to the state to provide that maritime security, it is huge. So the question will always arise at the background, security for who, and security for what, and at what cost? So when we look at all the shared prosperity within the Atlantic space, we must actually put them in, you know, different boxes and look at them closely and see how do we address the pertinent issues that we need to address in order to drive the shared prosperity. Thank you.

JONES: Good, thank you so much. I'm going to now turn the floor to Melanie. We have lots of questions that have come in in advance from the audience, but I suspect she also has questions that have been sparked by your comments so far. So Melanie, over to you.

SISSON: Thanks very much, Bruce, and thanks to the panelists. Yes, I do have, some of my own questions, but I will be judicious and defer in many cases to our really excellent and informed audience. Dan, to start, one could be forgiven, having heard you describe how active and productive and important the Atlantic is and has been recently, and think to themselves, well, everything seems to be going fine, then. If if this is the current state of play, is this partnership, do you think, intended, designed, intended or designed to address challenges and problems either today or that, or that we see coming, you know, in the future, in the near future, or is this more of a moment of opportunity to seize and create these sort of productive relationships? Which which direction would you see it in? And if I could add on to the latter, if you think it is a response to challenges and problems that we see, could you specify some of those, please?

HAMILTON: Sure. You know, I think, I was just struck a couple decades ago when the discussion about globalization seemed to be reduced down to the question of, it's all about Asia and the Pacific and China in particular, as if globalization was mainly about one part of the globe. But, you know, Tom Friedman says globalization is about how continents connect. Simple definition. So if you actually look at the connections among the four continents of the Atlantic, you see that globalization, of course, is happening there, too. And in some ways it's even more intense than other places. And yet it was escaping attention. I think what we've seen is globalization brings opportunity, but it also brings these challenges. And so I'm not suggesting this is all, you know, hunky-dory. I'm simply saying there is a deep sense of interconnections here which offer great opportunity, yeah, you could build out further, but also create some more negative connotations. I mentioned the climate change issue, the ocean, the role of the Atlantic Ocean for global climate change. That's a, that's something, you know, 20 years ago we weren't quite as focused on. Now it's becoming urgent, urgent, urgent. So unless you deal with this in a specific Atlantic context and how it relates to the global context, I don't know that we're going to really be able to address it. If you think about my point about human safety, you know, think about where the drugs and the guns go. The guns are flowing down from North America to South America, Central America. The drugs are coming up from South America, and they're all going across the Atlantic Ocean to West Africa. And they're flowing over there, in which they've spread out now to Africa. Africa, which did not have as much of a drug problem, you know, 15 years ago, now has a massive drug problem. The the amount of guns everywhere now, in unlegal ungoverned spaces is out of control. And then those drugs flow back up to Europe, because, again, that's where the demand is. It becomes a circular

human security challenge in which there's no governance mechanism. There's not anything. We don't we don't deal with it in a pan-Atlantic way. It's either pieces: coast guards, regional types of effort, but nothing to - understand, this is the dynamic now that we're facing of these flows. So as I say, it's not just, all great stuff. And I and there are some areas like these where we, unless we work on in a pan-Atlantic mindset, we're probably not going to be able to address it. So that's the negative. The positives, we mentioned some opportunities, Jessye mentioned the marine spatial planning. There are ways you can use digital tools to improve information systems for maritime flows. There's lots of things we could do, the blue economy, getting, you know, procedures for that. Lots of things, we can go on. And investment flows, from which I think would address some of Kamal's issues, to promote those would also be something that we could work on if we approach it in this, broader context. It doesn't supplant the other things. It's sort of on top of them. It, sometimes it makes sense to do it this way, sometimes it won't.

SISSON: Thanks very much. You've just mentioned the the sort of comprehensive nature of these challenges and opportunities. And I think, ambassador, that description comports nicely with what you've described as this partnership, not just in spirit, but it sounds like also intended in practice as well. We have the 36 and counting, as you've described. And the declaration also includes reference to collaboration with and building upon existing regional initiatives. So this is a lot of different elements, different people, different sorts of norms and practices. What is the thinking at the moment about how all of this is going to be coordinated?

LAPENN: Thanks, that's a, that's a great description. And as I hear it said back, it sounds almost daunting. But the way it is being operationalized right now is through a focal point system. So in each of those 36 countries, there's a designated senior official who is a counterpart to me. Now in those cases - whereas this is my my whole job is is driving this - for those counterparts, they've got other functions. Most of them sit in foreign ministries. Some may sit in in, under a prime minister. Part of where they sit is relevant because we think about coordinating across the countries, but they also then have to coordinate within their own governments, because so many of these issues that we're talking about don't sit within one ministry. So that's where this focal point system is really responsive to the kinds of challenges. And so the, the system of senior officials convenes on, on a, I would say, semi-regular basis at this point. It was that group that was the engine driving towards the declaration. And it's that group that, that takes, I would say, policy-level decisions around priorities, around principles of engagement. And that's the, the format. So there isn't at the moment envisioned, for example, a secretariat. I'm also mindful that we are, we are building something new. And I think the newness of it and the, this, the black diamond really came out in, in some of the comments that were already made. And so we are also open to how the structure builds and iterates over time. But at this point, this feels the most responsive and most appropriate.

SISSON: Thanks very much. Kamal, can I draw you out a little bit on the importance of differences or similarities in terms of norms and practice in maritime spaces, interpretations of things like UNCLOS, the convention on the law of the seas, and, how much of a role you see for that and how this kind of partnership can develop and be operationalized meaningfully?

KAMAL-DEEN: Yeah, thank you very much for that. The the good news is that there is a huge number of states in the Atlantic Partnership, and, and those states have very shared common norms. If we look at it from the perspective of, if you want a documented Law of the Sea Convention, I'm looking at it from the tangible point of view in terms of an agreement, almost all the states in the Gulf of Guinea side are parties to the Law of the Sea Convention. So what it means is that, you know, there are very shared norms, broadly in the context of the law of the sea regime for these states. If you look at states on the other side, a good number of them are also parties to the Llaw of the Sea Convention, of course, excluding the United States of America, which is a party to the Atlantic Charter, but still committed to a good part of the norms of international law that is incorporated in the Law of the Sea Convention. I think one of the fruits is that if we look at the Atlantic cooperation, there are states that are outside the Atlantic cooperation or maybe outside the Atlantic cooperation, but do have a shared interest in the Atlantic space. Well, Atlantic space will still remain an open space, beyond being the territories or exclusive economic zone of states. And

it's part of the global sea lines of communication. Freedom of navigation is supposed to exist there. So there are states that are extra Atlantic, or outside the Atlantic space. So the question is, when the states are outside the Atlantic space, there are two type of norms that we are looking at here. We are looking at the general norms of international, international ocean governance that those states are supposed to share with states within the Atlantic space and Atlantic cooperation. But we are also looking at norms that are within the Atlantic space itself, you know, growing norms in the Atlantic space. The question then is, how do we haveinclusivity? And in what areas will other states feel that they are not part of this Atlantic dialogue? So that is one direction. The other part of the direction is that anytime there is cooperation, there's always the very minor temptation of the cooperation to look exclusive. For that matter, when you are no part of the cooperation that you tend to be exclusive and within the cooperation, they tend to define norms. One of the interesting terms, for example, that we saw in the Gulf of Guinea is they are the only architecture for maritime security, whereas the architecture was supposed to be based on, you know, existing norms of international law and ocean governance. As you go through what we call maritime zones that are within the architecture, or let me say, zones, Zone A, Zone B, these are supposed to have a greater focus on their maritime space and be able to address it. States started using this as a basis of exclusivity. For example, if three states were to share a Zone F, then the understanding of some people is that if you are not a Zone F state, although there can be a piracy of the area of Zone F, then you are not supposed to undertake interdiction. So it is always an interesting play where at times cooperation is deemed to promote, then cooperation can also deemed to be exclusive. And that is where you can have challenging norms. By and large, most of the states in the, in the Atlantic cooperation are parties to the Law of the Sea Convention and have been committed to norms of international law for a very long time. And we think that this would provide shared norms for us to build Atlantic cooperation together.

SISSON: Thank you very much. Ambassador to you, I have a question from the audience. And it's, it asks, several Atlantic European nations, and they note France and Denmark in particular, were not signatories to the partnership for Atlantic Cooperation. Could you share or discuss some of the reticence that these and other nations had to join the initiative?

LAPENN: So first, most important thing is that the door remains open. There were 32 countries in September at the time of the launch. We're now at 36, and so the door is open. We are actively engaged with a number of countries. And there are a number whom I, I do expect to come on board in the near future. And with all, with with others, we are in a conversation. And I think, you know, some countries, for whatever reason, it takes longer. There's more questions that they have that are to us to answer or more complications on their own side. And I see that as, as part of the, the diplomatic process. That being said, we are focused on, broadening and and bringing in everybody and bringing in new partners, but also on deepening, on really building out the work of the partnership. And I think that the, the demonstration of impact and results will also have a positive effect in terms of bringing others on board. And then, of course, from a U.S.-only perspective, we are working with other partners in the Atlantic in in other formats and in, in other ways, bilaterally, alongside this effort.

SISSON: Dan, the ambassador just mentioned, demonstrations, of effectiveness or success? One of the audience questions is to do with exactly that, which is, what is what is the best case scenario that you envision? What do you hope to see from the partnership one year out, five years out, ten years out?

HAMILTON: Well, again, it's, that's up to the ambassador and her colleagues. But, I mean, if I had to, you know, think, just where do we need to start to do work? She mentioned the marine spatial planning. I think that's a very concrete example, where you are bringing, you know, there's already an existing network of coastal regions and cities all around the world, but all along the Atlantic, too, they're all faced with very similar challenges of how you do your planning on where the land meets the sea. Right. So and they're all facing lots of challenges, especially these huge urban centers of how you manage all of that. Well, that can be a, you know, a network that could start to address some of that. I've been pushing, and I think some others, the idea of marine, maritime domain

awareness. So what's going on on the sea? That affects our security. I realize right now the partnership has been cautious and doesn't want to step into things like that. But if you ask me, you know, down the road, it seems to me that that's something we should be focused on. And it's not like we have to invent this. You know, in the Pacific, an area that's bigger, more people probably, and probably more diverse than the Atlantic, this type of cooperation has been going on for 30 years. So this is you know, I sort of asked, why hasn't this been going on, not why is it starting now? But, and in the Pacific there are a number of fusion centers, maritime domain awareness centers that are up and running, among a very diverse set of countries and different types of actors. If you think about APEC, it was formed, you know, formed 30 years ago. They they've created all sorts of initiatives, also run by the private sector, frankly, for business travel, for all sorts of things that are very important to, you know, the business, the private - Kamal mentioned the private sector, things that they could lead on. We have to talk about the energy transition. I believe the next ten, 15 years, the Atlantic basin will become the other energy reservoir to the world, rivaling the Middle East. And it's important to, you know, make this one comment. You know, the Atlantic produces energy, the Pacific consumes energy. The Pacific is not going to be the energy reservoir of the world. It's going to be the consumption of the world energy supply. And so where is that going to be produced? It'll be the Middle East mainly, plus the Atlantic. And it's as I say, it's the renewables part that that would be, I think, quite interesting. That would help to address the energy, you know, access issue which affect also billions of people in Africa and in South America. It's not just the digitally excluded, it's the energy excluded, where if you could bring those people not only online, but power them up so they feel that they're part of the, you know, the world, that would be a major contribution. There's no reason why we couldn't be doing those types of things. So, and I mentioned the human security issues, which I think we're only going to get worse unless we have some framework to deal with that. So, you know, that's just a number of examples, but I think there are there are many that we could address.

SISSON: Kamal, I'd like to ask you the same question. Is it, does what Dan described comport with your vision of what success in this partnership looks like? Do you have areas that attract your attention that he maybe didn't mention?

KAMAL-DEEN: No, very sure. Broadly, most of the successes have been mentioned, and I just need to to, to just re-mention them from, from the perspective of, of of why I am sitting in the Atlantic divide or the Atlantic connection. We should be looking at the Atlantic maritime space where, ten years is short, but, ten years, we begin to see that countries in the other side of the Atlantic, have been growing prosperity out of the Atlantic space. The truth is that we are in a renewed state of hope. Coming out of the law of the sea conference in 1982, there was a huge hope of what the ocean commons is going to contribute to the development of the global South, and that hope has dwindled over the last period of 30 years, to the point that the expected gains from the maritime space have not been realized. We are in another space where we are looking at Atlantic now, and we can shelve some of the, the so-called, historical, non-elegant attributes of the end of the Atlantic space. So where do we look at from 20 years now? So 20 years now, I'm sure countries here, should be looking to see what prosperity have they gained from the Atlantic space? It's not going to be easy, because it's just not only about the global north, but it's also about the global South. How much is the global South positioned to have this partnership and to have this dialogue and to transform it into something that will be beneficial. [Inaudible] governance deficits that we have, and we have to address those governance deficits in order to be able to propel the shall the shared initiatives and benefits in the Atlantic space. So this is, a broader dialogue of what it is going to be and what the details are going to be, but certainly, over the period, we will want to see how the global North, especially the west, the south, the west coast of Africa do benefit from the Atlantic space and how this Atlantic cooperation have transformed socioeconomic development.

SISSON: Thank you all. And, Bruce, I'd like to invite you to chime in with any reactions or follow-up questions, threads that you'd like to pull based on the responses that that you've just heard.

JONES: Yeah, good. I'd like to draw the panelists out on to two issues before we wrap up. By the way, just speaking about the human security issues and, and, and, an earlier theme about the role of the private sector. I was reading recently about an initiative that joins the Allen Institute, which has pretty, pretty high tech maritime domain awareness technology, plus the UN Offices of Drugs and Crime and the Ghanaian navy, working together to increase awareness of illegal fishing in the Gulf of Guinea, which I thought it was an interesting example of this, the ability of the private sector to add value to states, whether of the north or the south, to tackle some of these, these challenges. And so that's my first question. And to any of you that want to answer it, which is about illegal fishing. We've seen in other parts of the world illegal fishing being a very significant driver of tension, both of the human security type that Dan referred to, but also wider sort of regional tensions over fishing stocks, etc. We've seen this in the Gulf of Guinea we're seeing it in the southern Atlantic. So just be interested in your perspectives on fishing, illegal and unregulated fishing, as a, is it a significant a major or minor, a growing part of the challenge set? And then I'd like to ask climate question, but let's let's start with fishing. Whoever wants to start.

KAMAL-DEEN: So if you want, Bruce, I can come in here. I'm just coming out of a meeting, another meeting with a dialogue where -- a training event. However, before this, with the Fisheries Commission of Ghana, where we have been trying to strengthen capacity, based on a U.S. projects, a U.S. State Department project that is called Addressing the Destabilizing Impact of [inaudible] Water Fishing Activities in the Gulf of Guinea. And as project implementers, our center, working with the Center for Coastal Management at the University of Ghana, organized a virtual training. And that is what virtual has provided us now, to be able to have impact, you know, two weeks training, very impactful over a period of time. And that comes up to the issue of fisheries that you mentioned. There are very many dimensions to to this dialogue. We have on the one side illegal fishing. We have on the one side unsustainable fishing activities and we have on another side fishing activities that deprive economic benefits. So illegal fishing, of course, are illegal fishing practices. And they involve vessels that are within and outside the region. And they may be illegal practices that impact on the fisheries. But they may also be, merely just stealing the fish itself. And those are the two dimensions. On the other extreme, unsustainable fishing practices, but also fishing activities that deny the the region of its economy benefits. If you look at both the pelagics in the region, and you look at the trawl profile of the Gulf of Guinea, it is clear that 90% of the vessels in the trawl side of the Gulf of Guinea are vessels that whose beneficial ownership are traced to countries that are outside their region. Then you come to the tuna side, and tuna may, as it's also at the private label or government-to-government access arrangements, and there again, you realize that, on the whole the economic benefits of the fisheries on the tuna side, the quotas and whatever it is, are also in the way shipped out of the region in terms of the value of the economy benefit. So we have this broad, you know, regime in the Gulf of Guinea where fisheries that was expected to contribute to livelihood of coastal communities, drive development within the coastal community, but the larger economy that we haven't really, realized that as well. So in such a broad fora in dealing with the Atlantic Partnership, we want to see also how a partnership has brought, you know, some renewed attention on the economics of it, because this is not a simple and illegal issue discussion, but there are also economic dimensions to it. There are also real economic dimensions to it. For example, there are shipping companies in Ghana unnecessarily do not have the investment in order to get their own vessel on the water. So this is the reality of what it will be. So how do government-to-government relationship address sections in the long term? So the fisheries landscape as you mentioned is very interesting and very complex. But ultimately it is one important area that we need to pay attention to.

JONES: Jessye, anything you want to add to?

LAPENN: Thanks. That I think was a great description, and certainly in my consultations, it has come up frequently as a real area of concern, especially for partners in the global South and an area of concern that that's really hard because the response to the illegal is different than the response to the unregulated. But the impacts are from the from the the individual human and from the, in terms of nutrition security, the pelagics that the Dr. Kamal was talking about, to the really to

the really big picture challenges. And so I think for, for most partners on the Atlantic, this has been identified as an area of concern.

JONES: Dan, if you have any specific thing you want to add to this, please do, but also want to pull you out further on a point that you raised earlier, which is and which has come up briefly since, which is on climate change. You talked about the kind of North Atlantic current, a thermocline. You know, climate change is not an issue we're going to solve in the oceans, but it's manifest very heavily in the oceans. And one of the places where we're feeling the impacts most directly, both in in sort of excess of heat in the oceans and also storm surges and the like. And that I think it's going to require an awful lot of investment in adaptive engineering, in local adaptation, etc., which has been a very fraught subject of debate in in the international system. So, Dan, just your thoughts on how this partnership might be able to help move some of those, those issues forward? And then I'll give Jessye and and Kamal a chance to respond, and then we'll start to wrap up.

HAMILTON: Yeah, actually, you know, I was going to say those two issues in my mind are actually linked. So, you know, four of the, I think, seven main Atlantic marine fishing areas lead the world in terms of being overfished. And, and it's pushing fishing elsewhere. There are three others that's I think 30% of fish stocks are over overexploited. So those traditional places are being less fruitful. And so fisheries, you know, fleets, move elsewhere. And then what you're seeing in the Atlantic is, especially the northeast Atlantic, very clear evidence that rising water temperatures are shifting the whole range and variation of organisms toward the poles. And they're shifting fishing fleets and the sustainability of local economies that have been based on certain kinds of fishing in radical ways in the United States. You know, just go to Maine and talk to the lobster fishermen. They'll tell you all about it. But it's affecting, climate change is affecting the whole nature of the fishery issue, because it's also pushing down toward the south. And, you know, so these are, these are related things. And so unless you can get a hold on that bigger issue with the currents, and start to build a community that understands these linkages, it's still being addressed sort of piecemeal. And I'm sure that that's really going to, do the trick. So I think that's one example. I think the, the climate change issue, as I said, because of the nature of the certain currents, makes the Atlantic quite central to this. It also affects the Arctic and it affects both poles, obviously, but the Arctic in particular, in terms of, you know, warm water, or some possible passages through the north. It's where the Baltic Sea does connect to the Atlantic, and then we're back to some conflictual issues again with our Russian colleagues. So these things are all really quite tied together. There is an interesting, you know, initiative that was started a long time ago, I think, called the All-Atlantic Ocean Alliance of Scientists. It's really headquartered out of Ireland. And they've been working on this for some time. So that's the kind of initiative - this isn't trying to, I think, compete with that. It's trying to give it more agency and to try to lift it and try to give it profile and then make even more connections so you can build on things that are already there. But they've been laboring in the dark, sort of, you know, here's now the time to sort of lift that and make that much more central, because the all-Atlantic part is what's distinctive.

JONES: I'm tempted to ask Jessye the question about how this partnership is going to link to littoral seas like the Mediterranean, the Baltic, but I think I'll save that for anotherm I don't want to her to kind of feel completely overloaded, but she moves forward on her agenda. But Jessye, anything you want to add on the on the climate piece and especially on on climate adaptation?

LAPENN: Yes, I, I think that what the partnership will do is two really valuable things in the climate space. One is on information, both developing information and sharing information. That, we've been talking about the Atlantic as a whole, and for me, the sort of best example is there's a single system of currents. That what happens on one coast impacts another. And so even from a U.S. perspective, we need to understand what's happening in another part of the Atlantic to know what our weather will look like. And that's true then for everybody. And so I think this building of relationships has the potential to really increase our information picture, to improve what we know, and then also make that information more accessible, to to share what is known. And I think the second piece that will be really important is a building of trust. There was a discussion around North-South. And here again, this single current is so important for thinking about the North-South

connectivity. And I think that the the way that the partnership works, as well as what it works on, is really important for the building of trust. And that connectivity will also, I think, be really valuable as we think about climate in, in other, in other formats. And then just to pick up on on Dan's point about the All Atlantic Organization for Innovation and Research, the science work. I absolutely think that the Partnership for Atlantic Cooperation can help there, bringing, as you said, focus, bringing political energy, and and growing their pool of Atlantic participation. Thanks.

JONES: Good. Kamal, do you want to come in on the climate question? And then I'm going to give you all a chance for one final thought that you want to make sure the audiences has in their minds as they think about the Atlantic before we we wrap up. So, Kamal, both on the climate and on any sort of final, final observations.

KAMAL-DEEN: Yes. Yes. On the question of the climate, climate discussions have been going on for a while, and the impacts of climate discussion, the climate change, on this side of our world is very obvious. It might not be climate impacts that are ocean related only, but climate impacts of ocean dimension or global dimension that are impacting communities and that are impacting lives. Waterways, waterbodies are being dried off. Fertile land is decreasing. And when you come across the coastline of many of the states here, a lot of coastal communities are being washed away. So the impacts of, of the climate dimension of the Atlantic, well, let me say the interest in the economic dimension of the Atlantic operation is, is is something that is vital for this region. The truth is that, of course, the level of information may be, may be less. And that is why what Jessye's saying is important, that at least, even at the very fact of how much information do we have to share on this particular issue in other to have a wider, understanding of the climate dialogue and how the rich that countries in this side of the Atlantic are positioning themselves and others to address those climate issues.

JONES: Sorry, Kamal, is there any one thought that we haven't covered so far that you just wanted to briefly mention to the audience before we before we wrap up?

KAMAL-DEEN: No, there is not one thing that is not covered. What I do want to highlight is having worked in this particular space, you know, for a very long time on oceans, in maritime [inaudible] from from my life in the Navy and into recession, academia, and now into NGO activities. The truth is that, we have a lot of what I would call a cooperative culture, on countries on this side when it comes to cooperation. Very much open, very much happy to embrace ideas and to embrace shared values. What we need to do to leverage this and to make sure that there are tangibles in this particular dialogue that we are looking. That we don't drag it, that we discuss, we begin to see the tangibles, and then they can be able to, if we want, energize, if we want their commitment to the process. And of course, it doesn't take one side, takes, you know, both sides of the Atlantic, all states of the Atlantic operation will have to make sure that such tangibles are seen. And that can energize the process. And that is what I am looking up to.

JONES: Perfect. Dan, final thought?

HAMILTON: Well, I would just go to the political point here that the opportunity we have is to erase that invisible line that has separated the global, the north and the south of the Atlantic for so long. It's a line that is stubborn. It has prevented a lot of us from moving forward on lots of issues with, for which we have some common cause. And I understand why, but here's a, this is, this is not along either of those lines. This is a, this is an effort to try to bring everyone together and identify those issues that will make a difference. I believe because of the legacy issues we we should acknowledge, that our southern Atlantic colleagues are the ones who have to own this issue. They have to own this initiative. They have to believe this is something that's going to work for them, and they should be the ones to come with ideas and suggestions and leadership. It can't be seen as another good northern idea being brought to our southern colleagues. That's not going to work, given the framework that we're talking about. So my, it's both a plea and a, and a pitch. The, we're looking for some leadership. I think there was a question in the chat about Brazil. Brazil was a hugely important Atlantic power, but so is Nigeria, you know, South Africa, these are countries, you

know, we can look at the whole West African coast, Ghana is already playing a role in the [inaudible]. So, you know, these are the countries that I think we, we would look to for some leadership in identifying exactly what Kemal is saying. What are the specific areas where a pan-Atlantic perspective could actually make a difference, and we listen to that perspective going forward. I think that would help to start to erase that invisible line.

JONES: Thank you. And I have to say, in your opening remarks, you used a phrase that, Jessye, I think you should use every time you talk to an audience: the four continents of the Atlantic, which I think is very evocative both of the reality and of the spirit that you've been describing. Final thoughts from you, Jessye.

LAPENN: Thanks. There is an Atlantic community. It exists. And there are other communities, but that is a really important principle for me. And the partnership then, is, is a manifestation of Atlantic community and a supporter of Atlantic community. And so for me, this question of what does success look like? I think that's really important and that we've always gotta think, keep that in mind as we draw so that we can drive towards it. And and it works really on two levels, a macro and micro. The macro is at a, at a leadership level, at a principles level, at a values level, how do we think of ourselves as a community and organize. But it has to also be visible and operational at the micro level, at the community level that that Dr. Kamal referred to. I think that's really important for energizing the the big picture values conversation. And I think it's a really fortuitous moment if I think just about this conversation, the level of alignment along political, scientific, academic lines, about the importance of the Atlantic and the commonality, connectivity within it. For me, that's a huge opportunity, which from our side, we will we will really take forward, and drive towards success.

JONES: Terrific. Well, we're going to have you back in a year and test you on that proposition, along with, hopefully, Dr. Kamal and Dan and, and others to see how we're progressing. And I can say for my own part, and I think I speak for Melanie, and I know for the institution, that we're committed to doing what we can then do to help encourage debate, explore ideas within the think tank space and in the broader dialogues around these extremely important issues. So my thanks to Melanie for co-moderating the Seas and Strategy session as always, but in particular, thanks to the three of you for sharing your time, your expertise, your passion. And to our very large audience for today's session, thank you for joining us and for paying attention to things maritime and things Atlantic. And with that, thank you very much.

LAPENN: Thanks.