



WORLD POLICY CONFERENCE

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The three meeting formats – namely, the plenary sessions, workshops and lunch or dinner debates – are based on the concept of constructive public-private interaction at the highest level.



MISSION

Founded in 2008, the *World Policy Conference* (WPC) is an independent organisation which aims to contribute to improving all aspects of governance, with a view to promoting a world that is more open, more prosperous, fairer and more respectful of the diversity of States and nations.

Its annual meeting, which is on a human scale, brings together leading figures from all five continents - political and business leaders, representatives of civil society, academics and journalists - in a climate of trust and a spirit of tolerance to examine, discuss and suggest constructive solutions to major regional and international challenges.

Message from the Founder

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Historians will surely cite 2008, the year the world nearly lurched into a second Great Depression, as the starting point of the 21st century. Once the illusions consecutive to the fall of Communism had dissipated, it became clear to everyone that maintaining an open and peaceful international system was anything but a matter of course. The very raison d'être of the WPC, held for the first time in October 2008 in the wake of the Lehman Brothers collapse, is to help strengthen global governance and, in particular, prevent disasters such as those that shaped the 20th century from returning.

The diagnosis underpinning our action is based on five interdependent considerations:

1-The fundamental cause of globalisation is the revolution in information and communication technologies, the latest emanation of which is the emergence of a Big Data economy. The said revolution has brought major benefits and many promises along with it, but also at least two major threats. It has heightened the instability of the international system as a whole by multiplying non-linear interdependences (non-proportionality of causes and effects) and thus the risks of "butterfly effects" in all areas. It has also caused an explosion in inequalities, even more within countries than between them. Yet it is a known fact, at least since Plato, that justice lies at the foundation of politics. This is not only a moral question: injustice amplifies structural instability.

The fight against excessive inequality has become a major issue in governance.

2-The world remains profoundly heterogeneous. While globalisation may have given the impression at the surface that we are all progressing at the same pace, and thus that the remnants of History have been flattened out, reality paints a different picture. The wounded of the Cold War and of interdependence are tensing up and passionately setting out to find their identities, even if this means lapsing into nationalism or other forms of possibly murderous or even suicidal collective self-assertion. Resurging nationalism can be seen currently in Europe around Russia, and in East Asia, around the China-Japan-Korea triangle. For other illustrations of this search for identity, one need look no farther than the manipulation of religion for political purposes, in particular in the Middle East. Good governance is defined first and foremost by its ability to encourage the development of dialogue and thereby empathy, to foster confidence-building measures, nurture tolerance and diplomacy, and lower the risk of negative spiralling and loss of control. It is in particular by setting a good example – all too infrequently the case – that the Western countries could better promote their values, rather than doling out advice to others and waging ideological battles edged with neo-imperialism, which too often end in greater misery for the populations directly affected by the crises.

3-The major risks due to the «butterfly effect» can be seen in any number of areas: natural disasters for which humans are responsible to varying degrees (Fukushima, etc.), climate deregulations of more or less anthropogenic origin, revolutions, terrorism, transnational crime – in particular, cybercrime – uncontrolled migratory flows, social protection systems collapsing under the weight of ageing populations or pandemics, food crises, financial crises, etc. One of the major objectives of global governance must be to organise collectively upstream (typically in fields such as energy and finance), in order to better prevent identifiable risks, and in order to rapidly address the consequences, should preventive action fail.

4-This is a complex undertaking due to the lack of leadership that exists today, coined in the expression "a non-polar world". The construction of a governance system appropriate to such a world assumes, at the global level, achieving a balance between the UN, other international institutions (IMF, World Bank, etc.) and G_n groups (the most prominent currently are the G7 or G8 and the G20), created in order to strike – within a minimum framework of shared values – a good compromise between partly contradictory demands for effectiveness and legitimacy. Particularly important in the membership of these groups are the medium-sized powers, which are both eager to dedicate resources to the international system's structural

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stability, above and beyond their immediate interests, and capable of doing so. In the same spirit, good global governance requires good regional security sub-systems. Much remains to be done on this front. The construction of global governance will also mean blending the legal traditions that have come down from great civilisations and extending international law to new and, in practice, highly sensitive areas, such as international criminal law or the responsibility to protect. At all levels, global governance not only impinges upon the States, but must involve other active units, often essential in ensuring effectiveness, starting with enterprises, and without neglecting interaction with other segments of civil society.

5 - Despite its flaws and weaknesses, both in the economic order and in the political order, the European Union deserves to hold centre stage at the planetary level, insofar as it embodies a new type of political unity in the making – a form of unity founded on the voluntary sharing of sovereignties between countries which, in their mode of interaction, emphasise first and foremost the idea of reconciliation. In order for such a process to endure and prefigure a world in which the borders will have irreversibly changed in nature, it is important not only to preserve the national identities of the Member States, but also to deepen them, an effort that is paradoxical only in appearance. The same approach goes all the more for “dialogue between religions” and, more

generally speaking, “dialogue between civilisations”, both of which must be engaged in-depth, in order to gradually consolidate global governance worthy of its name.

The WPC extends from a movement unprecedented in history, from which a global civil society could emerge, one capable of strengthening the still-nascent international community. With its seventh edition in Seoul, in December 2014, the WPC has reached the age of reason, at the same time as it has become completely global, in keeping with its vocation. Over the past six years, we have responsibly and earnestly addressed most of the topics suggested by the considerations above. Looking ahead, our aspiration is to explore them in greater depth and breadth, with participants from all walks of life, and from both the private and public arenas, whose personal and institutional renown will make it possible for the club we form to have an impact today, at the most suitable level, in a debate that is vital to humanity.



Thierry de Montbrial
April 20, 2014

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE DEBATES



“ The changed global economic power balance demands a major reform in the existing global governance system.

Il SaKong

ECONOMY AND FINANCE

The first meeting of the WPC was held in October 2008, at the height of the greatest financial crisis the world has seen since 1939. From the very start, this conjunction provided an emphatic justification for the WPC's raison d'être, which is to strive to develop genuine, effective global governance. Over the course of the five subsequent meetings, and until now, much of the WPC's work has been devoted to the development and resolution of this crisis.

It began in July 2007 with the subprime crisis, the result of US bankers underestimating the risks of subprime mortgages. There followed a liquidity shortage and a credit crisis which spread throughout the whole world, accompanied by the spectre of the collapse of the financial pyramid.

For our speakers, this crisis, at first financial then economic, sounded the death-knell for extreme free-market dogmas, “rational” markets, the ideology of total deregulation and Greenspan's loose monetary policy, considered “brilliant”. The Fukuyama equation (democracy + market economy => peace + prosperity) was flawed. Over the following years, our speakers cited the outsized financial sector, excessively volatile capital flows, major global macroeconomic imbalances and unstable or inadequate exchange rates as being among the causes of the crisis. The crisis revealed certain European weaknesses, such as economic heterogeneity and the overly high level of debt and unemployment in some States.

The resolution of the crisis marked the comeback of the

States, whose extensive intervention made it possible to avoid an even more serious depression than that of 1929. They had to adopt unconventional measures on an unprecedented scale in order to provide liquidity to a banking system which was on the verge of collapse.

At our first meeting, the main concern was to prevent a return to a similar crisis. The main innovation of governance was the transformation of the G20, at the end of 2008, into a global financial and economic decision-making body, bringing together for the first time heads of State and government with a view to reforming the international financial system and developing new “rules”. Ten emerging countries participate in the G20 due to their economic and financial weight. The IMF, the Financial Stability Board (FSB), the BIS and the World Bank have all been reformed. In Europe, the ECB will have a supranational Single Supervisory Mechanism and the European Banking Union will deal with banking crises.

The view in 2013 was that the crisis is under control, significant reforms have been implemented, but much remains to be done. Sizeable real and financial imbalances persist, requiring a reduction in public spending and indebtedness by deficit countries and an increase in imports by surplus countries. Reforms by the G20 and major international financial institutions must continue, decisions must be enforced and obstacles overcome. But, overall, there has been a return to optimism over financial stability and economic growth.

SPEAKERS : Josef Ackermann, Joaquin Almunia, Lourdes Aranda, Nicolas Barré, Marek Belka, Henri de Castries, Chang Dae-Whan, Benoît Coeuré, Kemal Dervis, Arkady Dvorkovitch, Jean-Pierre Elkabbach, Jacob Frenkel, Jeffry Frieden, Ángel Gurría, Gikas Hardouvelis, Philippe Hildebrand, Il SaKong, Donald Johnston, Haruhiko Kuroda, Bruno Lafont, Pascal Lamy, André Levy-Lang, Susan Liautaud, John Lipsky, Alessandro Merli, Jacques Mistrál, Mario Monti, Eliane Mossé, Wolfgang Münchau, Françoise Nicolas, Constantin von Oesterreich, Yoichi Otake, Fathalla Oualalou, Pier Carlo Padoan, Quentin Peel, Peter Praet, Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa, Ana Palacio, David de Rothschild, Riad Toufic Salamé, Gordon Smith, Herbert Stepic, John Thornhill, Jean-Claude Trichet, Xavier Vidal-Folch, Nicolas Véron, Lionel Zinsou.



“ European integration has always developed through crisis.

Mario Monti

GEOPOLITICS

The end of the Second World War marked the end of the major wars of aggression. The hope is that the collapse of Communism has put an end to ideological wars, however hotbeds of territorial dispute remain. We also see ethnic or religious conflicts, not necessarily linked to borders, struggles for influence and conflicts over energy resources. The United States, the leading military power, no longer wants to manage the world's crises and China often stays in the background when it comes to diplomacy. The bipolar world of the last century, which became unipolar after the collapse of the USSR, is now non-polar. The UN Security Council is supposed to exercise global governance to resolve conflicts between States but is often paralysed by the veto system to which it is restricted. The territorial dispute which has been the subject of most debate at the WPC is the Israel-Palestine conflict. Its persistence is probably the result of the radicalisation of the protagonists, the lack of political will on the part of the United States, the key mediator, and the indifference of much of the international community. As regards the Arab Springs which began in 2011, our speakers have hailed them as victories over dictatorships, even if the after-effects are still chaotic. They thought that another revolution was on the way in Syria but, since 2012, divisions in the opposition and disagreements with Russia have dashed hopes. As regards Iran, in 2008 there was talk of the possibility of Western military intervention. In 2013, after the elections, the first agreements were signed with Western countries; it is hoped that this foreshadows normalisation. Conflicts in Africa are more likely to have their roots in ethnicity and religion, and Islamic extremism in

particular. The objective of the French operations in Mali and CAR, under the auspices of the UN, is to prevent civil wars where there is a religious dimension. In Asia, Afghanistan has not been pacified. Pakistan still claims a part of Kashmir controlled by India, but it is thought unlikely that open conflict will break out. The Kuril Islands are still claimed by Japan. In 2013 China defined an Air Defence Identification Zone in the East Chinese Sea which covers the Senkaku Islands (Diaoyu Islands) which it claims, probably for their supposed oil and gas reserves. This creates considerable tension with Japan and the United States. North Korea, a feudal, Communist country, has nuclear weapons and is supported by China. The reunification of Korea seems likely, but at some undetermined point in the future. Tensions between Japan and Korea are also a cause for concern. As for Europe, the EU has achieved its goal of peace. But in Eastern Europe, certain former Soviet Union territories are undecided over whether to move closer to the EU or the Russian Federation. The role of diplomacy is to prevent armed conflict, whatever the context. Bilateral relations and regional organisations are also important, such as the Regional Cooperation Council for the Western Balkan countries, which could serve as a model for the Persian Gulf. The UN, and its Security Council, is still a vital system for upholding international law. Everyone thinks that it must be reformed to become more representative and more effective, but no one can come up with the perfect formula. The status quo will continue for a long time to come.

SPEAKERS : Masood Ahmed, H.R.H. Prince Turki Al-Faisal, Alain Antil, Schlomo Avineri, Robert Badinter, K. Shankar Bajpai, Ehud Barak, Denis Bauchard, Mohammed Bedjaoui, Christophe Bertossi, Mehmet Ali Birand, Robert Blackwill, Christophe Boltanski, Jean-Bernard Cadier, Brahma Chellaney, Adrian Dellecker, Christopher Dickey, Etienne de Durand, Yury Fedotov, Khadija Mohsen Finan, Amine Gemayel, Renaud Girard, Robert Glasser, Marshall Goldmann, Thomas Gomart, Juan Manuel Gómez-Robledo V., Elisabeth Guigou, Han Sung-Joo, Hakim Ben Hammouda, Marc Hecker, Shireen Hunter, Mo Ibrahim, Yutaka Imura, Igor Ivanov, Vincent Jauvert, Yang Jiemian, Sergey Karaganov, Jin Roy Ryu, Edem Kodjo, Bassma Kodmani, Olivier Louis, Roderick MacFarquhar, Kishore Mahbubani, Mona Makram Ebeid, Moulay Driss Mdaghri, Amr Moussa, Titus Naikuni, Mayankote Kelath Narayanan, Valérie Niquet, Sari Nusseibeh, Shotaro Oshima, Volker Perthes, Jordi Pujol, Itamar Rabinovich, Jean-Luc Racine, Adam Daniel Rotfeld, Eberhard Sandschneider, Yukio Satoh, Dorothée Schmid, Henry Siegman, Jean-Michel Severino, Meir Sheetrit, Tidjane Thiam, Anatoly Torkunov, Michael Yeoh, Yusuf Wanandi, William Zartman.



“ The next big source of food insecurity will be Africa, so if we do not address the African issue we will not have global food security.

Jane Karuku

MAJOR RISKS

There are various kinds of major risks, but all have a potential global impact. They have been the constant preoccupation of the WPC since its beginning as regards their identification and prevention, and the steps to take in the event of catastrophe. A classification of risks according to the degree of human responsibility has been proposed. Thus we would have: 1 – those resulting from a deliberate human action: for example, major terrorist acts, internal or external conflicts, major cyber-attacks; 2 – those resulting from unintentional human action: poor management of finance, of society, depletion of rare resources or oil, uncontrolled population growth, ageing, global warming; 3 – those not directly attributable to human action: natural risks, infectious or emerging diseases. We could also identify potential risks, unlikely to ever occur, such as a major new illness or a meteorite impact, and certain risks, which should instead be classed as problems, such as ageing, global warming or the depletion of natural resources. Insurance companies work to identify risks but occasionally some of these are not recognised or are poorly evaluated. The Fukushima catastrophe was not predicted because the scale of tsunamis was underestimated. It is significant that, before 2011, the WPC had not considered tsunamis to be major risks. In another field, the 2008 financial crisis was not anticipated due to the dominant vision of the self-regulating market. The variety of risks requires a variety of potential measures for predicting them or for limiting their consequences. A major terrorist attack, possibly a cyber-attack, is foreseeable, with

serious consequences. Only some countries, such as Israel, Sweden and Poland, are well prepared to block extensive IT attacks. Because when it comes to the internet, there is no global governance and no global defence. In a different field altogether, fossil fuels, which produce more than 80% of our energy, are exhaustible resources and must be replaced with other sources of energy. This is a major challenge for humanity. There are possible solutions, such as solar thermal energy, but huge investments still need to be made in research.

Global warming will have numerous catastrophic consequences for agriculture, health, coastal populations, etc. We know what global measures need to be taken, but they are the subject of bitter discussions and bargaining given the extent to which they are in conflict with concrete economic and financial interests. Scarcity of resources will require widespread recycling and a reduction in consumption. High demographic growth, which primarily affects Africa, will require a significant increase in agricultural production, which could be reached through a more systematic irrigation, cultivation of GMOs and the judicious use of fertilizers. Effective warning systems for infectious and emerging illnesses do exist, but there needs to be global coordination for targeted research, especially for emerging illnesses.

We have not listed all the major risks discussed at the WPC's various meetings. It appears that to tackle most of the major risks, global governance, or at least coordination, would be more effective than isolated actions.

SPEAKERS : Godefroy Beauvallet, Christian Bréchet, Michel Camdessus, Jean-Yves Cartanfan, Philippe Chalmrin, Jérôme Contamine, Richard Cooper, Daniel Dăianu, François Danel, Christopher Delgado, Louise Fresco, Hervé Gaymard, Brent Habig, Steve Howard, Markos Jank, Jane Karuku, Thomas Kirkwood, Petra Laux, Aline Leboeuf, Dominique Moisi, Cherif Rahmani, Luc-François Salvador, José Graziano da Silva, Tadakatsu Sano, Mostafa Terrab, Yashwant Thorat, Kairat Umarov, Córdoba Villalobos, Thomas Wellauer, James Wolfensohn, Raphael Wittenberg, Qu Xing, Igor Yurgens, Andrey Zolotov, Mahama Zoungrana.



“ We need cleaner energy for everybody. To reach it, let's talk about not only access to energy, not only about security of supply – but also about climate change and the responsibility of global warming.

Christophe de Margerie

ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT

All development of human activity is reliant on energy. For the past 30 years, the global energy mix has consisted of 82% fossil fuels. These present two major disadvantages: the first is that they are finite, the second is that they have a negative impact on the environment.

A third problem comes from the fact that the biggest reserves of hydrocarbons are in sensitive geographic zones: the Middle East, Africa, South America, Russia, etc. Europe, for example, and Germany in particular, is largely reliant on Russian gas, which results in interdependency.

Global energy needs will double by 2050. It is estimated that 1.4 billion people do not have access to electricity. Fuel reserves are estimated at 120 years for coal, 60 years for natural gas and 50 years for oil. The exploitation, now possible, of shale gas and oil, considered revolutionary by some, will be a game-changer in the energy field; reserves are enormous and well distributed.

But the biggest current problem is the impact of fossil energies on the environment. Emissions of greenhouse gases, particularly CO₂, heat up the atmosphere, potentially by 5 degrees by the end of the century, which would have catastrophic consequences on climate, sea levels, water, agriculture and health, and result in an increase in extreme events, etc. There are three types of complementary solution. The first, is to use less energy by changing our lifestyles and increasing energy efficiency. The second is to use renewable energies. We already have, limited, hydroelectric energy, and biomass energy. Nuclear energy suffered as a result of

the accidents at Chernobyl and Fukushima in particular, but there is renewed interest in this type of energy. Wind power and photovoltaic power, which seemed promising at our early meetings, are now criticised as irregular and costly, but there is hope to be found in solar power plants. The third solution consists of burying some of the CO₂ emitted underground, which has a cost.

At the international level, the UN plays an essential role with, since 1992, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) of the Rio summit. The Conference of the Parties (COP) continues negotiations every year. In 1997, the Kyoto Protocol, the first binding measure, imposed a 5% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions between 2008 and 2012 and set up an international carbon market. The 2009 Copenhagen Accord provides for limiting temperature rises to 2 degrees. But these meetings are viewed as semi-failures insofar as some countries block advances. Moreover, the costs would result in a loss of competitiveness which no one country wants to take on alone. In this respect, progress is more likely to happen as a result of approaches in individual sectors.

Overall, our speakers think that countries are increasingly aware of the gravity of the situation. Opinions are divided on whether a dedicated global organisation should be set up. In any case, energy transition will have to be managed at the global level, and at other levels. Significant investment in research is vital to develop new technologies which will make it possible to eventually do without fossil fuels.

SPEAKERS : Fernando Alvarez del Rio, Yukiya Amano, Jun Arima, Thomas Becker, Amina Benkhadra, Richard Bradley, Natacha Butler, André Caillé, Scott Charney, José Angel Córdoba Villalobos, Paal Frisvold, Jim Hoagland, Maria van der Hoeven, Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, Jean de Kervasdoué, Manoelle Lepoutre, Bruno Lescoeur, Jacques Lesourne, Jean-David Levitte, Alexander Likhotal, Christophe de Margerie, Mohammed Tawfik Mouline, Alexei Pushkov, Cherif Rahmani, William Ramsay, Anil Razdan, William Reilly, Kristina Rüter, Kevin Sara, Narendra Taneja, Chris Viehbacher, Thomas Wellauer, Bruno Weymuller.



“Someone has tried to develop theories about cyber warfare comparing it to nuclear war. I think the appropriate analogy is probably biological warfare. You do not know where the virus will end up. It is profoundly.

Carl Bildt

DIGITAL GOVERNANCE

Since its third meeting, in 2010, the WPC has taken an interest in governance of the internet due to the ever increasing place it occupies in the majority of private and professional human activities, its central role in globalisation, and also the criminal activities that it makes possible.

The internet is a redundant electronic network which was originally designed by the US army to ensure communications in the aftermath of a nuclear attack on America. It is now a free public network which makes it possible to transfer data throughout the world in virtually real time. In 2010 there were almost 2 billion internet users in the world. In 2015 there will be more than 3 billion. More and more fields of activity are becoming reliant on the internet. It contributes to freedom and progress, but its anonymity and the absence of controls make it the tool of choice for malicious or criminal use, and for spreading rumours or ideologies. Hackers create viruses to impair the internet's operations. Cyber-crime is hugely profitable. Cyber-terrorism attempts to damage specific targets. Cyber-espionage is constant. Cyber-attacks can be carried out by countries or groups of individuals against other countries to affect or disorganise vital civil or military domains.

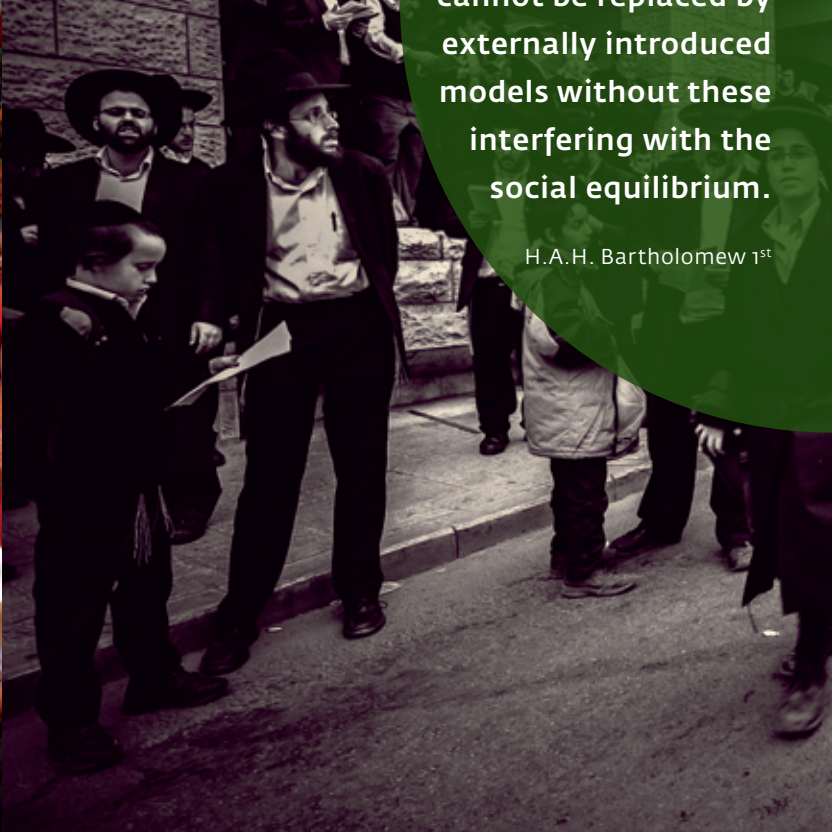
To make the internet secure, you have to be able to control the way it is used, in other words exercises some form of governance. This network of decentralised networks works thanks to the ICANN, which manages the system of domain names and 13 central DNS servers, and the Internet Engineering Task Force, which develops standards. For its part, the International

Telecommunication Union also works on standards and cyber-security. This is all technical management, but no one controls content on the internet.

Each time the question of internet governance has been tackled by our speakers, this problem comes up. It's hard to see how global governance would work in technical terms, and many countries find the very idea unacceptable. The most realistic suggestions for control consist of all countries entering into agreements in specific fields, which would be implemented in each country's servers. In the past, countries such as Russia have repeatedly suggested some sort of treaty on cyber-warfare. But the issue of verification soon comes up again. Moreover, the US is opposed on principle to any restrictions on freedom. In addition, some countries, such as China, attempt to govern the internet within their own borders, with a view to limiting their citizens' access to information, or to prevent any concerted action against the government. Some countries are opposed to controls because they would reduce their own power to do harm to other countries. So, for the moment, each State, provider, company and individual organises its own defence, against viruses for example. These defences are very costly and have to be constantly updated because attacks are increasingly sophisticated. Moreover, the very structure of the internet makes it difficult, if not impossible, to identify those behind criminal activities.

The cyber-threat is well on the way to being a major problem for nations in the XXIst century.

SPEAKERS : François Barrault, Carl Bildt, Chang Dae-Whan, Steven Erlanger, Ulysse Gosset, Paul Hermelin, Nathalie Kosciusko-Morizet, Craig Mundie, Meir Sheerit.



“ Each culture’s experience of bringing together religions and politics is precious. It cannot be replaced by externally introduced models without these interfering with the social equilibrium.

H.A.H. Bartholomew 1st

POLITICS AND RELIGIONS

During the first five meetings of the WPC, religion was mainly discussed within the context of Islamic fundamentalism. The 2013 meeting included a specific session entitled “politics and religions”. In fact, as surprising as it may sound, 85% of the world currently defines itself in religious terms and interaction between religion and politics exists, even outside of religious States.

In the Middle East, the Arab-Israeli conflict is not truly religious, but it is the breeding ground for various kinds of Islamist extremism. Gaza is controlled by the fundamentalists of Hamas, and the objective of Lebanese Shiite Hezbollah is to destroy the State of Israel. Another cause of instability in the Middle East is the rivalry between Shiism and Sunniism, the two main strands of Islam. Iraq has suffered from this, and Syria, as the Shiites and Hezbollah back Bashar al-Assad’s regime, while private networks support the Sunni Islamist groups.

The Egyptian elections in 2011 put the Islamists in power. In 2012 the whole opposition fought against the drift towards autocracy and, in 2013, the Islamist regime collapsed without having had sufficient time to become a theocracy. However, political Islam is a reality.

In Afghanistan, Pakistan seems to play a double role: an ally of the US in the war against terrorism, it supports Muslim extremists and destabilises the Afghan government. In Asia, radical Islam is making rapid progress. Burma, Indonesia and Sri Lanka are in the grip of conflicts involving religion, and the struggle between Buddhism and Islam is growing. India is also dealing with Islamic extremism backed by Pakistan. In Europe, antagonism between Christianity and Islam is still evident

in the Balkans, where, in 2004, Kosovo’s Albanian Muslims destroyed 170 Orthodox Christian churches.

Over the centuries, the West has managed to separate Christianity and politics. But a similar separation has not yet taken place for other religions. There are still religious States, and States where politics and religion interact closely. Manipulation of the religious by politicians is a contemporary reality, and too often for destructive ends; we can see this today in the Central African conflict.

A few decades ago, religion began to make a return as a political force, perhaps because globalisation, by weakening individual nations, as well as the failure of Communism, has led to a spiritual void. So religion seems to be the only possible alternative to the mobilisation of the people. In the Eastern European countries, after the collapse of Communism, the people turned to religion in their droves. Romania built more than 12,000 churches, but morals did not follow.

In some contexts, such as that of immigration, people who feel excluded turn towards extremism. We must therefore reintroduce the dimension of religion against injustice and exclusion. Poverty is a breeding ground for fundamentalism. The terrorist organisations which do everything they can to impose Islamic fundamentalism on the world take full advantage of this. It is a threat to peace, stability and coexistence. On the whole, we cannot ignore the interaction between politics and religion, but it seems to be bad politics which paves the way for religious fundamentalism. Religions, for their part, must instead be catalysts for dialogue.

SPEAKERS : Schlomo Avineri, H.A.H. Bartholomew 1st, Mehmet Ali Birand, Mircea Geoană, Manuel Hassassian, Bassma Kodmani, Mona Makram-Ebeid, Faisal Bin Muaammar, Sari Nusseibeh, Itamar Rabinovich, Pierre Morel, David Rosen, Marcelo Sanchez Sorondo, Mohammed Sammak, Meir Sheetrit.



“ I would like to see us move toward an organised multipolar world under the guidance of the United Nations with regional organisations and the rule of international law.

Laurent Fabius

GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

The first international organisations — the League of Nations, the UN and the ECSC — were created to avoid a return to wars between nations. Keeping the peace can be viewed as the first level of global governance, the primary reason for its existence.

The world has been utterly transformed in recent decades as a result of extraordinary technological advances enabling the transport of people, goods, data and information. As with any human construction, this world, now become a global village, must be subject to rules for the sake of effectiveness, fairness and security. We have seen how the complete absence of regulations on the financial markets almost resulted in unprecedented economic catastrophe, narrowly avoided thanks mainly to the coordinated actions of an international group, the G20. This group has become a kind of steering committee for international economic cooperation and is now viewed as the linchpin of global governance. Several other organisations, most of them under the aegis of the UN, regulate the various aspects of globalisation. The WTO, which is independent of the UN, is recognised for its relative effectiveness and binding power. Managing globalisation is the second reason for the existence of global governance.

The human influence now affects the world as a whole. This creates some global problems, such as global warming, which could have catastrophic consequences for the entire human race. Other issues could be included such as the depletion of natural resources and the loss of biodiversity. So a third type of global governance is needed concerning protection of

environment and sustainable development, but this is difficult to implement due to the cost of the measures required.

We could define a fourth type of global governance given over to humanity's wellbeing, which should be the goal of all human endeavour. This aspect is implicit in the other types of global governance but specific institutions may also exist. It could include respect for human rights, with the International Criminal Court, or the promotion of democracy and social justice. For example, it is hugely concerning to know that most of the planet's riches are concentrated in the hands of just one percent of the population. This form of governance would not really exercise at the international level, but there might be "top-down encouragement" to improve national policies.

The WPC's meetings make it possible to take stock of the various international organisations which play a part in global governance, to assess their progress and put forward solutions. It is increasingly apparent that the idea of a worldwide government is utopian, and that global governance, vital for human society to function properly, must happen at the various levels at which society is organised, at the level of States, political or economic systems, and international institutions which are specialised to a greater or lesser degree. The latter must be structured in such a way as to reconcile representativeness with effectiveness, a difficult balance to achieve. To do so requires setting aside certain national prerogatives and putting the common good before individual interests.

SPEAKERS : Adil Abd al-Mahdi, H.S.H. Prince Albert II, Ahn Ho-Young, Martti Ahtisaari, Samir Aita, Assia Bensalah Alaoui, Fernando Alvarez del Rio, Joaquín Almunia, Yukiya Amano, Lourdes Aranda, Jean Paul Guevara Avila, Ali Babacan, Ban Ki-Moon, Mohammed Bedjaoui, Stephen Breyer, Sean Cleary, Bertrand Collomb, Titus Corlăcean, Pascal Couchepin, Mireille Delmas-Marty, Kemal Dervis, Edward Djerejian, Stuart Eizenstat, Nambaryn Enkhbayar, Laurent Fabius, Taïeb Fassi Fihri, François Fillon, Heinz Fischer, Joschka Fischer, Michel Foucher, Fu Ying, Sylvie Goulard, Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Bernard Guetta, Arseniy Yatsenyuk, Toomas Hendrik Ilves, Yusuf Ziya Irbeç, Wolfgang Ischinger, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, Karl Kaiser, Samuel Kaplan, Jean de Kervasdoué, Konstantin Kosachev, Charles Kupchan, Celso Lafer, Yves Leterme, Kerry Longhurst, Fyodor Lukyanov, Lord Mance, Christophe de Margerie, Pauline Marois, Dmitry Medvedev, Stjepan Mesić, Thierry de Montbrial, Mario Monti, Miguel Angel Moratinos, Philippe Moreau-Defarges, Narayana Murthy, Laurence Nardon, Susanne Nies, Raila Amolo Odinga, Yoichi Otabe, Fathalla Oualalou, Alassane Ouattara, Stéphane Paoli, Stewart Patrick, Quentin Peel, Amir Peretz, Volker Perthes, Jean Pisani-Ferry, Michael Posner, Hans Gert Pöttering, Jordi Pujol, William Reilly, Didier Reynders, Mary Robinson, Herman van Rompuy, Eberhard Sandschneider, Nicolas Sarkozy, Yukio Satoh, Jean-Marc Sauvé, Radosław Sikorski, Kanwal Sibal, Hans Stark, Serge Sur, Boris Tadić, Narendra Taneja, Hubert Védrine, Carlos Perez Verdía, Pierre Vimont, Antonio Vitorino, Abdoulaye Wade, Yusuf Wanandi, Wang Jisi.



The WPC in history

“ I am convinced that people seek peace and harmony. They want to cooperate, do business and exchange cultural and educational achievements. They want to meet and communicate as friends and neighbours. And I have no doubt that these humanitarian factors will yet manifest themselves in a meaningful and robust way. [...] People should be studying the new Russia and not reviving Soviet phantoms. [...] Force divorced from law unavoidably breeds unpredictability and chaos when everyone starts fighting each other, as happened in Iraq. [...]

The Euro-Atlantic vision today needs a positive agenda. The events in the Caucasus have only confirmed how absolutely right the concept of a new European security treaty is today. It would give us every possibility of building an integrated and solid system of comprehensive security. This system should be equal for all states — without isolating anyone and without zones with different levels of security. It should consolidate the Euro-Atlantic region as a whole on the basis of uniform rules of the game. And it should ensure in stable and legally binding form our common security guarantees for many years to come.

Extracts of the speech of Dmitry Medvedev,
then President of Federation of Russia - Evian, October 8, 2008

“

A sort of twitter

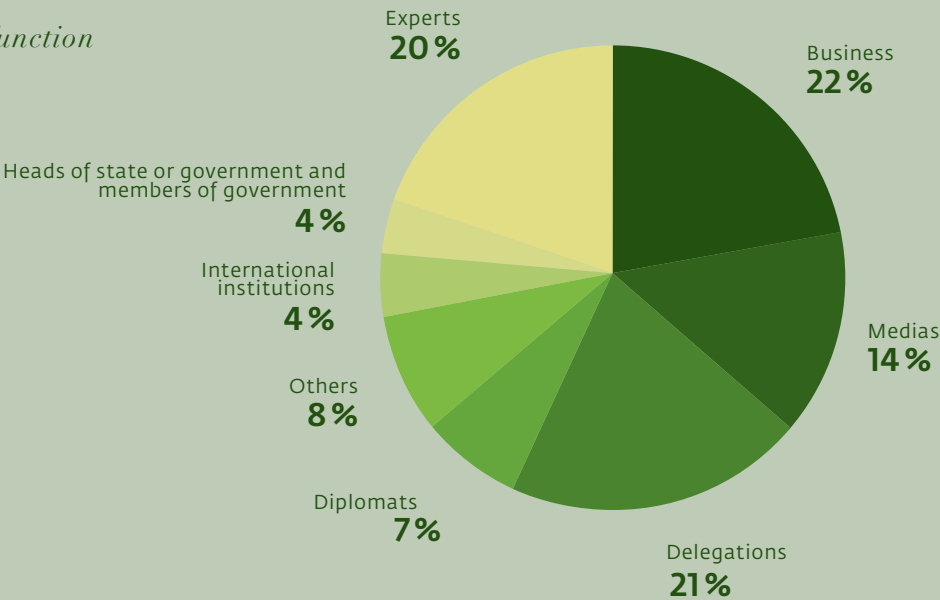
from the Trilateral Commission meeting: there seems to be a kind of consensus among Russians and Westerners when tracing back mistakes of the West in treating Russia which ultimately led to Putins actions in Ukraine: the list begins with the total neglect of Medvedev's proposals at the WPC of Evian.

Karl Kaiser, Washington, April 27, 2014

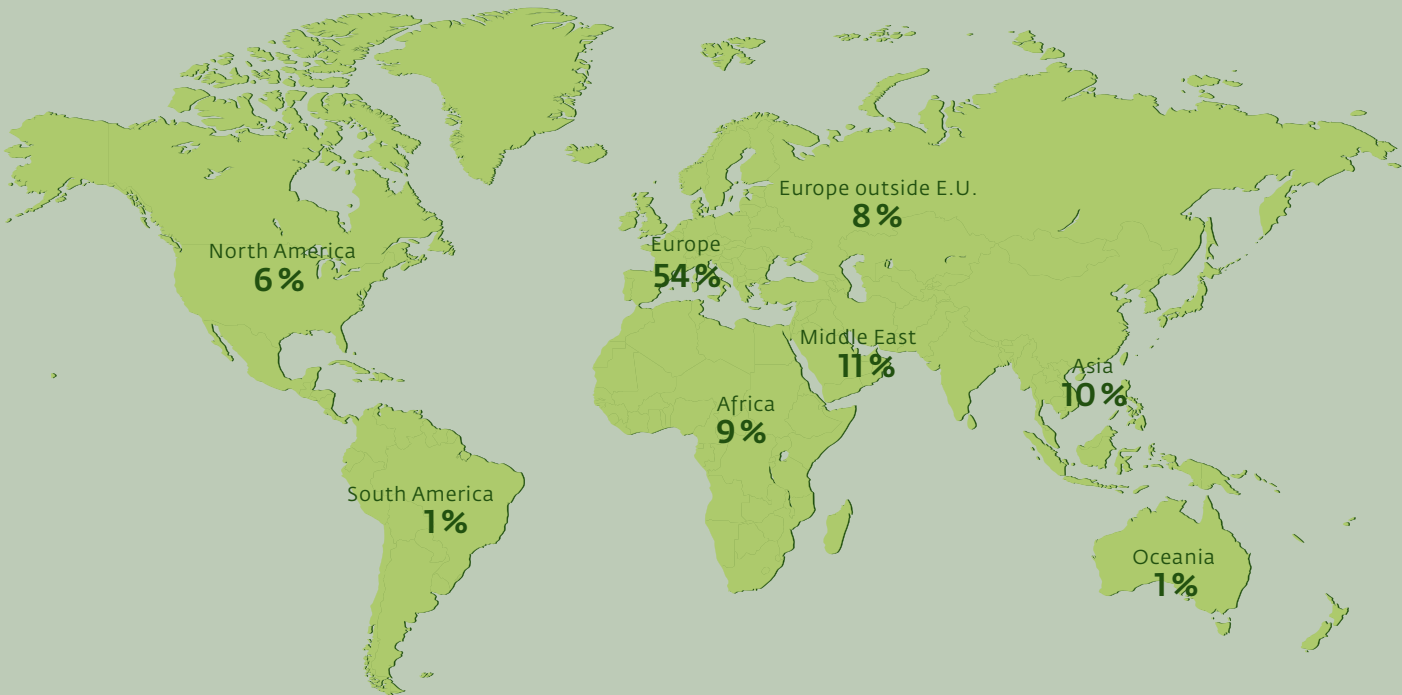
DATABASE

KEY FIGURES

Breakdown of participants by function
2008-2013



Geographical breakdown of participants
2008-2013



Participants' appreciations

“ Today, global governance is intensifying relations between the corporate world and public authorities. It is important that this intensification of relations should fuel a true dialogue. The WPC is a natural way to get each party to engage in such a dialogue.

Louis Schweitzer

“ Your conference was a triumph! I greatly appreciated the invitation. I thought that the quality both of the speakers and of those attending was exceptional. It was a stimulating and absorbing two days and was, in addition, perfectly organized.

James Wolfensohn

“ The size of the conference was perfect: big enough to be representative of small trends and restricted enough to make it exclusive.

Ana Palacio

“ It is a conference that has great diversity in it. It is not a narrow conference, but a conference about the world and world policy. This is appropriate, because today there is no foreign policy without economic policy and there is no economic policy without international relations. As the organisers have recognised, it is appropriate that this conference brings together people from diverse political and occupational systems and who speak diverse languages.

Jacob Frenkel

“ I have enjoyed this conference very much. It has had quite an impact on my thinking in a number of areas.

Donald Johnston

“ One of the most important parts of the World Policy conference is the human factor.

Jim Hoagland

“ I have learned a great deal from the conference so far...everything I have heard is relevant to my current research project.

Wang Jisi

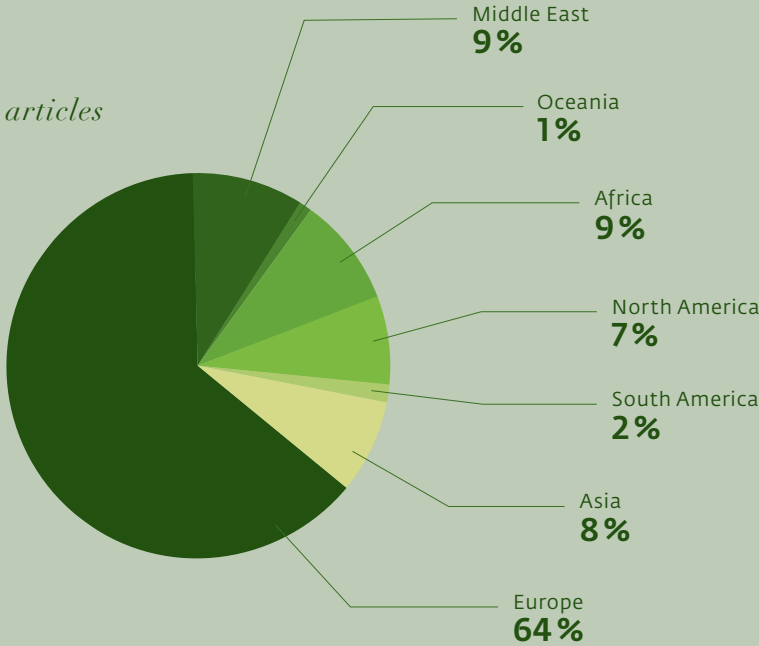
“ This year's World Policy Conference provides a wide variety of subjects for discussion over two and a half days. We will talk about political, economic, social issues and even technological issues that are of keen interest to all of us. We have experts from very diverse backgrounds throughout this conference and they will give their insights for a better understanding of the current dynamics in the world.

Ali Babacan

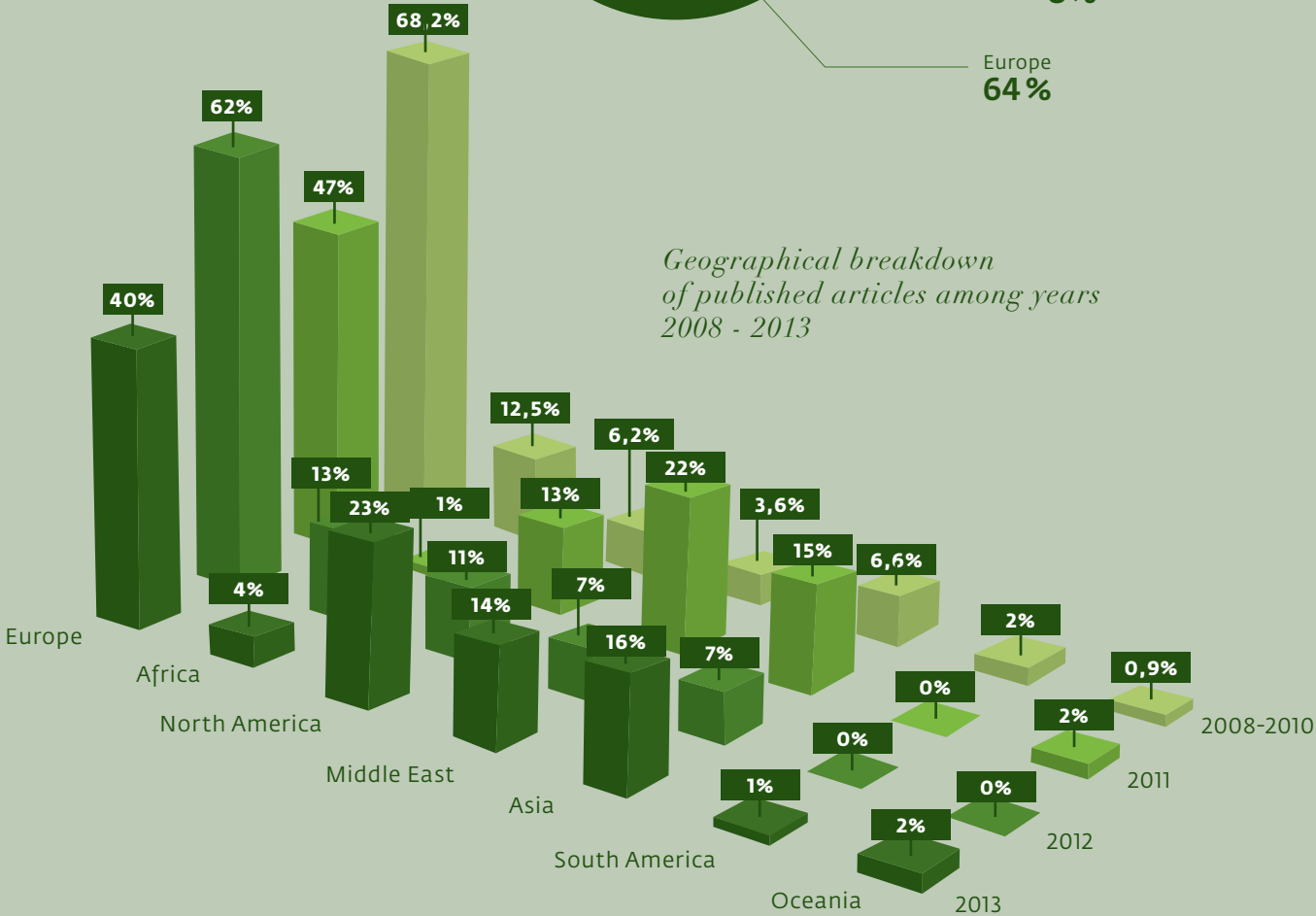
“ I found all the conference sessions which I attended valuable, and found the personal meetings and discussions outside them most instructive.

Lord Mance

Geographical breakdown of published articles
2008 - 2013



Geographical breakdown
of published articles among years
2008 - 2013



Press review

The New York Times, October 9, 2008

In a speech on Monday to the World Policy Conference in Evian, France, the Russian president, Dmitri A. Medvedev, called for a new global security framework that would challenge the United States' "determination to enforce its global dominance." He warned that American policy – in particular the expansion of NATO to Russia's borders and a planned missile defense system – was reviving the global divisions of the cold war. Russia, he said, is "absolutely not interested in confrontation."

Le Monde, 9 octobre 2008

Invité vedette de la World Policy Conference (WPC), qui a réunit plusieurs chefs d'État ou de gouvernement au bord du lac Léman, M. Medvedev a été le premier à donner un gage, en annonçant le retrait "avant minuit" mercredi des forces russes des zones tampons en Géorgie.

The Washington Post, October 28, 2010

The discussions in Marrakesh, organized by the French think tank IFRI, suggest that the deep costs – and social consequences – of a decade of global financial excess (and the uneven rescue effort it spawned) are sinking in more thoroughly for governments and citizens alike.

Bloomberg Businessweek, December 9, 2011

Turkish president criticizes EU 'negligence' Abdullah Gul also called for revamping the U.N. Security Council, suggesting its permanent members no longer reflected the shift in influence from the postwar equation when the five nuclear powers effectively steered world policy. His comments, to the World Policy Conference's three-day session, were a restatement of Turkey's claim to prominence – in the Middle East, the Mediterranean, and beyond.

The Economist, December 12, 2011

Printemps arabe: "Israël doit changer" CASSANDRA has just been taking part in the World Policy Conference in Vienna – a meeting where the great and good, from the presidents of Turkey and Estonia to the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, swap speeches and ideas on the state of the world and how to improve it. Inevitably, today's reality tended to cast its shadow on tomorrow's possibilities.

L'Orient-Le Jour, 9 décembre 2011

Après le "printemps arabe", Israël doit "aussi changer" (Amr Moussa) L'ex-secrétaire général de la Ligue arabe, Amr Moussa, qui affiche ses ambitions pour la présidence en Égypte, a estimé vendredi à Vienne qu'à la suite du "printemps arabe", le changement devait toucher tous les pays de la région, y compris Israël. " Nous connaissons un changement historique et sérieux ", a déclaré M. Moussa lors d'une conférence sur les relations internationales (World Policy Conference) organisée par l'Institut français des relations internationales (Ifri).

Xinhua News Agency, 9 décembre 2012

Les discussions dans les huit sessions plénières de cette édition portent aussi sur les relations sino-américaines, la finance internationale, l'énergie et l'environnement ainsi que sur la gestion des risques majeurs de la planète. Lancée par l'Institut français des relations internationales (IFRI) en 2008 à l'initiative de Thierry de Montbrial, directeur général de l'IFRI, la World Policy Conference est devenue depuis un rendez-vous incontournable de la scène politique internationale.

The New York Times, December 15, 2013

Syria, Iran, nuclear issues and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict were the main focus for Prince Turki, who spoke at the World Policy Conference, a gathering of officials and intellectuals largely drawn from Europe, the Middle East and North Africa.

Les Echos, 15 décembre 2013

La sixième édition de la "World Policy Conference" a été l'occasion de faire le point sur l'état de l'économie mondiale. La crise est derrière nous mais les inégalités continuent de croître.

Tehran Times, December 12, 2013

Israel's official state radio has reported that a "historic meeting" was held between Israeli and Saudi diplomats on the sidelines of the World Policy Conference in Monaco.

“ Felicitations!

Your WPC conference is making the headlines here in the USA with Prince Turki's statements. Front page story in the Wall Street Journal this morning. Sorry I missed the conference this year.

Edward P. Djerejian
December 16, 2013

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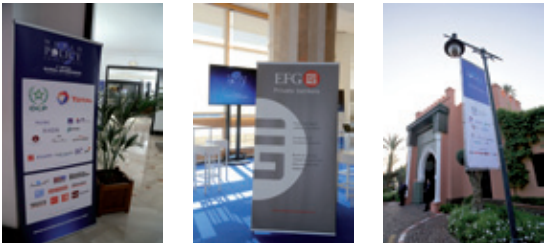
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