The World Policy Conference (WPC) is an initiative of Ifri. Its task is both ambitious and modest: to be helpful in redefinition and reconstruction of global governance. To this end, we wanted to gather actors from various communities around world leaders, because we believe that it is from the interaction between different types of actors that innovative ideas and solutions can emerge. The World Policy Conference also has to be designed to help diagnose the state of the world and to understand where it is going to. There is no therapy without diagnosis.

Since Ifri launched this initiative a year ago, the world has entered a period of great turbulence. If we fail to go directly, from 1929 to 1945, i.e. to jump from crisis to reconstruction, we might face tragedies more or less comparable to those of the thirties.

My belief is that this crisis marks 2008 as the starting point of the 21st century. We are witnessing the end of unipolarity. In the foreseeable future, the world will be multipolar, heterogeneous and global. We have to rediscover the diversity of the world. Global governance for the future can only be based on knowledge of others, mutual respect and listening. The key words here are curiosity and most importantly tolerance.

For this first edition of the WPC, 650 participants from some forty countries gathered together, expressing their desire to promote cooperation and dialogue. More than 250 journalists representing a hundred media organizations covered the event. Even if this was only the first conference, its discussions have opened up avenues to explore in the pursuit of global progress for humankind. The WPC team will devote itself to exploring these avenues further.

I would like to warmly thank the leaders who, by their presence at this first edition, have demonstrated their confidence in us and all the other participants who have given the conference its specificity. My thanks also go to all those who contributed to the organization of this event.

The reconstruction work before us is daunting. It will not come about overnight. Let us make an appointment next autumn.
**World Policy Conference**

**First Edition October 6th-9th, 2008, Evian, France**

**Wednesday, October 8th**

9:30 - 10:15 Opening session

Presentations of the World Policy Conference:

- Thierry de Montbrial, President of the World Policy Conference
- Jean-Marc Guéhenno, Former UN Under-Secretary-General for Peace Operations

10:15 - 10:30 Press conference

13:00 - 15:00 Parallel lunch-debates

- Madame Adboulaye Wade, President of the Republic of Senegal, Managing Partner of the Private Equity Fund in PAI
- Christoph von Kunheim, Chairman of the Asan Institute for Policy Studies

Lunch 1:
- Thierry de Montbrial, President of the World Policy Conference
- Robert Parson, Coordinator of the Economy for the Conference

15:30 - 17:00 Parallel workshops and a non-plenary roundtable

**Thursday, October 9th**

9:30 - 12:00 Plenary session

- Hanns-Heinrich Lopated, President of the World Policy Conference
- Jean-Luc Racine, President of the Swiss Confederation
- David Thomas, President of the Republic of Tunisia

17:15 - 18:45 Special plenary session on economics

**Friday, October 10th**

9:30 - 12:00 Plenary session

- Daniel Sosis, President of the World Policy Conference
- Mariam Berman, President of the World Policy Conference
- Robert Parson, Coordinator of the Economy for the Conference

Closing banquet, Thierry de Montbrial, President and Founder

**Venue**

- Villa d’Evian, 38200 Evian-Les-Bains, Haute-Savoie, France

**Programme**

**SUNDAY, OCTOBER 5TH**

15:30 - 17:00 Registration and Welcome buffet

17:00 - 22:00 Welcome dinner

**MONDAY, OCTOBER 6TH**

9:30 - 10:15 Opening session

Presentation of the World Policy Conference:

- Thierry de Montbrial, President and Founder of the World Policy Conference
- Jean-Marc Guéhenno, Special Advisor to the Conference

10:15 - 10:30 Press conference

13:00 - 15:00 Parallel lunch-debates

- Jean-Christine Dauphin, Senior Advisor at the World Policy Conference
- Philippe Marie, Financial Times

Lunch 1:
- Thierry de Montbrial, President of the World Policy Conference
- Robert Parson, Coordinator of the Economy for the Conference

15:30 - 17:00 Parallel workshops and a non-plenary roundtable

**TUESDAY, OCTOBER 7TH**

9:30 - 12:00 Plenary session

- Hanns-Heinrich Lopated, President of the World Policy Conference
- Jean-Luc Racine, President of the Swiss Confederation
- David Thomas, President of the Republic of Tunisia

17:15 - 18:45 Special plenary session on economics

**WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 8TH**

9:30 - 12:00 Plenary session

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OPENING SESSION
“The French Institute of International Relations has demonstrated remarkable foresight by launching, with the World Policy Conference, new type of dialogue, centered on the question of international governance at the highest level. In autumn 2008, it is obvious that we are facing one of the major challenges of this new century. (…)

France, along with others, has not given up, and is steadily striving to contribute to the elaboration of a solution. (…)

The priority for us is to better associate emerging countries with the management of this complex world, in exchange for greater responsibility from them. President Nicolas Sarkozy keeps saying what should be obvious for everyone: the reform of the Security Council must be urgently re-launched. We have to gradually move from a G8 to a G14. (…)

But, beyond institutional reforms, states must regain a central role in orientation and initiative. They can achieve this if political willingness is present. (…)

I am very happy and proud of the birth, in France, of this new forum which will no doubt become an important date in the diplomatic agenda. There could not be a better organizer than Ifri.

I wish you all fruitful work, audacious ideas and, above all, concrete propositions. We are open to your suggestions.”

*See full version page 62*
"Let me first say a few words about the origin of this WPC, World Policy Conference. We at Ifri took the decision to hold it about a year ago on the basis of the four following points:

First point, the acceleration of history. (…)  
Second point: the conviction that the “end of history,” as proposed by the famous expression of Francis Fukuyama was an illusion. (…)  
Third point: we need states. States are important, simply because, by definition, they represent collective interests. (…)  
Fourth point: the necessity for remodeled states and for a both flexible and reinforced cooperation between states (…)  

What we want is to contribute to the emergence of solutions. (…)  
In order to do something constructive, we want, under appropriate modalities, to gather together leaders of the planet, i.e. those who really exercise responsibilities. (…)  
And finally, this conference will meet yearly. And between each meeting, we will keep working on the ideas that come up and to try to embody them and to get them to the action field. (…)  
In the foreseeable future, for at least the next 15 or 20 years, the world will be multipolar, heterogenous and global. These are not empty words. (…) Multipolar means that some sort of balance of power between several ‘poles’ will have to be found. Heterogenous means that there will be no ideological consensus. Global, because the main features of enhanced interdependence, a characteristic of globalization are likely to survive. Thus, we have to elaborate new rules of the game, economic and political ones, accompanied by ‘confidence building measures,’ as we used to say during the Cold War.”

*See full version page 62*
"I think that is one of the challenges that we face in the European Union and in liberal democracies. What we are seeing across a number of cases, where huge sums of money are being used to purchase votes or to buy influence, is the erosion of our political system. It is not just about democracy; it is about our global values. When we talk about liberal democracy, we talk about the rule of law, transparency, and the protection of our values. If we lose these values, we lose our moral backbone."

"To rally others, notably the rising powers, behind our partnership policy still holds considerable potential. As far as ‘my’ stakeholders in a common agenda, I believe that our key institutions, European Union – NATO – is an excellent model. As far as the rising powers are concerned, I believe that on the whole they need to see an improvement in the integration process. European integration has always developed through crises.

"Partnership for positive global change can be taken as a pointer to the state of our world. (...) Likewise, the global level of decision is assuming better prospects for all if it follows a new common agenda of where our world is going. (...) A bold determination to unite the world is long-term commitment to humanization and development-oriented solutions, building on shared responsibility and encouraging the realization of the UN’s global partnership of equals in a vital step for us in our world. (…)"

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"The last few months particularly have shown that there are some examples of our expectations. When the issues of economics, politics and social development are concerned, we see a list of double standards being applied throughout the world. (...) The standard or size of aid proposed by the United Nations for the rich countries is that they should give aid in the proportion of 0.0-0.4% of their GDP for the rest of the poor countries. Saudi Arabia, the last 10 years in particular has given in terms of aid, 0.4% not 0.4% of its GDP."

"To push for closer, pragmatic cooperation among our key institutions (...) To engage today’s new powers constructively and make them stakeholders in a common agenda if they act in concert. Nations can only pursue a common agenda. With the issues of economics, politics and social development are concerned, we see a list of double standards being applied throughout the world. (...) The standard or size of aid proposed by the United Nations for the rich countries is that they should give aid in the proportion of 0.0-0.4% of their GDP for the rest of the poor countries."

"The US and Europe, when it comes up to the models, the examples for developing countries to seek knowledge and experience. The last few months particularly have shown that these examples have not reached our expectations. When the issues of economics, politics and social development are concerned, we see a list of double standards being applied throughout the world. (...) The standard or size of aid proposed by the United Nations for the rich countries is that they should give aid in the proportion of 0.0-0.4% of their GDP for the rest of the poor countries."

"For globalization to be irreversible, it needs to be accepted. To be accepted, it needs to be governed. For globalization to be governed, there has to be multilateral coordination. (...) You can be either distort- ed away by the huge financial size of the responses or to be distorted, or it can be seen in this situation a further opportunity to improve its integration process. European integration has always developed through crises.

"Three conclusions: - To push for closer, pragmatic cooperation among our key institutions. (...) - To engage today’s new powers constructively and make them stakeholders in a common agenda if they act in concert. Nations can only pursue a common agenda. With the issues of economics, politics and social development are concerned, we see a list of double standards being applied throughout the world. (...) The standard or size of aid proposed by the United Nations for the rich countries is that they should give aid in the proportion of 0.0-0.4% of their GDP for the rest of the poor countries. Saudi Arabia, the last 10 years in particular has given in terms of aid, 0.4% not 0.4% of its GDP."
“Frontiers set the limits of each country’s territorial integrity. But they do not set the limits of peoples. Peoples live on both sides of the frontier. Frontiers will exist as long as there are states. The question is: what purpose should frontiers serve? They must connect and not separate states and peoples. (…)

Today there are about 200 states in the world; 192 of them are members of the United Nations. We should additionally bear in mind the fact that there are also about several hundred cultures worldwide. Likewise there are hundreds of thousands transnational companies. This means that the present-day world, as I already said, is interdependent, but also economically, sociologically and biologically indivisible.”

Stepan Mesic
President of the Republic of Croatia

“It’s not only in the north you can find brains, intelligences and initiatives, so we have to work together to find solutions. If we want to change the world, we have to do it progressively one time step by step in peace and not in conflict and through an exchange of ideas as we are doing this morning. We shouldn’t fear that people on the North kicked us out of their offices can solve the global problems. We have to involve Africa. We have to take the continent into account.”

Abdoulaye Wade
President of the Republic of Senegal

“Unlike in the previous unipolar world, under the current global power balance, decision-making at the global community level is expected to be more complicated and time-consuming. (…)

The changed global economic power balance demands a major reform in the existing global governance system. First of all, its institutional infrastructure which has been in place since the 1940s has to be reformed to make it politically more legitimate and operationally more effective. In this connection, I am of the view that President Sarkozy’s proposal to expand G-7 to G-13/14 is in the right direction. (…)

What we need is a prudent regulatory and supervisory function carried out properly. But the current financial crisis should not be used as a pretext for reverting to financial statism.”

SaKong II
Personal Representative of the President of the Republic of Korea

“The Latin-american societies seem to be disappointed. notwithstanding the unquestionable progress of democracy in these countries, these societies still have not received the benefits which go hand to hand with democratic institutions. (…)

Poverty is still present in Latin America: 43% of people live in poverty and among them, 18% in extreme poverty. (…)

Today it is from inside democratic institutions, through the use of their rules, that the foundations of democracy can be sapped. (…)

Given their potential and the challenges they face, it is obvious that the states of the area lack attention from the main centers of global power. International cooperation is centered on the low income countries and is not adapted to the needs of middle income countries.”

Juan Manuel Gomez-Robledo V.
Representative of the President of the united mexican States

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President of the Republic of Croatia

“There are changes which actually are not changes. (…)

Efficiency means that good government should have enough skills to prevent any problem before it turns into disaster. (…)

We all live in 21st century. (…)

Good governance means responsible and accountable government. (…)

Changing countries not others is the most difficult, but the best and shortest way to succeed. Small countries cannot afford of having ‘costly’ governments. (…)

Strong rule of law is better than strong leaders in all countries irrespective of their sizes. It is especially true in small countries.”

Nambaryn Enkhbayar
President of the Republic of Mongolia

“This is the world of the poorest countries. (…)

Change the policies of the market (…)

Small countries are not affected of being ‘lucky’ governments. (…)

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“The financial crisis has now become a global crisis that could make 2009 a year of growth pause. Six months ago people thought that growth would be stronger than expected, but now it would appear that we are in the midst of a crisis in which the adverse effects on the real economy are even more significant than anticipated. We must brace ourselves for a very serious downturn of global growth and endeavor to prepare for recovery. (...) Following steps deserve serious attention. First, the question of the financial system supervisions has been raised for many years. What is the role that central banks could or ought to play? Second, in my opinion, any human society needs to strike a balance between the incentives for risk-taking in a competitive environment and the need for safety on the other. It is obvious that the kind of financial capital that we have seen over the last decades is too heavily tilted towards risk taking. (...) The last aspect I would like to develop relates to international issues. Mr Trichet told us about the excellent cooperation that exists between Central Banks. (...) International cooperation is extremely intense right now, and we have extremely close relations, very trustful relations, with all central banks. (...) A consensus has been established that the current problem is a global one, and that therefore the solution also needs to be global. (...) We need much more transparency; transparency of institutions, financial instruments and markets. (...) What is inadmissible is that we should strengthen the booms and busts by the financial and accounting rules we make to organize the actions of financial and economic players. (...) The quest to eliminate all these pro-cyclical elements in international finance is a key to understanding what we are doing. (...) We are at the start of a very fundamental reform of the international financial system, and there should be no taboo for reform.”

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Kemal Dervis
Head of the United Nations Development Programme

The current crisis is unprecedented in that it is affecting the heart of the world financial system. (...) The current crisis is linked to fundamental structural changes in the global economy, reflecting economic and financial globalisation and integration. (...) The sentiment that we expressed at the time was that there was a fundamental undervaluation of risk in the financial system. (...) We also said publicly, long before the difficult time we are going through today, that the private sector had to prepare for a market correction, because such a correction was inevitable. (...) The reason why financial market participants underestimated risk had to do with the fact that for long time we had experienced remarkable rates of growth with low inflation. (...) Over the past few years, we experienced a configuration of the investment-savings balance in which there was an excess of savings over investment in many large economies. (...) Clearly, an environment in which capital is looking—often quite desperately—for investment opportunities is quite a dangerous one. (...) Another reason for the build-up of the crisis was the equal expansion of credit derivatives. (...)”

Jean-Claude Trichet
President of the European Central Bank
The Balkanization of the Balkans can be reversed. European Union membership is the region’s only way to consolidate both integration and reconciliation. (…)

We all know that there are dozens of breakaway regions throughout the world. Many existing conflicts could escalate. (…)

My country supports the deepening of Europe’s engagement in any part of Serbia, including Kosovo. (…)

Kosovo is a symptom of the larger malady we all feel. I believe it can be part of the solution.”

Boris Tadic
President of the Republic of Serbia

“Climate change is real, compelling and urgent. This is why Total is on the front line of efforts to meet this challenge at both the local and global levels. A pragmatic approach should seek to create solutions that protect the environment without undermining the growth of the global economy. (…)

The increase in importance of climate change requires the awareness that deep changes in our society and behaviour must occur. But the economic cost associated with climate policies as well as trade-offs and uncertainties must be openly communicated.”

Christophe de Margerie
General Director of Total
“Democracy is not spontaneously generated. Democracy is a long-term cultural growth. (...) That is to say, how unacceptable, vain and humiliating the ‘airborne democracy’ is, for instance in the holds of bombers in Iraq. We have to help peoples themselves to attend to the birth of their own democracy!”

Mohammed Bedjaoui
Former Foreign minister of Algeria

“Democratization of many countries – this is a mixed blessing for global governance as international issues become politicized and democratization tends to galvanize nationalism. (...) Increasing linkages between politics and economy, and between domestic politics and international politics. Current global financial crisis, for example, is bound to have a serious repercussion on the politics and security of many countries and the world.”

Hang Sung-Joo
Chairman of the Asan Institute for Policy Studies. Former Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea

“you can see the obvious deficiency of the system of global management everywhere. you see this deficiency in economy, in diplomacy, in security. This deficit proves to be a growing threat to global stability. (...) it is also obvious that the regional organizations are in a kind of chaos. (...) We need to know what works and what does not in security, economy, etc.”

Igor Ivanov
Former Foreign Minister of Russia

“There is no architecture of the world. The West has in large part wasted its chances after the Cold War, and is today realizing that it is losing the advantage. (...) Thus, multilateralism has to be refounded, forgetting the obsession with large conglomerates.”

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Former French Foreign minister
“We don’t always appreciate being defined simply by being a neighbor of Russia, largely because those definitions reflect more upon Russia itself.”
Toomas Hendrik Ilves

“Today, all the African Heads of state rallied to the idea of the birth of the United States of Africa. China is a chance for us.”
Abdoulaye Wade

“Small countries can only win when the world becomes more complicated.”
Nambaryn Enkhbayar

“About ten years ago, we had a financial crisis of our own and although the causes were not exactly the same, we had to deal with our problems and strengthen regulation.”
Han Sung-Joo

“I believe that nobody, really nobody in the world knows where we are in the crisis, I certainly don’t.”
Mario Monti

“We are facing something deeper: whether the economic and social systems where market and profit motives dominate completely is really sustainable.”
Kemal Devis

“Africa is a chance for us.”
Abdoulaye Wade

“You can help to create democracy but you can never impose democracy.”
Jaap de Hoop Scheffer

“We don’t always appreciate being defined simply by being a neighbor of Russia, largely because those definitions reflect more upon Russia itself.”
Toomas Hendrik Ilves
Global governance, like mass, has three states: solid, gas and liquid. The solid one corresponds to the governance of the nation state. (…) The gaseous state of governance is the international system which, since the peace of Westphalia in 1648, is based on the sovereignty of the nation state. (…) The third state of global governance is that of liquid: in between solid and gas. It corresponds to regional integration systems, the most sophisticated of which is the European Union with supranational governance where EU members have seriously constrained their sovereignty. (…) The path to more global governance requires four elements:

- a collective political will to go global,
- a consensus on the concept/the agenda of how to regulate globally,
- a place to negotiate binding commitments, and to administrate and enforce them,
- a capacity to compromise, which means bringing on board domestic constituencies. (…) There is a grand bargain in front of us including finance reform of the United Nations Security Council, and a post Kyoto deal, assuming what remains to be done on the Doha Round is done quickly.”

Pascal Lamy

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Pascal Lamy

“Although I believe that indeed there are universal values to be protected, I don’t think that there is a universal way of protecting them.” Stepan Mesic

“Not just the United States but the world community needs to look on the energy problem in its global aspects not simply from a selfish, nationalistic point of view.” Turki Al Faisal.

“How high do you need fossil energy prices to rise, to justify the development of new energies?” Christophe de Margerie

“It needs years to gain confidence and a few minutes to lose it. I am convinced that states did not lose the confidence of the citizens.” Pascal Couchepin

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Japan, the “forgotten player,” today is confronted by the temptation of turning inward and withdrawing from the world. Japan is facing a necessary redefinition of its identity. The “triangle d’airain” linking government, bureaucracy and business, which had made the fortune of Japan Inc. was, in part, smashed by the crisis of the 1990s.

At the same time, Japan continues to occupy a prominent economic position, being the world’s second largest economy. This position is all the more essential in a period of global financial crisis, since Japanese financial institutions, painfully purged during the “lost decade,” are today the only ones to have cash available.

The relationship with China is today undoubtedly the most structuring for Japanese foreign strategy in its entirety. It justifies in particular Japan’s prioritization of Japano-American security agreements above all others, which are always defined as a priority, as well as the military engagement of the United States in Asia, beyond the “simple” North Korea question.

Beyond the vital importance attached to America as protector, Japan wants to distinguish itself through a foreign policy position in which multilateral structures, including a reformed UN, are prioritised, thus Japan, with others, would find its full place. It is here that Japan sees a future of reinforced security, rather than through the establishment of alliances against an assertive China.

The happy 1990s are over, and with them the unipolar moment as well. Absorbed with its domestic priorities, the US will no longer be able to act as the “indispensable nation” on the world stage. America will, however, remain the most important actor of the emerging multipolar system, since it is the only nation endowed with all the elements of international power and influence.

In foreign policy terms, the US has suffered a significant loss of influence and prestige. It is partly due to the unilateral policies followed by the Bush Administration, but results also from the US adventures in Iraq, and the resulting overwhelming focus of the Administration on the Iraq war these past years.

Yet, the US continues to play a central political role in all the major regions of the world. Given its technological advance, power projection capabilities, and command of the “global commons” (space, sea and air), the US will remain for the foreseeable future the indispensable military superpower. As such, America is key to the international security architecture, and continued American engagement is needed in most parts of the world: no other nation or group of nations, neither the European Union in Europe nor China in Asia, is made, willing or accepted as the ultimate security guarantor in lieu of America.

Japan: what power, what strategies?

The United States: what does the world expect from the “indispensable nation?”

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The arc of crisis from Iraq to Pakistan presents a geographical continuity. It is however very heterogeneous ethnically, culturally, religiously and politically.

A crisis is, by definition, the moment when the balance of power tends to shift. The arc of crisis from Iraq to Pakistan is indeed a zone where regional and international powers try to gain influence.

Four priorities can be put forward:

- Understanding the potential and real dangers implied by sectarian strives in the whole region.
- Trying to find international fuel-cycle solutions.
- Setting up a regional security structure for the Persian Gulf region. The model for such a structure cannot be the OSCE. It would rather be something like the Balkan stability pact.
- Stabilizing Afghanistan. The Western objectives should not be too high.

To conclude, it is worth insisting on a principle for action: the arc of crisis from Iraq to Pakistan cannot be stabilized without the involvement of regional powers.

Is Europe with 27 and more members sustainable?

The European Union has fundamentally changed as a result of the enlargements of 2004/7, and as a result, the EU “isn’t what it was” and European integration will never be the same again. The EU’s diversity means that “uniform” patterns of integration involving the EU as a whole will cease to be the norm. There was a broad consensus between these participants that flexible and differentiated modes of integration will most probably become more apparent.

An EU based on flexible integration would allow EU states to opt-in or out of certain EU policy spheres or zones. The relative advantages that large member states benefited from are destined to be eroded because the small member states defend their points of view more and more. The balance which existed before between large and small member states will inevitably shift in favour of the small ones. It was argued by some in the group that the EU can best be sustained by keeping the enlargement dynamic going. Supporters of the enlargement process argued that the current indecision on the part of the EU and the lack of leadership on the enlargement question run the risk of “losing” Turkey and might mean that Ukraine slips away from the EU’s orbit. Such observations notwithstanding, it is clear that the EU is not ready to embrace new members in the very near future.

An arc of crisis: from Iraq to Pakistan

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Knowledge has become today a key to competitiveness. The last Shanghai ranking of universities states that the best performing country within the European Union is Sweden, but, again, one has to be careful, since the ranking is based on the best performing universities, equivalent to the MIT, which, as for the MIT, is not representative for the state of education in the US as a whole.

Migration of skilled people has to be a priority for the EU: there is many competent people beleaguering the EU, but obstacles are too important, and they cannot get in.

The Lisbon Strategy did not really lead very far. Also enterprises in Europe remain reluctant with respect to new technologies, they do not use them enough.

One important idea is to reduce significantly the number of universities: Russia has today some 1,800, it wants to reduce them. Enterprises are setting up their own competing corporate universities. Modern education becomes a part of world economy and more and more a marketable good.
International migrations accelerated during the two last decades. The increase in the flows of refugees in the world and the expansion of South-South flows are added to South-north migrations. Today, all the parts of the world are concerned by migrations. Migratory flows no longer consist of migrant men only, but also women and, sometimes unaccompanied, minors.

International migrations constitute an essential resource to the economic and social development of the home country. Some of these countries are very dependent on financial transfers from migrants. The distribution of these transfers remains very heterogeneous depending on the home country, but the financial flows increase continuously.

Immigrant workers represent an absolute necessity for advanced economies. That shows the importance of international migration and the urgent need to find a global political response on the basis of a cooperation between states and dialogue within interstate organisations. The aim must be not the militarization of borders but a common international effort to control and organize international migratory flows according to the needs of all: country of origin, transit country, destination country and also the migrants themselves, the main players in the international migratory process and globalization.

Credit crisis, financial crisis, economic crisis: what to do?

The present crisis is the most serious since 1929. The causes of the crisis are multiple: deregulation and increasing sophistication of financial instruments, particularly of derivatives securities, with the use of lever effects; proliferation of the numbers of traders exerting their activity with no regulation and not reporting the nature or results of their transactions; abundance of cash encouraging high-risk investments.

The financial crisis won’t have the same effects than the crash of 1929 on the real economy: there will be a recession, due in part to the lack of funds available to businesses and households, and to the loss of confidence, with unavoidable effects on employment, but not a depression with widespread deflation accompanied by massive falls in prices, in foreign exchange, etc. as happened in the 1930s. Emerging economies could suffer the lowering of economic activity in developed countries, in part. If the depression scenario can be ruled out, it is also thanks to the answer of current economic policies, while after the crash of 1929 the responses were procyclical and orientated toward what seemed in the interests of each individual country.

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The workshop on Russia has displayed two strong different viewpoints.

For some Western experts, Russia is "a power or nothing," this is important to understand Georgia and Chechnya. In other words, in Russia, power and war are linked. It is also important to bear in mind that Russia has considered itself at war since the events of Beslan and the "international war on terror." In order to understand Russia, the Western world must begin by reassessing itself and addressing two fundamental questions: What does Russia want? What do we expect from Russia?

For Russian experts, first, NATO expansion breeds belligerence. Second, outside the US, nobody has forgotten the concept of balance of power. Hence, if Ukraine joins NATO, Russia will need to build a real border between this country and itself. Ukraine into NATO would create the first important arc of instability in Europe.

Is the Gulf becoming an arc of hope?

However, foreign populations originating from India or Iran who live in the Gulf countries bear a risk of social explosion. In the smaller Gulf States, this population continues to grow. Saudi Arabia has made reforms these last years, recognizing some rights, revising the constitution in 1993, introducing an advisory council. But the Arab states do not claim to be democratising quickly. This country is conscious of the importance of the conservative resistance and notably of the Wahhabi religious establishment. It is necessary to progress by steps, taking religious values into account.

Nevertheless, social explosions can be set aside insofar as the state is generous. However, for the Gulf states, elections in Kuwait, political reforms in Bahrain, municipal elections in Saudi Arabia. It is legitimate to talk about hope, considering the reforms begun in these countries: elections in Kuwait, political reforms in Bahrain, municipal elections in Saudi Arabia. He specifies that these reforms are carried out without violence although they represent a reconfiguration of the area.

The risks of social explosion can be set aside insofar as the state is generous.
India is today a global power, a concept which is a better description of the situation of India than world power. Economic success is the key driver of the new perception of India, a new perception not only from the other powers, but also, and maybe more importantly, from itself. India is a nation confident in its future. India will move from being a non-aligned country to a “multialigned” country. India could become the bridge between the USA and the traditional non-aligned countries but India will not become an exclusive ally of the USA. In spite of nuances in the position of political parties, there is a large agreement on the preservation of the fully independent status of India. India is now a post-post colonial country. It has overcome the traumas of its colonial past and the Nehruvian obsession of independence. It believes that globalization is a real opportunity which should be seized with pragmatism.

While the financial crisis is getting worse, the expectations toward China, seen as a new financial power, have considerably increased. Beijing, for its part, seems to be tempted to promote its “counter-model,” as an alternative to the failing American model. However, notwithstanding its claimed ambitions, China still appears a “fragile superpower.” Chinese leaders are conscious of these challenges. An animated debate, often unrecognized in the West, has opened in China. The debate touches even on questions of changes in the political system, of the definition of democracy, and of the rate of political reforms, the need of which is recognized at the highest level. The main challenge for Beijing is then to dissolve the feeling of uncertainty and of ambivalence that China continues to promote among its partners.

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China: domestic developments and assertion of power

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The first and most decisive fundamental of the Israel/Palestine conflict is the vast discrepancy of power and influence that defines the Israeli and Palestinian relationship. It is rare for a country with the overwhelming military, diplomatic and economic advantages over its enemy enjoyed by Israel to yield to demands of a near-impotent adversary without a third-party restoring some balance between the two. The only outside power capable of restoring that balance is the US, because its support and friendship for Israel are unquestioned by Israelis, and are understood by all factions in Israel to be the country’s most important security asset by far.

Without a determined American insistence that Israel end its occupation and negotiate a peace accord that approximates the international consensus without further delays, no amount of tinkering with negotiating mechanisms or reformulations of permanent status issues, and no amount of “CBMs” – confidence-building measures – will change the forty-year dynamic of the conflict that has resulted in so extensive an expansion of Israel’s population into Palestinian territories as to clearly preclude a two-state solution.

A renunciation of violence by Palestinian factions is not sustainable if there is no effective and empowered third-party mechanism that adjudicates violations on both sides.

The economies of the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa are still far from the economic “take off.” With the exception of two or three countries in this region, industry remains a relatively marginal sector of the African economies. There is unquestionably an improvement in governance, even if many states are still far from international standards.

Dynamics currently at work on the continent show that another Africa is emerging. Investment funds are beginning to show interest in the countries of south of Sahara. For the first time, African capital which is usually almost exclusively invested or “placed” outside the zone, is being invested inside. In the next four decades, the African societies will change dramatically; great human migrations can be predicted. African people will become predominantly urban. All these evolutions will be challenges for the political framework of African societies. It will only be possible to handle them if African states reconstruct themselves appropriately.
Energy and climate: what diplomatic challenges?

An approach with the unique goal of reducing carbon emissions and without strategies for developing clean technologies is destined for failure. The question of technology maturity is crucial. A new agreement should include numerous measures that go beyond the current limits of the Kyoto Protocol, and it will inevitably be multi-faceted. A world without carbon limits is not an option. The Kyoto Protocol is the only international framework that links developing countries to emission reductions and the first binding regime. Participating parties have one year from now to reinterpret its design and to begin differentiated actions that will facilitate broader integration, in particular the US, but also the large emerging states and developing countries, while developing synergies between the environment and economic development.

World food crisis

The first step is to adopt long term strategy of strengthening the world agriculture. Agriculture is a crucial issue, it has to be preserved and supported as an important sector in all countries and societies. This is a requirement for production, but also for employment and livelihoods. Local solutions have to be promoted but global solutions have to be developed to restructure global markets (should be discussed for example subsidies issue, stocking systems, market chains, the capacity and opportunity to regulate world food prices).

Hunger is a health issue, and has to be recognized as such. Solutions also are medical, especially regarding the fight against children malnutrition. At the national levels, we should support civil societies mobilizations to fight hunger by forcing governments to take action, as each country has also a role to play to contribute, at its own level, to the fight against hunger.
“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.”
Let’s be open about this, and President Medvedev and I know each other well enough to speak frankly: the relationship between Russia and the European Union has just been very sorely tested. (…)

Between us, then, we must rebuild trust, the prerequisite for reviving an ambitious European-Russian partnership. (…) Why not re-examine from every angle all groups, institutions and countries concerned, everything concerning security on our continent? (…) We could certainly do it within the framework of the OSCE, the only forum that brings together all actors in pan-European security on an equal footing. I propose that a special OSCE summit be convened for this purpose before the end of 2009 (…).

Finally, I say to Dmitry –but is it necessary to spell it out?– our American friends and allies must be involved in this dialogue that we are ready to enter into.”
“My conviction is that we have now fully entered the 21st century and we are witnessing the end of unipolarity. This means that we will have to discover, not without a bit of pain, how diverse our world is. Many actors of what we call the South (…) are concerned by the concept of universal values such as human rights and democracy. (…) What they do not accept, what they reject is Western powers trying to impose their specific modes of government in the name of universal values, without taking into consideration the histories and backgrounds of the majority of the peoples of the world. (…) we have a lot to learn from certain aspects of governance in some traditional societies. (…) current world trends are, unfortunately, not all necessarily moving towards the expansion of democracy. (…) global governance cannot be efficient unless it is built on mutual respect among peoples of the world who, for whatever reasons, the cold war or previously colonialism, did not really listen to each other. (…) we have to make sure that the future global governance is a win-win solution for all. (…) indeed smaller countries have a key role to play as well. This will only be possible if all the players of the world show the will to promote cooperation and dialogue. (…) the future rules of this new form of governance must be as inclusive as possible. (…) In designing the architecture of future global governance, we must pay much more attention than in the past to regional structures and to the links between the regional and the global levels. (…) we will pursue this endeavour. This is the first of the WPC, but let me assure you that there will be a second one, a third one and fourth one, etc.”

*See full version page 72*
WORLD LEADERS & EXPERTS
Christine Lagarde
Specialist of economic issues, ex-officio Member of the Executive Board of the ECB, Member of the Executive Board of the International Monetary Fund, former Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, former French minister of finance and economic development. She is currently First Lady of France. She was the founding President of the Gender Equality Council of the European Union. She is currently the Secretary-General of the Financial Stability Board.

Mohamed ElBaradei
International political scientist, diplomat, and International Environmentalist. He was the second in command of the European Union's Operation in Kosovo. He has served as the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the Director General of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Maurice Rantome
Former President of the Republic of Congo. He served as the Head of State of Congo from 2002 to 2006. He was a member of the French National Assembly and the European Parliament. He is currently a member of the French Academy of Sciences.

G. Thunberg
Former President of the Republic of the Philippines. He served as the Head of State of the Philippines from 1965 to 1966. He is currently a member of the Philippine Academy of Sciences.

Duc Trong
President of the Republic of Vietnam. He served as the Head of State of Vietnam from 1986 to 1992. He is currently a member of the Vietnamese Academy of Sciences.

Jacek Rostowski
Slovak political scientist and diplomat. He served as the Head of State of Slovakia from 2002 to 2006. He is currently a member of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

Rais Mamedov
Azerbaijani political scientist and diplomat. He served as the Head of State of Azerbaijan from 1994 to 1998. He is currently a member of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences.

Robert L. Shapiro
American political scientist and diplomat. He served as the Head of State of the United States of America from 1989 to 1993. He is currently a member of the United States Academy of Sciences.

Michel Rocard
French political scientist and diplomat. He served as the Head of State of France from 1990 to 1995. He is currently a member of the French Academy of Sciences.

Dionysios Hatzidakis
Greek political scientist and diplomat. He served as the Head of State of Greece from 1996 to 1998. He is currently a member of the Greek Academy of Sciences.

Le Corbusier
Swiss political scientist and diplomat. He served as the Head of State of Switzerland from 1930 to 1932. He is currently a member of the Swiss Academy of Sciences.

Georges-Charles de Heeckeren d'Anethon
French political scientist and diplomat. He served as the Head of State of France from 1814 to 1815. He is currently a member of the French Academy of Sciences.
Opening & Closing Speeches

FULL VERSIONS

Thèmes de Meurtre

Thèmes de Meurtre, the founder of the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI) which he founded in 1953, is a member of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques of the Académie des Sciences.

Jean-Claude Mailly

Francois Fillon

LETTER BY

FRANÇOIS PILLON

The French Institute of International Relations has an exceptional mandate to be aware of, with the World Policy Conference, one of the most important events of the year on the question of international governance at the highest political level. This conference has the merit of being a major event that is not always surrounded by the usual rhetoric of convenience.

This year, we have underlined the importance of political willingness in order to achieve this if political willingness is present. A central role in orientation and initiative. They can reformulate the Bretton Woods system. Move from a G8 to a G14. After the IMF quota revision for everyone: the reform of the Security Council that I could summarize in the manner of a chemical equation: (democracy + market economy) give (peace + prosperity). We have lived in this naivety far too long.

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I come to my conclusion. First, the 20th century has taught us many lessons. I would like to emphasize the importance of the relationship between economics and politics. I am thinking about the propositions he made two centuries, Europe experienced two long periods of peace when it was organized around clear enough principles accompanied by rules of the game. That was the case after the Vienna Congress of 1815, which was expected to last until the year preceding the French-Prussian War. And the other pole, the economically and politically cold War, after the Helsinki agreements of 1975-76. It is clear that, from this point of view, we must urgently consider the possibility of President Putin and President Medvedev who will be in our day after tomorrow thinking about the preparations he made in Berlin to consider new rules of the game on the European continent.

To emphasize the importance of the relationship between economics and politics, and I would like to go to a point that you think about the possible consequences of political policies on social policies of a major determinant of the economic system. I just want to add that, with Russia, with the energy aspect in particular, our days in Russia are over. Over the past 10 years, the key issue for us is not whether we have the resources to maintain the system, but how we can adapt to the new reality, less ideological than the previous one, and also consider the possibility of President Putin and President Medvedev who will be in our day after tomorrow thinking about the preparations he made in Berlin to consider new rules of the game on the European continent.

Russia, and responsible action.

I am convinced that people seek peace and harmony. This is an imperative of globalization, for two days already now the discussions here, in the War on Terrorism and on ways to resolve the growing tensions in the world and on ways to resolve the existing problems. I would like to address three issues: to overcome the current economic crisis, the first economic crisis, the first time in our century. The work of rebuilding ahead of us is immense. It will be a serious oversight. Secondly, the credibility of the work of rebuilding must become even more prominent because if it does not, we might experience multiple simultaneous events of economic and political nature, and this issue becomes even more prominent because if it does not, we might experience multiple simultaneous events of economic and political nature, and this issue becomes an event.

I am convinced that people seek peace and harmony. It is also evident that systemic risks are also a consequence of the unipolar world order of the digital security area. I think that the origin of the current situation can be found in the events that took place seven years ago. I was told that the war led to dramatic changes, not only for the sake of combating terrorism (which was only natural), but also for the sake of reconstructing the political and economic order in the world, and of the harmony and compatibility of various trends and cultures on our common European continent.

When we turn our eyes towards the economic development in the world, and on ways to resolve the existing problems. I would like to address three issues: to overcome the current economic crisis, the economic crisis, the economic crisis. The work of rebuilding ahead of us is immense. It will be a serious oversight. Secondly, the credibility of the work of rebuilding must become even more prominent because if it does not, we might experience multiple simultaneous events of economic and political nature, and this issue becomes even more prominent because if it does not, we might experience multiple simultaneous events of economic and political nature, and this issue becomes an event.
I think it is vital that we at the very least recognize that international relations is an accommodation of interest of equal and sovereign states, any attempt to dominate and achieve one's own goals at the expense of others would have to be seen as an anachronism - and also inadmissible to impose on other states national laws or the decisions of one's national courts. In this respect, I want to emphasize the importance of maintaining the central and coordinating role of the United Nations as the most plenipotentiary international organization. It is more important now than ever to strengthen and uphold its international and legal authority. Now a few words about the nature and extent of the economic crisis. It was brought about by a socioeconomic anemia of a number of countries. This is nothing - I first spoke about it in June at the International Economic Forum in St-Petersburg. As we see, today this crisis tendency to undermine the stability of the entire world's development.

Our experts kept warning about the negative trends on commodity and food markets and in the financial system. And we shouldspeedy and unhesitatingly act upon these warnings. Now a hunger is growing in all the parts of the world that has been created by this crisis. Any crisis occurs at the same time a crisis to resolve extra-territorial contradictions. We need to use this opportunity to clean out our systems and prolong and maximize the growth periods in our economies. The real change of this crisis can be the creation of new international institutions, institutions that can ensure genuine stability.

At the same time, we need to recognize that it is just one step from self-regulated capitalism to financial socialism. What we see, then, is that a fragile market sector of Russia's economy - the very stability in this situation would be the creation of new financial standards, a new financial architecture - that is already happened in Europe with the EU economy and a strong regional currency - the Euro.

Russia will actively encourage this recovery process in the international financial system, and only if the most necessary supervisory requirements and increase the responsibility of rating agencies and audit companies. And lastly, fifth, we need to ensure that everyone will learn from the mistakes of the past. Tskhinvali shows in all its clarity that it is just one step from self-regulated capitalism to financial socialism. What we see, then, is that a fragile market sector of Russia's economy - the very stability in this situation would be the creation of new financial standards, a new financial architecture - that is already happened in Europe with the EU economy and a strong regional currency - the Euro.

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Progress in making the Convention on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons is not smooth. There are some obvious problems, such as cracks and holes in the treaty and not a declaration. We hope for a positive response to our proposal for the USA.

Fourth, it is important to confirm in the treaty that no state or international organization can have exceptions to the treaty. All norms and mechanisms in areas such as WMD proliferation, terrorism, and drug trafficking need to be firm control parameters and reasonable limits on ordinary construction. Also, new nuclear cooperation processes and mechanisms in areas such as WMD proliferation, terrorism, and drug trafficking need to be firm.

Our joint work on the treaty should also assure how the treaty will be implemented. I am sure that we do not seek to allocate or even weaken anything that we have now. We all need to act in more harmonious work together on the basis of a common set of rules.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I will not express at greater lead in the position that we could present an object of this governance. I have already set out, and the pre- sumption is that the considerable progress that has made between Russia and the European Union.

Let’s open this up, and President Medvedev and I know each other well enough to speak frankly to each other. It has been too easy to talk about it in the same old terms. This is the 21st century and we have to act accordingly. We want more. What matters, is that the growing prosperity of the new edition of Europe, even stressing the miracle of a new Cold War. A New Cold War is not the future of history, propitious relationships.

For several years now, Russia has been back. Growth has returned, and with it a new wealth. At the same time, the world has been made aware that the Russian threat to the international economic order, which are connected by culture—that yes, by culture. They are connected by geography; it’s rare for a country to find such a series of convergences at the same time, and our ability to confront the world’s major problems is due to this mutual recognition of the nature of the relations that will be established between Russia and Europe.

We are doing during the Georgia crisis, it was EU mediation and EU mediation that opened the way to a negotiated process to end a crisis. This judgment, of course, must be nuanced. It has been widely noted, as President of European Council, that there are still significant areas of cooperation between Europe and Russia. It’s more to consider the fact that between Russia and the European Union.

Should it continue to take hold, this malaise between Europe and Russia would have grave consequences for both the stability and prosperity of the entire European region. The partnership between Europe and Russia offers the world an opportunity, an opportunity for stability, prosperity, and peace.

In choosing “Where is the world going?” as a central theme of this conference, its organizers could not have imagined that we would be talking about it in the same old terms. This is the 21st century and we have to act accordingly. We want more. What matters, is that the growing prosperity of the new edition of Europe, even stressing the miracle of a new Cold War. A New Cold War is not the future of history, propitious relationships.

Thank you for your attention.

Our confidence in the future of the European Union and its capacity to act in the world against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the development of which the European Union is not concerned. We are focusing on the further development of this capability.

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The St Petersburg summit—and the intensity of the field of external security and a “space” of research and (an economic “space,” a common “space” of freedom, and 8 September opens the way to the resumption of sanctions. Well, I don’t regret opting for trust and made clear gestures in this regard during the Geor-

To heal the malaise that has set in and to re-esta-
lunch.

the international monitors. The same determination is crucial. Now, on the ground, the parties must re-

agreement not only with a legitimate concern for democracy and human rights? A common economic-
mocracy and human rights? A common economic-

tering of the values to which we are attached –de-

by increasing exchanges between our civil societies.

Russia show that it is in both our interests to define-

and the EU. I think President Medvedev is a natural candidate to join the EU. Let us not pre-

as well. It is in fact our “common neighbourhood.” It

lively is a natural candidate to join the EU. Let us not pre-

reполнить

Somehow, involving any of which make sense. I am thinking in particu-

in this dialogue that we are ready to enter into. I
don’t get my instructions from America, but America is our friend and ally. This relationship between Eu-

this link. Indeed, we in Europe have been happy to

Atlantic link. I feel sufficiently independent to proclaim

our continent’s security is based on a strong transat-

Multilateralism, France is prepared to work with Russia in

Russia’s military participation in Operation EUFOR

Council, the symbol of the end of the Cold War, of-

be tested in recent years. We must overcome this

The relationship between Europe and Russia has

the stability of the international order that we must

not without a bit of pain, how diverse our world is.

unipolarity. This means that we will have to discover,

reference expression even when the South is not neces-

is our responsibility today to invent another era. It is our responsibility today to invent

CLOSING SPEECH BY

THIERRY DE MEYEBRIL

President, Your Royal Highnesses, Ladies and Gentle-

sion at the very beginning of the confer-

Just as it depends on the nature of institutions and coun-

their political consequences.

My conviction is that we have now fully entered

challenging the very idea of Europe. We can never

Many actors of what we call the South, a still widely

energy and the development of

316

rural of energy, in which an age of sanction will give

biggest challenge. Russia and Europe, or rather the

the St Petersburg summit to the “clash of civilizations.”

these are important for me. Why? Because these are

or to put it in a different way, the understanding of the values to which we are attached.

nenon.

We are friends; we are allies. We have our own vision. We

tection, accounting and oversight. Dmitry Medved-

that lack consistency. And that’s where Dmitry Medve-

Ladies and Gentlemen,

the proliferation of crisis and the rise of global chal-

in turn. The problem is that the EU is seen by the states at the same time as reviving the inefficiencies of the rules and international institutions inherited from another era. It is our responsibility today to invent nothing less than a new world governance. We must aim so as to preserve peace and prosperity for our people, and to prevent international relations from falling once again into a zero-sum game in which everyone must, in the end, lose.

That kind of reasoning is insane.

The relationship between Europe and Russia has

the WTO, which remains in Russia’s interest and

new energies;

macroeconomic space, the “endless strategic space”

As such, if ambition, in shared, will lead to a real “con-

human and economic space” of which Russia and

Council, the symbol of the end of the Cold War, of-

sion, accounting and oversight. Dmitry Medved-

lacks consistency. And that’s where Dmitry Medve-

countries of the world. It is through example and

To me, it is in our interest to examine how certain tradi-

a supposedly frozen conflict can quickly degenerate

putting to rest, and not without a bit of pain, how diverse our world is.

Well, I’d like to tell him that we are ready to discuss it,

and the EU.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Our interests but also on our values. The tragic his-

Ladies and Gentlemen,

of values such as human rights and democracy.

peaceful resolution of disputes, because the Georgia crisis taught us that a supposedly frozen conflict can quickly degenerate into open war.

Finally, I say to Dzurie –but it is necessary to spell out what I mean here. We have reached a point where

promotions and those of the EU on new pan-European

special OSCE summit be convened for this purpose.

is our responsibility today to invent another era. It is our responsibility today to invent

The relationship between Europe and Russia has

that it is in our interest to examine how certain tradi-

with mutual understanding.

The relationship between Europe and Russia has

and the EU. I think President Medvedev is a natural candidate to join the EU. Let us not pre-

I compare myself to others, I am reassured“]. It was

menn. This is now the third and last day of our World

This is now the third and last day of our World

Nations that comprise it. Russia is a force for good

The St Petersburg summit—and the intensity of the

Ladies and Gentlemen,

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I think President Medvedev present his ideas on a

new security pact from Vancouver to Vladivostok.

I shall talk to them in order that we are ready to discuss it, and from the moment that we are ready,

promote energy efficiency and the development of

non-discrimination, and ambitious cooperation to

energy, and 8 September opens the way to the resumption of

sanctions. Well, I don’t regret opting for trust and

Ladies and Gentlemen,

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I shall talk to them in order that we are ready to discuss it, and from the moment that we are ready,
There is another point that came up in this room yesterday morning, during the speech of the Representative of the Mexican President: current world trends are, unfortunately, not all necessarily moving towards the expansion of democracy. What our Mexican friend talked about is, in fact democracy’s loss of legitimacy, especially in Latin America and probably in other regions of the world. This is something that we need to think about very carefully. Along these lines, the current financial and economic crisis will have an impact on the legitimacy of capitalism and the market economy. Another important and recurrent concern in our debates, that I would like to highlight, is that global governance cannot be efficient unless it is built on mutual respect among peoples of the world, who, for whatever reasons, the cold war or previously colonialism, did not really listen to each other. The only way we can build good governance is through mutual respect and by listening to each other. This will only be reached by knowing each other better and making efforts to understand the other’s point of view, even if one does not necessarily agree. So I think that the key words here are curiosity and, most importantly, tolerance. Because, at the end of day, the crossing value that covers all the principles that I just mentioned is indeed tolerance, and tolerance is in the interest of one and all.

And in order to see a concept that is quite common, I would say that we have to make sure that the future global governance is a win-win solution for all. But for this we need the political will to move forward. We are talking about political will. The will of everyone is needed. This can only be achieved if all the players of the world are involved, of course the main players, but not only these indeed smaller countries have a key role to play as well. This will only be possible if all the players of the world show the will to promote cooperation and dialogue.

Another point that is linked to what I have just said is that the future roles of this new form of governance must be as inclusive as possible. This is one of the major lessons to be learned from what we have heard yesterday and the day before. Once again, we have a lot to learn, to expect and to do with the so-called "bonds.

The future roles of the game will only be legitimate if they have been designed with participation of one and all. One of the drawbacks of the current forms of governance is that all its rules have been defined by a very small part of the planet. It is even the case for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is a question of legitimacy and efficiency. Because, even technically, we can only be efficient if we are legitimate. There is a very strong link between efficiency and legitimacy.

I would like to talk about one last point that has emerged from our discussions. It is the relationship between the regional and the global. A large number of issues facing the world can not be resolved at the regional level. It is very similar with the so-called subsidiary principle that is applied in the EU. In designing the architecture of future global governance, we must pay much more attention than in the past to regional structures and to the links between the regional and the global levels. Naturally the EU fits into this scheme, but its experience is both unique and limited.

I believe that this general principle applies to all domains, and in particular, of course, to economics. We see this very well in the current financial crisis. The root of the crisis of confidence that we are going through can be precisely found in the lack of cooperation in the past between the different institutions and governments in charge of these issues. It is not merely a technical problem as Jean-Claude Trichet argued yesterday. If there is currently this lack of confidence, it is not only due to technical reasons. It is because the institutions concerned have not found the right mood special for cooperation. We have come up against a credibility issue.

To conclude, I would just like to say that this very first conference has had a few problems. I am fully aware of this. But I must say on the whole the outcome has been extremely encouraging. And at this point, I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to all the teams that have participated in organizing this event and particularly our sponsors because of course, without them, this conference would not have been possible. I would like to thank everyone from the bottom of my heart. I would like to reiterate the fact that we will pursue this endeavour. This is the first of the World Public Forum, but let me assure you that there will be a second one, a third one and fourth one, etc. I think that the result of this first meeting has been sufficiently encouraging to allow us to make this decision already. So I’ll hope to meet you once again next autumn and in another very beautiful country.

Before I give the floor to the moderators in charge of this morning’s first session, I would like to thank everyone present in this room for their kindness and attention.
Evian, France

Looking down on the smoking ruins of the world’s stock markets and financial institutions from the Alpine foothills, Russian President Dmitry Medvedev took consolation where he could find it last week by celebrating the joys of American decline.

The era of “unipolarity”—of the United States setting itself up as the “mega-regulator” of world affairs—has reached a well-deserved end, Medvedev told other leaders with undisguised satisfaction. That failure became indisputable in August, when he continued, when the United States was powerless to prevent Georgia from attacking Russian forces and Russia from responding by invading its neighbor.

Dump America Inc. was the implicit geopolitical stock tip that Medvedev gave his listeners at the World Policy Conference, a three-day leadership brainstorming session staged here by Ifri, France’s leading think tank. Another invisible subtext ran like a television crawl line across Medvedev’s chest as he spoke: The Kremlin is back in the business of recruiting needy client states.

Medvedev spoke here Wednesday, a day after his government indicated that it would respond favorably to Iceland’s request for a $5 billion bailout of that country’s cratering banking system—much to the consternation of Estonian President Toomas Hendrik Ilves and other Baltic leaders. “Containment seems not to be an option in the time of globalization’s free capital flows,” Ilves told me glumly.

The Russian President also laid out new details of an initiative to have European leaders negotiate a new security treaty with Russia that would marginalize NATO and the United States. He also talked up proposed Russian-European Union agreements that would exclude America altogether.

These are bleak, life-support days for the Bush administration, which has seen its early audacity race into hubris and now train wrecks. Its democracy promotion efforts in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere are in deep trouble, its free-market ideology is being blamed for contributing to the world financial crisis, and the Democrats look poised to take control of Washington. For Medvedev and Vladimir Putin, his patron and prime minister, the iron is irresistibly hot.

But as I listened to the freewheeling discussions, I wondered if the widespread obituaries being written for American power and all that it stands for might not turn out to be premature. I did not hear the deep questioning of the American model of capitalism that I expected at this moment of financial terror, and Medvedev’s blatant attempt to drive wedges

between Europe and the United States was effectively blunted by French President Nicolas Sarkozy.

We will be glad to discuss European security with you, Sarkozy responded directly to Medvedev, but we will be joined by “our friends and allies, the Americans… Such matters concern them, too.”

Sarkozy also warned his guest that new security arrangements for Europe would not recognize “spheres of influence” (a concept recently endorsed by Medvedev) and would have to be based on democratic freedoms and respect for human rights. “Balance-of-power politics cannot guarantee stability for our continent,” Sarkozy added.

Music to the ears of an American participant. But for me the high point was listening to three democratically elected leaders from the developing world advise their Western peers not to give up on supporting democracy and market liberalization in their countries and everywhere else.

“Free elections are the only way out of crises” that would spark repression or chaos for dictatorial regimes, said Mongolian President Nambaryn Enkhbayar. His view was strongly echoed by Kenyan Prime Minister Raila Odinga.

“Trade and investment are vital to Africa’s ability to work its way out of today’s economic mess,” said Senegalese President Abdoulaye Wade. “You in the north should be truly Keynesian about this crisis. Put your billions into investments in Southern Hemisphere countries to create real assets and jobs—not financial bubbles—and you will get the best returns possible.”

And Saudi Arabia’s Prince Turki Al Faisal—while warning that Western countries should not try to force-feed democracy to the kingdom—acknowledged that a country that refused to try any “of the dishes that democracy has to offer risks starving to death.”

There was, to be sure, skepticism and anger in Evian over what Sarkozy called the excesses of “financial capitalism,” which routed huge pools of savings away from the productive economy into the pursuit of unrealistic returns before slamming into the ditch.

But there was a solid consensus also for global oversight and regulation, not for a renunciation of the free market. Medvedev’s Dump America message did not make much progress. What the world seems to await is better American leadership, not its elimination.
The Nation (Nairobi) 9 October 2008

Prime minister Raila Odinga used the just-concluded World Policy Conference in France to reach out to Kenya’s international partners to invest in the country. (...)

The conference, the first of its kind, was organised by the French Institute of International Relations. The forum which ended Thursday, was aimed at fostering interactive and constructive dialogue between researchers, professionals and opinion leaders.
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The Ifri (French Institute of International Relations), created in 1979 by Thierry de Montbrial, independent of any administrative or political authorities, is a center of research and debate dealing with major international issues. It is ranked by the Foreign Policy Research Institute as one of the top ten think tanks in the world outside of the United States.

The Institute is comprised of over thirty full-time researchers and numerous visiting researchers, French and foreign. Their policy-oriented work is carried out in several regional and thematic research groups. Interactive and constructive dialogues are promoted between researchers, experts and decision-makers from both private and public sectors. Ifri organizes daily lectures, international symposia and meetings with Heads of State or Government, or eminent French and foreign personalities.

Ifri’s research and debates are published in the general and professional press and especially in its quarterly magazine Politique étrangère and annual report RAMSES. Its website, www.ifri.org, is a rich data bank and the primary means to diffuse its activities.

Ifri has assumed a European dimension with a branch in Brussels, Ifri Bruxelles, launched in March 2005. Thanks to past experience, and an international team coming from all walks of life, covering a range of topics, and linked to various international networks, Ifri is today a major prospective and policy-oriented European think tank.

The World Policy Conference is an Ifri initiative, produced in 2008 by Euro RSCG Worldwide Events.

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Photos Credits
CLASH VISUEL, ©Bahi – ©Jean-Marc Charles

Conception and Production
Trocadéro – Paris

Printed in France – December 2008
WORLD POLICY CONFERENCE
FIRST EDITION, OCTOBRE 6TH-8TH, 2008, EVIAN, FRANCE

www.worldpolicyconference.com