

WORLD POLICY CONFERENCE

Second edition, October 30 – November 1, 2009
Marrakech – Morocco



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Foreword



The objective of the World Policy Conference (WPC), which convened for the first time in Evian, France, in October 2008, is to contribute to redefining and reconstructing global governance. The 2009 edition in Marrakech, Morocco, whose format was intentionally more compact, had the same aim and thus brought together 110 key figures from 34 countries.

The information and communication technologies revolution has led to an unprecedented increase in interdependence in every field. But monitoring and decision-making systems have not kept up, hence the financial crisis that began in 2007. International institutions and States finally took measures that prevented the worst scenarios from materialising. And yet world governance nonetheless remains extremely fragile in both the economic and political fields, the latter being still adversely affected by ongoing tragedies such as the Israeli-Palestinian and Kashmir conflicts. Owing to the crisis, a consensus has emerged that the primacy of States should be asserted. However, on a case-by-case basis, States must rely on other stakeholders as well.

We had initially based the WPC on this concept, probably because we had had a premonition of what was to come. To improve global governance, we must leave no stone unturned. In addition to economic, financial and security issues (in the broadest sense), other issues include, for example, energy, climate change, water, food and health. Each of these issues poses technical challenges, but no lasting progress can ever be made without transcending ideological differences and without deepening “intercultural dialogue.” This seemingly commonplace concept refers, in fact, to the very essence of the governance question. In my opinion, this is one of the main conclusions of the Marrakech conference. How to achieve this “dialogue” in practice remains to be seen.

The second WPC yielded a rich harvest of analyses and constructive ideas. It again showed that, in an appropriate setting, men and women of good will may be capable of putting the public interest before private interests for the benefit of all humanity and for the long term.

I wish to warmly thank all the participants for their contributions, as well as those who made this wonderful conference possible, especially our Moroccan friends for their exceptional generosity.

I hope to see all of you at the third WPC on 14-17 October 2010 in Mazagan.

Thierry de Montbrial
PRESIDENT AND FOUNDER
FEBRUARY 2010



Programme

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30

19:30 Cocktail

20:30 **Dinner debate**
with **Nambaryn Enkhbayar** (former President of Mongolia)

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31

8:30 - 9:30 Opening session

Reading of the Royal Message from His Majesty King Mohammed VI

Opening speech by **Thierry de Montbrial**
(President and Founder of the WPC)

Message from **Kofi Annan** (Seventh Secretary-General of the United Nations)

9:30 - 11:00 Session 1

“Architecture of Political Governance”

Introducers: **Nambaryn Enkhbayar** (former President of Mongolia),
Han Seung-Soo (former Prime Minister of Republic of Korea),
Hubert Védrine (former French Foreign Minister),
Robert Blackwill (Senior Fellow & Senior Advisor to the President,
RAND Corporation; former United States Ambassador to India)

Moderator: **Steve Erlanger** (*The New York Times*)

11:00 - 11:30 Coffee break

11:30 - 12:45 Session 2

“Macro-economic Governance”

Introducers: **Fathallah Oualalou** (President, Commune urbaine de Rabat,
former Finance Minister of Morocco),
Arkady Dvorkovich (Sherpa to President Dmitry Medvedev),
Yoichi Otabe (Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs,
G8 Sherpa, Japan),
Wolfgang Munchau (Associate Editor of the *Financial Times*,
Director of Eurointelligence Advisor Limited)

Moderator: **Jacques Mistral** (Head of Economic Research at Ifri)

12:45 - 15:00 Lunch debate

with **Han Seung-Soo** (former Prime Minister of Republic of Korea)

15:00 - 16:15 Session 3

“The Future of Capitalism”

Introducers: **Lionel Zinsou** (Firm's Chairman and Chief Executive
of the Private Equity firm PAI),
Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa (former Italian Minister
of Economy and Finance),
Jeffrey Frieden (Professor at Harvard University's
Department of Government)

Moderator: **Jean-Pierre Elkabbach** (President of the Lagardère News)

16:15 - 16:45 Coffee break

16:45 - 18:15 Session 4

“Energy and Climate”

Introducers: **Richard Bradley** (Senior Manager for Climate Change
and Energy Efficiency at the IEA),
Anil Razdan (former Power Secretary, Government of India),
Manoelle Lepoutre (Director of Sustainable Development
and Environment, TOTAL),
William Ramsay (Director of the Ifri Energy Program,
former Deputy Executive Director of the IEA)

Moderator: **Alexei Pushkov** (Director of the Institute of Contemporary
International Problems at the Diplomatic Academy in Moscow)

18:15 - 18:45 Mini-session I

“Migrations”

Speaker: **Pierre Morel** (Special Representative for Central Asia
and for the Crisis in Georgia, EU)

Discussant: **Jean Paul Guevara Ávila** (Director-General of Bilateral Relations,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Plurinational State of Bolivia)

20:00 - 22:00 Dinner debate

with **Jean-David Levitte** (Diplomatic Advisor and
Sherpa to President Nicolas Sarkozy)



SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 1

**9:00 - 10:45 Session 5
“Security”**

Introducers: **Meir Sheetrit** (Member of Knesset, former Interior Minister of Israel),
Yutaka Iimura (Special Envoy of the Government of Japan for the Middle East and Europe),
Sergei Karaganov (Chairman of the Presidium of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy in Moscow),
Dominique Moïsi (Special Advisor to Ifri)

Moderator: **Quentin Peel** (*Financial Times*)

**10:45 - 11:45 Session 6
“Economic and Financial Regulations”**

Introducers: **Kemal Derviş** (Vice President and Director of Global Economy and Development Program at Brookings Institution, former Turkish Minister for Economic Affairs and the Treasury),
Nicolas Véron (Research Fellow at Bruegel, Brussels)

Moderator: **Jacques Mistral** (Head of Economic Research at Ifri)

11:45 - 12:15 Coffee break**12:15 - 13:30 Session 7
“International Law”**

Introducers: **Celso Lafer** (Professor of Philosophy of law at University of São Paulo, former Foreign Minister of Brazil),
Serge Sur (Professor at University of Paris II – Panthéon-Assas),
Assia Bensalah Alaoui (Ambassador-at-Large, Kingdom of Morocco)

Moderator: **Philippe Moreau Defarges** (Senior Fellow and Co-director of RAMSES at Ifri)

**13:30 - 15:30 Lunch debate
with Amr Moussa** (Secretary-General of the League of Arab States)**15:30 - 17:00 Session 8
“Health and the Environment”**

Introducers: **José Ángel Córdova Villalobos** (Health Minister of the United States of Mexico),
Cherif Rahmani (Algerian Minister for Planning, Environment, and Tourism),
Bruno Lafont (Chairman and CEO of Lafarge),
Thomas Wellauer (Head Corporate Affairs and Executive Member of Novartis)

Moderator: **Dominique Moïsi** (Special Advisor to Ifri)

17:00 - 17:30 Coffee break**17:30 - 18:45 Session 9
“Water, Agriculture and Food”**

Introducers: **Michel Camdessus** (former Managing Director of the IMF, Honorary Governor of Banque de France),
Christian Bréchet (Vice President for Medical Scientific Affairs, Mérieux Alliance),
Louise Fresco (Professor, University of Amsterdam)

Moderator: **Philippe Moreau Defarges** (Senior Fellow and Co-director of RAMSES at Ifri)

**18:45 - 19:15 Mini-session II
“The Role of Regions in Globalisation”**

Speaker: **Jordi Pujol** (former President of the Generalitat de Catalunya)

Discussant: **Moulay Driss Mdaghri** (President, Association marocaine d'intelligence économique, AMIE)

**19:15 - 19:45 Conclusions
Thierry de Montbrial**, President and Founder of the WPC**21:00 Gala dinner**

Speech 1: **Taïeb Fassi Fihri** (Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, Kingdom of Morocco)

Speech 2: **Michael Posner** (Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, USA, Founder and President of Human Rights First)

Speech 3: **Samuel Kaplan** (American Ambassador to Morocco)



OPENING SESSION





Policy Conference

October 30th - November 1st 2009





His Majesty King Mohammed VI

Speech delivered by Mohamed Moâtassim, Counsellor of His Majesty, Kingdom of Morocco

“E nsuring peace and stability requires genuine governance based on justice and discipline. The reference here is to setting up a “universal society” based on bottom-up, participatory decision-making processes, the development of an international policy forum and the adoption of spiritual parameters, such as *niyya*, which refers, in Islam, to a fundamental dimension involving a dynamic interplay between intention, sincerity and faith. (...) We have to make sure everyone is actively involved in this global trend; all players, all countries –big and small– should rally around an unprecedented, inspiring project: that of building a “universal society” which helps us reconnect with the spirit of the Enlightenment, as seen by Emmanuel Kant, and with the work of Ibn Khaldun, the first theoretician of the international history of civilizations.”





Thierry de Montbrial

President and Founder of the WPC

“**W**hat we are seeking to do today –by “we,” I mean the World Policy Conference, but also anyone working on the issue of governance– is to achieve a practicable and realistic approximation of the plan for perpetual peace: that old concept that, as you said, is associated with illustrious names. (...) We want to help develop a concrete and realistic version of this concept. This is a vital challenge because, if we fail to adapt our coordination structures to a world that is changing rapidly, and even too rapidly, we will experience systemic crises the likes of which the recent economic and financial crisis would only be a preview of things to come.”

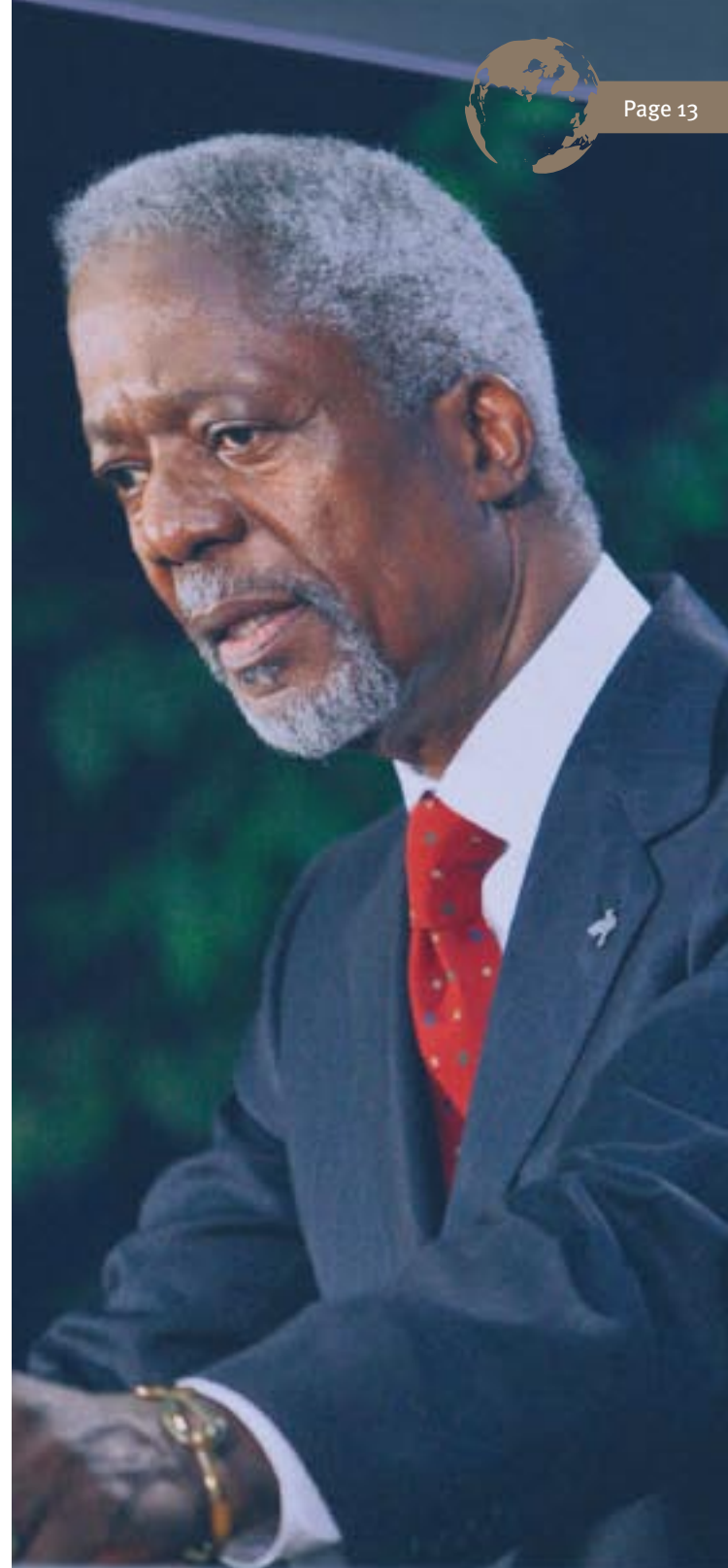


Kofi Annan

Seventh Secretary-General of the United Nations,
Recorded speech

“Ladies and gentlemen, it is a great pleasure to join you today, even though it is from a distance. You have assembled in Marrakech to discuss some of the most important issues of our times. Events of the last year have shown quite dramatically how interconnected our world has become. They have also demonstrated the need for far-reaching reform of the institutional mechanisms used to govern our increasing interdependence. The financial crisis and its aftermath are, if anything, a clear wake-up call to make our governance systems more democratic, supportive, and effective, and until all world powers are included in the way we deal with issues like the economic downturn, trade and climate change, our institutions will lack the richness and legitimacy necessary for dealing with today's challenges.

I applaud the efforts of the World Policy Conference to promote the reform of such institutions, and wish you many fruitful discussions and a constructive meeting. I look forward to reading the results of your deliberations.”



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PLENARY SESSIONS

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Architecture of Political Governance

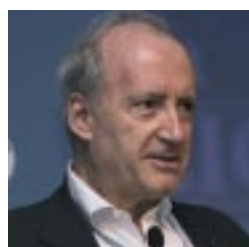


Nambaryn Enkhbayar
former President
of Mongolia

Global governance should also be about procedures, about how to interpret and administer the rules we have put forward. It should also be about programmes, about what should be reflected in the agreements and documents that we produce together.

Therefore, global governance is not only about regulation but about vision for the future. (...) Global governance is also about ending divisions, and bringing everyone together to be players in building a better future. We have to think about the criteria that would indicate

whether global governance is functioning effectively. There should be performance criteria based on the quality of life we are trying to reach together.



Hubert Védrine
former French
Foreign Minister

Assuming that they did, Western governments would find themselves engaged in what I referred to in one of my essays as *smart realpolitik*, i.e. a kind of politics that is both realistic and intelligent and incorporates the new circumstances in which the world finds itself. If Europeans were able to get beyond their own navel-gazing, they would organise themselves within the G20 to manage the change, which will be painful for them but which is inevitable. But there are others to consider, namely the major emerging nations. (...) they enter the world system not because people have been

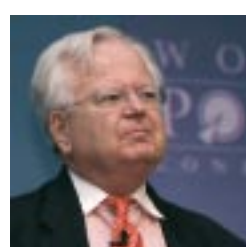
kind enough to make room for them but simply because they have made it for themselves and there is no other way of achieving it, but without trying to build a responsible commitment. They advance their pawns as far as possible before they accept any new rules. The outcome is not a foregone conclusion.



Han Seung-Soo
former Prime Minister
of Republic of Korea

What is certain is that the Bretton Woods Institutions that have come into being since the end of the Second World War need a drastic revitalization, if not a complete form. (...) We stand at the critical juncture in the history of mankind. In a world marked by unprecedented progress but also by equally pervasive threats and challenges, we must not be afraid of crises. It is said that the hallmark of wisdom is in knowing how to turn crisis into opportunity. The word "crisis" in Chinese is composed of two meanings: danger and opportunity. Now that we are faced with crises, i.e. dangers and opportunities, we must do our utmost to turning these dangers into change opportunities by inventing a new form of political governance, the change for the better, the change moving into a new paradigm of governance.

What is certain is that the Bretton Woods Institutions that have come into being since the end of the Second World War need a drastic revitalization, if not a complete form. (...) We stand at the critical juncture in the history of mankind. In a world marked by unprecedented progress but also by equally pervasive threats and challenges, we must not be afraid of crises. It is said that the hallmark of wisdom is in knowing how to turn crisis into opportunity. The word "crisis" in Chinese is composed of two meanings: danger and opportunity. Now that we are faced with crises, i.e. dangers and opportunities, we must do our utmost to turning these dangers into change opportunities by inventing a new form of political governance, the change for the better, the change moving into a new paradigm of governance.



Robert Blackwill
Senior Fellow & Senior
Advisor to the President,
RAND Corporation;
former United States
Ambassador to India

The great powers need to work much harder to find strategic convergence on the preeminent problems that face the international system –MEPP, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, non-proliferation, the global economy, trade, climate change, etc. (...) It requires the inclusion of the most important emerging nations –China, India, Indonesia, Brazil, Egypt, South Africa– in real global decision making and not just group photos taken at international summit gatherings. (...) It means a systemic strengthening of the power and influence of international institutions –those with economic, financial, trade and security missions. The IMF, the World Bank and the regional ILI's are good places to begin.





Macro-economic Governance



Fathallah Oualalou
President, Commune
urbaine de Rabat,
former Finance Minister
of Morocco

The new macro-economic governance, the result of a new balance of power between the State and the market, is gradually becoming more varied in form. (...)

This involves a rehabilitation of political life and the development of new forms of public-private partnership.

Adaptations to macro-economic governance at a country-specific level have been accompanied by confirmation of the international consultation between governments and central banks, which has itself been imposed by the requirements of globalisation. The role

of the IMF has, similarly, been restored. (...) By taking over the role of the G8, the G20 has paved the way to a multi-centric world. Above all, this change reflects a consolidation of the positions of the major emerging countries in economic debate on a global scale.



Yoichi Otake
Deputy Minister
for Foreign Affairs,
G8 Sherpa, Japan

(...) how to maximize the effectiveness of that cooperation (...). Firstly, the political will of all relevant countries is to be fully engaged in the process. (...) Secondly is the importance of "peer review/peer pressure." Idealistically speaking, for the sake of predictability, legally-binding instruments should be extended to cover as many areas as possible. However, to be realistic, the wisdom of the G7 and the OECD lies in their introduction and strengthening of this "peer review" mechanism. (...) Thirdly is the importance of structural policy, as I've already touched upon, in order to address the rebalancing of global demand, to

strengthen growth potential as well as to better take into account the social and environmental dimensions of our economies.



Arkady Dvorkovich
Sherpa to President
Dmitry Medvedev

I cannot conceive of a model for world economic growth without imbalances. It is impossible to grow rapidly without them, and they create dynamics and growth. Therefore, the important thing is not to avoid imbalances altogether but to have manageable imbalances that can be sustained and financed, where dangerous developments can be monitored and risks can be tackled before they lead to another crisis. The question is who will manage those imbalances, and there are numerous candidates. (...)

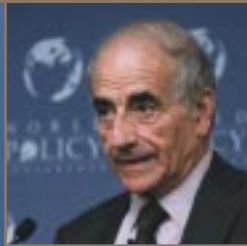
Our decisions should become legally binding. (...) Russia is ready to participate in the working-out of such an internationally binding agreement.



Wolfgang Munchau
Associate Editor of
the *Financial Times*,
Director of
Eurointelligence
Advisor Limited

First of all, global policy coordination is an ad hoc process. (...) ad hoc coordination is not good after crises, and there are a number of reasons for that. The fundamental reason is that we do not understand this crisis very well. We think we understand it, but our understanding of it is still evolving. (...) A second reason why this process is not working well is the fact that countries have national vetoes. I understand that you cannot move immediately towards majority voting systems, but you get situations where countries with large financial sectors, specifically the US and UK, block progress because they feel that the agreement is not in their national interest. (...)

Ultimately, when we have a process that is ad hoc and intergovernmental, we do not get agreement on what needs to be done, but only on what can be agreed.





The Future of Capitalism



Lionel Zinsou
Firm's Chairman and
Chief Executive of
the Private Equity firm PAI

If there is one idea about this crisis that has been particularly wrong but remains tenacious, it is the idea that excessive financialisation of the economy was the root cause of the crisis. This is a weak argument in my opinion: financialisation of the economy is something that will last because it is necessary. (...) unfortunately, in the "real economy," it is much more difficult to regulate supply, demand and prices for goods and services markets. And in this area, we are gearing up for a new crisis. (...) It appears that nothing has been resolved in the real economy's major markets. (...) the recovery may create a major social crisis due to the intolerable co-existence of strong growth with a sudden spike in poverty.



Jeffrey Frieden
Professor at Harvard
University's Department
of Government

An open international economic order requires systematic, purposive, concerted cooperation among national governments. (...) Governments can and will work together only if they have the domestic political support necessary to undertake the policies associated with international cooperation. (...)

There is nothing necessarily wrong with global macroeconomic imbalances, except when they cannot be sustained, and I would argue that the imbalances that built up over the past fifteen years are no longer sustainable. (...) There will be substantial economic

adjustments, whether in deficit countries or surplus countries, and these domestic adjustments are likely to be difficult, socially disruptive, and politically conflictual. Political conflicts over the adjustment process could well threaten the structure of international economic cooperation.



Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa
former Italian Minister
of Economy and Finance

1989 marks the definitive end of that illusion, whereas 2007-2009 in no way marks the end of the discovery of Adam Smith, namely that, when framed by the rule of law and a proper set of institutions, the impulse of self-interest generates the miracle of enhancing the greater collective wealth of nations. This fundamental proposition, in my view, has not been disproved by the crisis.

This is because what has failed in the crisis is not the system in which individuals or firms pursue their self-interest, but a version of it in which they pursued self-interest without the framework of rules and public action which are indispensable to achieving that miracle.





Energy and Climate



Richard Bradley
Senior Manager for
Climate Change and
Energy Efficiency at the IEA

Climate change is an unprecedented challenge for governments and for the energy sector in particular. (...) What more specifically must happen at Copenhagen if the energy transformation is to occur? First, incentives for investment in both cleaner technologies for greenfield facilities and for refurbishment of the existing capital structure must be put in place. (...) Whatever the portfolio of policy measures governments employed in response to Copenhagen, it will take time to transform the existing capital structure. (...) Finally, an effective framework will need to empower greater international cooperation. (...) No single govern-

ment will have the capacity to produce the range of technologies which will be required to “green” the range of economic sectors that emit GHGs.



Manoelle Lepoutre
Director of Sustainable
Development and
Environment, TOTAL

The technologies exist, but work needs to be done to optimise them in order to reduce costs; it is also important to work with the public authorities to make the solution acceptable to the citizen and to ensure there is both a real incentive and a framework to ensure that industrialists who create emissions and those who have the skills to store them in the ground work together. All of this needs to be done on the basis of a gradual transition and without causing any major disruption to the sensitive global balance with which we are dealing.

(...) It is the responsibility of us all, industrialists as well, to construct and develop access to energy for current and future populations by trying to maintain balance as effectively as possible and create the balanced relationships of the future, systematically taking account of scientific, technological and economic complexities at both the local and global level.



Anil Razdan
former Power Secretary,
Government of India

The four E's that go hand in hand for any sustainable development are energy, equity, environment and efficiency. Energy, which is a prime mover of development and poverty alleviation, has to be available, affordable, reliable, and sustainable. (...) Developing countries, in my view, should be allowed to grow and reduce poverty levels while pursuing enlightened policies, policies which democratic and enlightened governments will continue to pursue in a spirit of cooperation.

Technology, in my view, will again provide the answer, and the questions are of cost and affordability. I do not think new technologies can be purchased at the indicated costs by developed countries. (...) These costs have to be shared with the developing countries, as these countries do not ask for free power, or free energy sources, or free technology.



William Ramsay
Director of the Ifri
Energy Program,
former Deputy Executive
Director of the IEA

We have to get past this competitive targeting to letting a politician set a 2015 target, but then setting a 2012 target so as to test him inside his political timeframes and see whether he is living up to his commitments. We have heard a great deal of talk of how low energy intensity is working nicely, economies are being de-intensified and using a lot less energy per 2 000 hours of GDP etc. However, carbon emissions are just not dropping. You have heard that they are growing on aggregate, but carbon emissions have dropped in only eight IEA countries in the last seventeen years, and those are in Eastern Europe or former East Germany. Nobody is effectively cutting carbon out of their mix.





Security



Meir Sheetrit
member of Knesset,
former Interior Minister
of Israel

Terrorism is no longer about small groups of people fighting against big powers. It involves international networks, very sophisticated and well funded, manipulating democracies and using them against themselves. They are willing to do everything possible in order to achieve the goal of imposing Islamic fundamentalism on the world. I am sorry to see that democracies have failed even to define what terrorism is. The definition of terrorism is achieving political goals by violence, but this definition has not been accepted, and nobody deals with it in that way. We have failed to fight against terrorism because we are fighting with our hands tied behind our backs.



Sergei Karaganov
Chairman of the
Presidium of the Council
on Foreign and
Defense Policy in Moscow

The problem was that, while the US saw itself as the victor, Russia did not see itself as a defeated nation. The Russian elite felt that it had been the victor, and counted at least on an honourable peace. Russia, in addition, is one of the two countries in Europe, which has never been defeated, along with Britain. We were living in dismal conditions, but our spine had not been broken, and we were ready to fight. We understood that the enlargement of NATO could eventually bring war to the heart of Europe and to our borders. (...) Regarding the positive component, the divide in Europe must be healed either by signing a new security treaty or by taking Russia into NATO. The divide in the Middle East must

be healed by providing nuclear guarantees to Israel and all other countries involved. It is the responsibility of the US and Russia to do so.



Yutaka Iimura
Special Envoy of
the Government of Japan
for the Middle East
and Europe

While the summit process now counts sixteen countries as its members, it continues to coexist with several alternative forums, meaning that the question of which countries are to be included in a future East Asian community has yet to be resolved. (...) This is the importance of people involved in policy decision-making understanding various regional situations and grasping these in comprehensive terms. I should like to point out that an issue-based approach is fraught with various risks. For example, approaches geared entirely towards human rights, democratization, economic benefits or weapons exports harbor the potential to destabilize regional affairs.



Dominique Moïsi
Special Advisor to Ifri

The good news, in fact, is that neither China nor India are revisionist powers. They remain satisfied with a *statu quo* that seems to be in line with their own history, unlike Russia, perhaps, which wants to return to a world that has now disappeared and which it will not find again. (...) Within this system, as a European, I am struck by the slow pace at which we accept and assimilate the changes taking place in the world. In fact, over the last few years, we have devoted ourselves to problems that at the end of the day are minor and have

caused us to waste ridiculous amounts of time: defining our borders and defining our institutions. Just at the point when the history of the world has been accelerating, the history of Europe has been going nowhere. There is a major contradiction here too, between the ambitious words we use and the political practices we adopt.





Economic and Financial Regulations



Kemal Derviş

Vice President and Director of Global Economy and Development Program at Brookings Institution, former Turkish Minister for Economic Affairs and the Treasury

A lot was said yesterday about the major payment imbalances, the “global imbalances” in payments and therefore the liquidity that these imbalances have created in the United States and the amount of capital coming in, primarily from the Far East and China, but also from the Middle East. (...) If it's once more America that absorbs all of this liquidity, we will have more problems. I think the American deficit will remain. There will not be an American surplus or even a balanced American current account, but if America has a deficit of 2% of GDP, it will need –I have done the calculation– all the developing countries and emerging countries, excluding China, to have a deficit of around 4% of GDP over roughly the next five years. I think this is feasible and certainly not excessive. (...) This is where governance has a part to play. More of the flow

of capital generated by the oil-producing countries and China needs to move towards the developing and emerging countries rather than solely to America.



Nicolas Véron

Research Fellow at Bruegel, Brussels

The lesson that had already been learned before the crisis but has been greatly accentuated by it, is that international standardisation is extremely difficult, if you really want free, undistorted competition. It is difficult for reasons that are primarily political rather than technical, and that are related to there being different starting points but also to differences in public decision-making systems and democracy, or indeed a lack of democracy. The topic of international accounting standards, which always sparks fierce debate and has done so all the more since the economic crisis, is a good illustration.

It is not enough to have common standards: they need to be applied consistently and in a similar way; supervision needs to be consistent, as does the management of risk by the public authorities.

It is important to be realistic: from this point of view, there will be no world-wide financial regulatory or supervisory authority. Nonetheless, it is crucial to determine priorities so that consistency in the application of common standards and the common nature of standards should be sufficient.





International Law



Celso Lafer
Professor of
Philosophy of law
at University of São Paulo,
former Foreign Minister
of Brazil

The reasons for the complexity of the international agenda are related to the diplomatic challenge of shaping a global system by discovering shared interests in spite of the asymmetries of power and the heterogeneity of values. (...)

One of the items of the present international agenda is related to the politics of identity and recognition, and this brings into question the ability of a principle such as self-determination to deal with this new challenge that affects the stability of the present-day international-state system. The second issue is the normative aspirations of the world order, including human rights, democracy, forms of international cooperation and everything that is linked to these

ethical aspirations and how their effectiveness faces the selectivity of power politics. (...) The third item of the agenda relates to war and peace and the issues of security we have mentioned.



Assia Bensalah Alaoui
Ambassador-at-Large,
Kingdom of Morocco

The rapid development of international law in the 20th century was a remarkable phenomenon, let's not forget, with unprecedented negotiations, even if we take only the Convention on the Law of the Sea and the agreements governing international trade as our examples! Defining, maintaining, changing and amending the rules that govern all the problems we face today – in finance, commerce, trade, security, aid, etc. – form the backbone of international business. And yet, the weakness of our international regulatory system, which has been described as anomie since Durkheim, is notorious. (...)

In any case, unfortunately, there is nothing to suggest that we are moving towards such a positive scenario. In that case, what do we have left? (...) We can only hope that “beating” people’s consciences, in the way he is pinning his hopes on, will result in producing this salutary burst of enthusiasm for better governance of a much fairer and more equitable system, one which has still to be developed!



Serge Sur
Professor at University
of Paris II – Panthéon-Assas

As far as the mechanisms of international law are concerned, one must stress their creativity and their flexibility.

Creativity: Treaty law specifically has been able to develop new concepts, such as confidence building measures; peace keeping operations; a mix of international rules and domestic obligations; new forms of internationalization for Outer Space or for the law of the sea. (...) *Flexibility:* International law has been able to develop new forms of international rules, like Soft Law, Guidelines, Codes of conduct, which adapt the stiffness of law to evolving problems and situations.





Health and the Environment



José Ángel Córdova Villalobos
Health Minister of
the United States of Mexico

It is necessary to start by acknowledging that health care systems are now facing unprecedented challenges. First is the financial burden resulting from epidemiological and demographic changes that can only be overcome through huge investments in health prevention and promotion programmes. The second involves the inadequate human resources in the medical field due to the global economic crisis, greater demand for public health services and fewer resources stemming from the drop in tax revenues.



Bruno Lafont
Chairman and CEO
of Lafarge

Environmental protection is compatible with growth and development as long as they are planned and conducted by responsible companies. (...) Companies can do a lot for the environment when they act responsibly. (...) Companies move more quickly and participate more actively in environmental protection when they are working within a clear, stable framework with well-defined goals. (...) Good governance would place the most effective decision-making system at State level, but would also take advantage of all the tools and players involved in planning and implementation –in

other words, cooperation between governments and responsible companies. (...) Such cooperation is necessary at all levels: village, State, region and world.



Cherif Rahmani
Algerian Minister
for Planning, Environment,
and Tourism

It is up to all of us, but developed countries are responsible for putting things back in place, for restoring what has been destroyed during a century of industrialisation. It is at this level that progress is not being made and things are most difficult. (...) While we must lay the groundwork for a new policy and spark momentum in Copenhagen, the conference is not an end in itself. Copenhagen is only a beginning. The path forward will be extremely long and we must choose between two strategies: a passive strategy based on a denial of responsibility and reality or an active strategy, which I believe is important. Absent in Kyoto,

timid in Bali, Africa will be a full participant in Copenhagen in order to create an Africa that is, as André Gide said, a land of the unvanquished that will make a major contribution to the world, help humankind follow its natural bent and, above all, fight its way back.



Thomas Wellauer
Head Corporate Affairs
and Executive member
of Novartis

Currently the wrong factors are measured in healthcare systems and in the wrong way. Most ministries of health or finance, and equally the bodies of global health governance, are measuring inputs and very little in terms of outcomes from the system. Typical metrics have been number of hospital beds, physicians or spent per patient. It is now also possible to assess disease burden (...). The suggestion is that countries can actively learn from one another –adopting a disease based approach to identifying best practices is a good starting point. This thinking applies to both the developed and the developing world, as the disease patterns

are converging, and many emerging markets are currently faced with the active call of their citizens for better access to health care.





Water, Agriculture and Food



Michel Camdessus
former Managing
Director of the IMF,
Honorary Governor
of Banque de France

There are 27 organisations in the United Nations constellation that have responsibility for water. You see how that can generate all kinds of duplications and disorganisation. (...) How should we go about this? (...) Firstly, we must encourage cooperation among all players. (...) Secondly, we must remember that the current level for water projects is the local community. True, water is local, almost by nature, because it is expensive to transport and has a high leakage rate. The strategic level is therefore the nation; it's a determination to move towards the national level that makes the difference.



Christian Bréchet
Vice President for
Medical Scientific Affairs,
Mérieux Alliance

Food safety is a major economic challenge. (...) Food safety measures have to be implemented in a world of increasing food insecurity, financial crisis and climate changes. In addition, Food safety regulations have associated costs which may be prohibitive. (...) There is a strong need to standardize surveillance data collection and analysis as well as microbiological methods (especially detection, identification and typing of microorganisms) for laboratory based surveillance systems. (...) Regulatory recommendations should be realistic and consistent with the actual capacity of a country to have sufficient access to food and water. They must also take in account industry flexibility, cost-effectiveness needs and constraints. (...) In any case, communication is a key element for the success of such measures.



Louise Fresco
Professor,
University of Amsterdam

We can feed the world, even based on our current knowledge, even without using GMOs, if demand can be clearly defined and if we are able to organise markets, organise the workforce and organise inputs. But this raises serious governance questions. (...) what we must do straightaway is revise the WTO's methods. (...) If we have learned anything these past 10 to 20 years it's that the market works, but it must be controlled. And it must absolutely be controlled in terms of potential social and environmental damage. (...) a globalised world that forgets its farming and rural roots

is a world that runs the very serious risk of disturbances caused by price fluctuations. For that reason, we should perhaps consider stabilisation funds.



Migrations



Pierre Morel

Special Representative
for Central Asia and for
the Crisis in Georgia, EU

The migration issue is experiencing a resurgence for many reasons. Firstly, because of information, with the widespread use of satellite dishes. We are witnessing a levelling of aspirations as opposed to the traditional rural exodus, which was the normal way for societies to function for many centuries. (...) Another factor is the incentive for mobility. From the heart of Eastern Europe today, a few dozen euros will take you to the European Union, whether you're from the Balkans, Kiev or Russia. (...) Other factors are the aging of the host country populations, a striking fact in most EU countries. (...) The traditional phenomenon of integration, which should be

the outcome of migration except in cases of circular migration, has become increasingly urgent –but it has also become increasingly difficult.



Jean Paul Guevara Ávila

Director-General of
Bilateral Relations,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Plurinational State of Bolivia

Globalization is not only a technological or communicational revolution –as we were told this morning– but it is also the human mobility and the capacity of transport and the movement of persons. So, we cannot talk about globalization without mentioning the world migration. (...) We need to start talking on compensation, since there is a very high price on our states to pay in order to improve the migrant's skills just to name one example. And, I also insist on compensation –in this aspect, enters the second basic fact– because the global economy and –mainly– the economy of the post industrial countries need the support of migrant labour force. (...) There will

not be globalization with a “visage humain” until we are able to recognize the rights of every person to decide where to live and to have the capacity to demand full respect for his/her human rights.





The Role of Regions in Globalisation



Jordi Pujol
former President of the
Generalitat de Catalunya

People keep saying that the more globalised the world becomes, the more people will come together –through the Internet, faster, more efficient transport and an economy turning into a vast global marketplace– and that identity will therefore carry less weight. (...) Yet globalisation is sparking a search for identity and a need for a reference or anchorage point. (...) In the great ocean of globalisation, many people feel an absolute need for an attachment to something strong, and especially personal, that touches them individually, something that gives them a sense of personhood, of personal reassurance, from both an individual and collective point of view.



Moulay Driss Mdaghri
President, Association
marocaine d'intelligence
économique, AMIE

Locally, nationally and domestically, the legitimate aspiration for the recognition of local cultures and the demand by various populations and their elites for greater participation and autonomy must be leveraged to drive development and progress. (...) In this context, in North Africa, the creation of a homogeneous unit is a necessity to which we will have to resign ourselves sooner or later, certainly not for some sentimental desire or lyrical evocation of unity as we have often heard in the Arab world. Instead, the time has come for a marriage of convenience, imposed by both geopolitics and the economy. (...) This reinvi-

gorated region would then be able to contribute to the building of an even more significant area –the Mediterranean basin. (...) We must again address and eliminate the tensions from another age through a shared act of political will based on concerted efforts of cooperation and integration.



تعالف

LUNCH
& DINNER
DEBATES

مناقشة

**Nambaryn Enkhbayar**

former President of Mongolia

It is also very important that the world policy meeting is a place where small countries like Mongolia can be heard, because we now see that the big companies and countries cannot solve all the problems. We have to be together irrespective of the size of our countries, and work together to make the world a better place. When we engage others and participate in these meetings, everyone has an opportunity to make an effort to understand the world as it is today. We want to see many countries in the world to have a system where presidents can lose elections, where they can not only take office but also give it back to those who win.

(...) We are here to talk about how to give rights to minorities and responsibilities to majorities, because power without responsibility is very dangerous.





Han Seung-Soo

former Prime Minister
of Republic of Korea

Like the travelers and explorers of the old world, let us cultivate a taste of learning. Let us take a sincere interest in and show a real curiosity about *others*. (...) Like merchants and storytellers of the old world, we should be bold in our approach and enthusiastic about the stories that we have. Let us think about what contributions we can make. We may not have correct answers to all questions but that should not discourage us from putting forward the most challenging ideas and daring questions. Like the astronomers who looked up to the sky and aimed at the stars, let us be ambitious. The agenda before us is challenging, but we will remember how we have overcome difficulties in the past through co-operation and friendship.



**Jean-David Levitte**

Diplomatic Advisor
and Sherpa to President Nicolas Sarkozy

The major question this raises is whether our multipolar world will be harmonious or antagonistic. The answer is not obvious. (...) For the first time in human history, we are confronted with global crises that threaten not only our economic future but also the future of our planet. (...) How should we view the G20? It's a phenomenal success. (...) But the G20 also has its weaknesses. First of all, we don't really know the actual number of member countries. (...) The second risk lies in the absence of clear operational rules for the G20. (...) Time is not our ally when it comes to global governance. Time works against us because as fear about the economy fades and time passes, momentum could disappear. We must therefore work twice as hard to move ahead quickly and effectively.



**Amr Moussa**

Secretary-General
of the League of Arab States

First, any discussion about regional security should be between all of us. Iran cannot speak on behalf of all countries in the Middle East family of nations when it comes to regional security, as this is an issue that should be the subject of consensual policy. (...) What we need is a peace process that would bring the parties together around an agenda that can be negotiated and that would lead us to peace. We have been proposing the Arab Initiative since 2002, and in that proposal we put forward the commitment to normalise relations with Israel if Israel makes the commitment to accept the establishment of a Palestinian state and to negotiate sincerely about the fate of refugees and the status of Jerusalem. (...) The Arab world has to link up with the 21st century. We have to move in accordance with an agenda of modernisation and of change, towards democracy, women's rights, human rights in general, education, and economic and social rights as a whole.





CLOSING SESSION & GALA DINNER







Thierry de Montbrial
President and Founder of the WPC

The objective of the World Policy Conference, which we plan to hold every year, is to make a positive contribution –and I want to emphasise the word “positive”– to meeting the most urgent and serious collective challenge for the planet as a whole. We are not going to reshape global governance from one day to the next –we would be very naïve to think so– yet it is true that time is short. In an increasingly interdependent world, the lack of appropriate governance methods can only lead to tragedy. (...) the problems addressed are multi-faceted and we have to master them if we want to be constructive and effective. (...) there is still a lack of consensus on many subjects among the well-informed.



World Policy Conference

Marrakech - October 30th-November 1st 2009



**Taïeb Fassi Fihri**

Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation,
Kingdom of Morocco

I want to thank all the organisers and sponsors who made these discussions so in-depth and varied on a topic –world governance– that does not deserve to be treated cavalierly. Our concern for democracy prompts us to seek a new compromise, a new global structure and better tools. (...) First, as a citizen of this part of the world, and second as Foreign Minister, I can only ask that we pay more attention to the necessity of working together in our discussions and deliberations. That is not a third worldist message. I want to emphasise that there will always be engines that move forward and drive further progress, but let's not fall into the errors and ways of the past. (...)The Muslim world also needs to be taken into consideration, despite its divisions, conflicts, contradictions, and despite the nature and diversity of its national political systems. (...) If these are global issues, we must include elites as well as economic realities and players at all levels.


Michael Posner

Assistant Secretary of State
for Democracy, Human Rights
and Labor, USA,
Founder and President
of Human Rights First

The first aspect of what President Obama has spoken about is a new kind of principled engagement by the US and other governments with the UN and in bilateral relations in trying to find new ways to advance our common agenda. (...) The second thing which animates what we are trying to do, and which relates very much to the subject of governance, is a focus on a single set of human rights and democracy standards, one set of rules for the entire world, including ourselves. (...) The third aspect is to tell the truth, to be forthright where we see deficiencies, whether in the UN or in other international and regional organisations, or in the way that bilateral relations apply. (...) We need a new relationship between government and civil society. When we talk about democracy, we have to have a larger vision than just elections. We need to ask what a democratic society looks like.


Samuel Kaplan

American Ambassador
to Morocco

I would say that you need to have conferences very often, because only by coming together in this kind of venue and talking about these kinds of issues can we make progress in the world today.

INVITED
GUESTS

المشاركون



INVITED GUESTS

Mounir Fakhri Abdel-Nour

Egyptian businessman of Coptic origin, banking expert, President of Société égypto-française pour les industries agro-alimentaires, Secretary-General of the Neo-Wafd Party and member of the Egyptian National Council for Human Rights.

Soumeia Abdelatif

Algerian doctor. First Vice President of North/South dialogue for Arab countries and the Mediterranean at the Robert Schuman Institute for Europe. Founding member of the House of Europe in Alsace.

Jean Abiteboul

President of Cheniere Supply & Marketing, a 100% subsidiary of Cheniere Energy, Inc., a Houston based company specializing in liquefied natural gas importation. He joined Cheniere in 2006, after having held various positions within Gaz de France (now GDF Suez), among which Executive Vice President of Supply, Trading & Marketing, President of Gaselys, Executive Vice President International as well as Advisor to the Chairman & CEO and Secretary of the Board of Directors.

Abdesselam Aboudrar

President of the Moroccan Central Authority for the Prevention of Corruption. He developed an extensive experience (1974-1998) as a civil engineering consultant. In 1998, he joined the Caisse de dépôt et de gestion (CDG) which is the main financial public institution in Morocco and was nominated in 2006 Deputy Director-General. He is a civil engineer (graduated from École nationale des ponts et chaussées, Paris, 1973), economist (University of Rabat, 1980) and MBA (ENPC, Paris, 2000).

Abdelmalek Alaoui

Managing Partner of Global Intelligence Partners, he is the author of a new doctrine for economic intelligence, theorized in *Intelligence économique et guerres secrètes au Maroc*. He recommends the emergence of the "hybrid manager", who can watch like Chinese people, who can analyse like French people and act like American people. Specialized in geo-strategy and economic intelligence, his consulting group advises public and private clients about how to deal with economic war, and build business intelligence resources for them. He co-authored *Une ambition marocaine, des experts analysent la décennie 1999-2009*.

Moulay Driss Alaoui Mdaghri

Founder and President of the Moroccan Economic Intelligence Society and La Fondation des cultures du monde. Former Minister (Secretary of State in Foreign Affairs in charge of the Maghreb Union, Minister of Energy and Mines, Minister of Youth and Sports, Minister of Communication and Government Spokesman), he is presently a University Professor at ISCAE, the first and most visible Moroccan Business School and one of the leading higher education institutions in the country.

Fouad Ali El Himma

Moroccan politician who served as Deputy Minister in the Interior Ministry from 1999-2007 under Minister Chakib Benmoussa. In October 1998, the late King Hassan II appointed him Chief of staff to Crown Prince Mohammed VI and in November 1999, after his coronation, His Majesty Mohammed VI named him Deputy

Interior Minister. On 12 June 2009, he was unanimously elected President of the Benguerir City Council.

Patrick Allard

Counsellor for international economic issues, Policy Planning Staff, French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs. Before joining the present Ministry, he held various positions within the Ministry of Economy and Finance from 1986 to 1998 with an interruption between 1990 and 1992 when he was Administrator at the Economic Department of OECD. Alumnus: École nationale d'administration.

Fouad Arfaoui

Partner responsible for coordinating all PricewaterhouseCoopers network activities in Morocco. For many years, he worked as a statutory auditor for major French companies. Before becoming a managing partner in Morocco, he developed and launched the PwC network's HR and change management consulting services. A graduate of HEC (a prestigious business school), a chartered accountant and a statutory auditor, he has co-authored several books and also serves as a court expert at the Paris Court of Appeal.

David Avital

President of MTP Investment Group. Entrepreneur, venture capitalist and philanthropist who has realized great success in real estate, parking, biotech and other areas thanks to the strong values and principles acquired through his long military career, the tenets and cornerstones of his business philosophy are creativity, flexibility, persistence and an infallible moral code. He serves on the board of directors of several companies and is actively involved in charity and political organizations.

Reginald Bartholomew

Managing Director in Investment Banking at Bank America Merrill Lynch in Europe. His previous US Foreign Service career included assignments on the National Security Council 1977-79 and as Assistant Secretary of State for Political Military Affairs 1979-81 and Under Secretary of State for International Security Affairs 1989-92, and, abroad, as US Ambassador to Lebanon, Spain, NATO and to Italy.

Dusan T. Batakovic

Ambassador of Serbia to France. Director of the Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade, and President of the Serbian Committee of AIESEE (Association internationale d'études du sud-est européen), he also served as Ambassador to Canada, Ambassador-at-Large, Advisor to the President of Serbia and Ambassador to the Hellenic Republic. He holds a PhD "France and the creation of parliamentary democracy in Serbia 1830-1914" from the University of Paris-Sorbonne, Paris IV.

Assia Bensalah Alaoui

Ambassador-at-Large of HM the King of Morocco, Mrs Assia Bensalah Alaoui is an international economic Public Law and Co-president of the High-level Advisory Group on dialogue between peoples and cultures for the European Commission. She is also a member of many committees for peace in the Middle East.

Robert Blackwill

Senior Fellow & Senior Advisor to the President of the RAND Corporation; former United States Ambassador

to India. Ambassador Blackwill was Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Planning under President George W. Bush. He served as Presidential Envoy to Iraq and was the Administration's Coordinator for US policies regarding Afghanistan and Iran. As a Harvard Faculty member, he was Associate Dean of the Kennedy School of Government.

Rahma Bourqia

President of Hassan II Mohammedia University, she is a Visiting Professor and Lecturer at four American universities (Old Dominion in Virginia, Harvard, Princeton and Milwaukee), Helsinki University and the School of Oriental Studies in London. She also serves as a consultant to several international organisations (IFAD in Rome, WHO in Geneva, World Bank in Washington, DC and Ford Foundation in Cairo) and received royal honours for her contribution to the Consultative Commission for Reform of the *Moudawana* (family code). She received a PhD in sociology from Manchester University in the United Kingdom.

Richard Bradley

Head of the Energy Efficiency and Environment Division at the International Energy Agency in Paris. He has participated in the negotiations of the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change and its Kyoto Protocol, Nitrogen Oxides Protocol to the Long Range Transboundary Air Pollution Convention, The Montreal Protocol on Ozone Depleting Substances, and Agenda 21 of the UN Conference on Environment and Development. Dr Bradley received his PhD in Natural Resource Economics from the University of California, Riverside.

Christian Bréchet

French doctor and researcher and Vice President for medical and scientific affairs at BioMérieux, he directed the INSERM U370 Unit and the National Reference Centre on viral hepatitis epidemiology. He was also a University Professor, hospital Doctor, Head of the hepatology department at Necker Children's Hospital and Chairman of the cellular biology department at Necker Medical School. On 14 February 2001, he became Executive Director of INSERM (French National Institute for Health and Medical Research), from which he resigned in 2007. The following year, he joined the BioMérieux Board of Directors.

François Bujon de l'Estang

Chairman of Citigroup France. Prior to joining Citi, he has had a distinguished career in both government and business. A former Foreign Service Officer, he served as Ambassador of France to the United States and to Canada, as diplomatic Advisor to Prime Minister Jacques Chirac and as Special Assistant to President Charles de Gaulle. In business, he was, among other various positions, Director of international relations of the French Atomic Energy Commissariat. Ambassador Bujon de l'Estang is a graduate of the Institut d'études politiques de Paris, of the École nationale d'administration, and of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration.

André Caillé

Board member of various companies and organisations in Quebec and particularly well-known for his public efforts during the black ice crisis that struck several regions in Quebec in 1998 while he was serving as CEO of Hydro-Québec. Previously President and CEO of Gaz

Métropolitain, CEO of Hydro-Québec, then Chairman of the Board of this firm and the World Energy Council, he also served as Chancellor of the University of Montreal, which awarded him an honorary doctorate in recognition of his career in the energy and environment fields in both the public and private sectors.

Michel Camdessus

Former Managing Director of the IMF, he is Honorary Governor of Banque de France and Chairman of the French Financing Corporation (SFEF). In September 2009, he was appointed Special Commissioner to monitor French banks' bonus payments practices. He is a member of the Africa Progress Panel, chaired by Kofi Annan, and of the UN Secretary General's Advisory Board on Water and Sanitation. He earned postgraduate degrees in Economics at the Institut d'études politiques de Paris and the École nationale d'administration.

Mouna Cherkaoui

Professor at Mohamed V University, Faculty of Law, Economics and Social Science, she is also a Research Fellow at the Economic Research Forum where she is in the Board of Trustees. She has been responsible for a number of curricula and is the National Coordinator of the Network of Economic Research and served as an Advisor to the Ministry of Higher Education and Research. She holds a Master and a PhD in Economics with a specialisation in international trade and finance from the Arizona State University.

Jae-Chul Choi

Ambassador of South Korea to the Kingdom of Morocco. Previously, he has worked as a Director-General at the International Economic Affairs Bureau of MOFAT, responsible for Korea's foreign policy on international economy, OECD, development co-operation and energy & climate change. He studied at Seoul National University, and was graduated from the Institute of International Studies, Geneva, Switzerland. He co-authored *The New Round* (1995) and *The International Law in the 21st Century* (2001).

Patrick Colas des Francs

General Manager, Coges. He attended the Army Officer Academy of Saint-Cyr and was commissioned into the Armour (Recce). He took part in many operations in Chad, Central Africa, Djibouti, Democratic Republic of Congo and Kosovo. He was assigned as the commander of the French Army Training Centre. In 2007, he decided to leave the Army and became the Chief Executive Officer of Coges, a company managing the Eurosatory Exhibition and organizing the French pavilions on other exhibitions in the world. He graduated from COSSAT, the Senior Armaments Engineers School, and from the École de guerre de Paris.

Bertrand Collomb

Honorary Chairman of Lafarge. Chairman of Ifri. After working for the French government, he joined Lafarge in 1975, became Chairman and CEO in 1989, and was Chairman from 2003 until 2007. He is a member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques of the Institut de France, and Chairman of IHEST (Institute for Studies in Science and Technology) as well as of the European Corporate Governance Forum and of the International Accounting Standards Foundation.

José Ángel Córdova Villalobos

Minister of Health, Mexico. He was President of the



General Council of the Electoral Institute of the State of Guanajuato, Director of the Academy of Professors and Students of the Medicine Faculty of the University of Guanajuato in which he was also full-time professor. He obtained a medical degree from the Medicine Faculty of the University of Guanajuato, speciality in internal medicine at INNSZ of Mexico, General Surgery at University Paul Sabatier of Toulouse, France.

John Denton

Partner and CEO of Corrs Chambers Westgarth, one of Australia's leading national law firms. He is one of three Prime Ministerial representatives on the APEC Business Advisory Counsel (ABAC), and is Chair of ABAC's Sustainable Development Work Group, board member on the Commonwealth Business Council and the Asia Society Australasia Centre. As a former diplomat with the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, John Denton has extensive international negotiating expertise.

Kemal Derviř

Vice President and Director of Global and Development Program at Brookings Institution. He was Head of the United Nations Development Program. Prior to his appointment with UNDP, Mr Derviř was a member of Turkish Parliament and Minister for Economic Affairs and the Treasury. In 1977, he joined the World Bank where he held various positions until he returned to Turkey in 2001. He earned his Bachelor's and Master's degrees in Economics from the London School of Economics, and his PhD from Princeton University.

Hüseyin Diriöz

Chief Foreign Policy Advisor, Sherpa to President Abdullah Gül. Among various positions, he was Minister-Counsellor towards the Turkish Embassy in Washington, DC, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesman, Ambassador of Turkey to Jordan and Director-General for Middle East and South Asia at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He graduated from the Ankara University, Faculty of Political Sciences and the University of Virginia, MA.

Amar Drissi

Executive Vice President, OCP Group. As Vice President of Citibank, he participated in merger-acquisition and financial engineering activities in several countries. Appointed board member and CEO of Charbonnages du Maroc, he restructured the Jerada mine, then as CEO of subsidiaries and member of ONA Group's Management Committee, turned around several major subsidiaries, including Lesieur and Centrale Laitière. He subsequently became Executive Vice President of FINCON in Geneva and Strategic Communications Group in Dubai. He holds an MBA in Finance from Stern School of Business, New York University, a PhD in Management from the École polytechnique and a PhD in Social Psychology from the University of Paris X. He co-edited the book *Dubai, the New Arab Dream* with Thierry de Montbrial, published in 2006 as part of Ifri's *Travaux et Recherches* series.

François Drouin

President of OSEO (the French Agency for Innovation and SMES Financing). He was Executive Director of the Caisse des dépôts (French public financial institution) for the Normandie and Bourgogne regions, after which he was nominated Chairman of the Board of the Caisse d'épargne (French savings banks) in the Midi-Pyrénées. Then, he was Chairman of the Board for the Crédit foncier de France (National mortgage bank of France). He holds a degree from the École

polytechnique in Paris and from the École nationale des ponts et chaussées (Corps de Ponts).

Arkady Dvorkovich

Russian Sherpa in the G8, Aide to the President Dmitry Medvedev. Starting as Advisor and then Head of the Economic Expert Group of Russia Ministry of Finance, he served as Expert in Strategic Development Centre and Advisor to the Minister of Economic Development and Trade. Afterwards, he joined the Presidential Executive Officer to become Head of the Presidential Experts' Directorate. Since May 2008, he has been assuming his present responsibilities. He is graduated from Moscow State University and Duke University, USA.

Jean-Pierre Elkabbach

President of Lagardère News. He was Director of News for Antenne 2, Chairman of France Télévision (French public service television) and personal Advisor to Jean-Luc Lagardère and Arnaud Lagardère for media strategy. Then, he was Chairman of Europe 1 and of the French Parliamentary Channel "Public Sénat," hosting a weekly literary program called "Bibliothèque Médicis." He is the author of a documentary entitled *François Mitterrand: conversations avec un président*, 2001.

Nambaryn Enkhbayar

After being successively First Vice Chairman of Culture and Art Development Committee, Minister of Culture, member of the Parliament, Prime Minister, Chairman of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Chairman of State Great Hural Parliament of Mongolia, he was acting as the President of Mongolia from 2005 to 2009. He was Bachelor of Science in Literature and Language at the Literature Institute in Moscow, Russia, and English training at the Language Training Course of the Leeds University, United Kingdom.

Steven Erlanger

Paris Bureau Chief, New York Times. He has served numerous positions for the Times in Berlin, Prague, Washington, Moscow, Bangkok and New York where he has been Culture Editor for two years. Previously, he worked for the *Boston Globe* as European correspondent, based in London. He also reported from Eastern Europe, Moscow and revolutionary Iran. He shared in a Pulitzer Prize for Explanatory Reporting for a series on Al-Qaeda and global terrorism. He received an AB degree, *magna cum laude*, Phi Beta Kappa, from Harvard College.

Taïeb Fassi Fihri

Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation. Nominated Head of the division in charge of the relations with the European Union at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation in 1986, he took part in the various negotiations concerning the relations between Morocco and the European Union. In 2000, as Secretary of State, he became the only official spokesman with the American authorities in charge of the negotiations for the Moroccan American free-trade agreement. First engineer involved in statistics at the Institut national de la statistique et d'économie appliquée (INSEA) of Rabat, he obtained his PhD in Analysis and Political Economics at the Institut d'études politiques de Paris.

Louise Fresco

Professor at the Amsterdam University. She held several leading positions within the FAO of the UN and is mainly committed in international development, agriculture and food. She is an Advisor to the Dutch

Government on socio-economic policy, science and sustainability, including sea level rise. She also published seven books and over one hundred scientific articles and has been ranked the fourth most influential woman in The Netherlands. She earned a PhD *cum laude* in Tropical Agronomy (Wageningen), chairs and lectures at prestigious universities such as Wageningen, Uppsala, Louvain and Stanford.

Jeffrey A. Frieden

Professor of Government at Harvard University after having taught at the University of California Los Angeles in the Department of Political Science. He specializes in the politics of international monetary and financial relations and is the author of *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century* and the co-author (with David Lake and Kenneth Schultz) of *World Politics: Interests, Interactions, Institutions* (2010). His articles on the politics of international economic issues have appeared in a wide variety of scholarly and general-interest publications. He earned his BA *summa cum laude* at the Columbia College and his PhD at the Columbia University.

Dylan Glenn

Senior Vice President of the Guggenheim Advisors, a New York based hedge fund and funds manager. Previously, he was a candidate of Columbus, Georgia, for the US Congress in Georgia's 8th Congressional District –summer of 2004– losing narrowly in the Republican primary run-off. In Washington, he served two years as Special Assistant to President George W. Bush while at the White House, he was a member of the National Economic Council team advising the President on various economic concerns. He is a graduate of The Episcopal High School in Alexandria, Virginia and was named in October 1999 one of the 40 outstanding Georgians under 40 by *Georgia Trend Magazine*.

Jean-Claude Gruffat

Citi Country Corporate Officer, France. Prior to this, he was Executive Vice President of Crédit agricole Indosuez, member of the Executive Committee and Chairman Asia Pacific. He also was Global Head Indosuez Capital in Paris, running global equities and investment banking. Before starting a banking career, he was lecturer and assistant professor in public law at the Law Schools of Lyon, France, and Abidjan, Ivory Coast. He holds a PhD in Public Law, Lyon, thesis (highest honours) on "Conflicts of Interest for members of Parliament in French Public Law," and attended the Stanford Executive Program.

Gilles Guérin

Managing Partner, EFG Bank, Geneva. Area of expertise: private asset management. He previously worked as a money market dealer at the Al Saudi bank in Paris, then as treasurer for Europe at the National Bank of Abu Dhabi in Paris. He received a degree in Economics from the University of Neuchâtel and an advanced management degree from the École des cadres de Lausanne.

Jean Paul Guevara Ávila

Director-General of Bilateral Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the Plurinational State of Bolivia, within the People's Diplomacy, extending the bilateral relations with the countries of America, Europe, Asia, Africa and Oceania through the consolidation of the existing bilateral mechanisms. Knowledge of various foreign languages; extended professional experience on international relations related to migration and international co-operation. Professor at diverse main universities of Bolivia and Mexico. Publication: *Les*

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Seung-Soo Han

Former Prime Minister, South Korea Republic. He served as Minister of Trade and Industry, Korean Ambassador to the US, Chief of Staff to the President, Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister, and Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was the President of the 56th Session of the UN General Assembly, Chair of the 2009 OECD Ministerial Council Meeting and Special Envoy of the UN Secretary-General on Climate Change. He received the Nobel Peace Prize on behalf of the United Nations in 2001 and was awarded an Honorary Knighthood from HM Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom in 2004.

Steve Howard

Founding Secretary General of the Global Foundation, a non-profit and non-partisan membership organization of more than 200 companies, universities and eminent citizens, with an Australian base and global reach. In this role since 1998, he has brought to bear an extensive professional and personal network from 25 years of involvement in business, civic affairs, government and public policy formation in Australia and around the world. Previously, he has acted as a private advisor to a number of global companies and institutions and was the inaugural Chief Executive of the Committee for Melbourne.

Yutaka Iimura

Special Envoy of the Government of Japan for the Middle East and Europe. Among various positions within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Yutaka Iimura was appointed as the Minister for Political Affairs at the Embassy of Japan to the United States, the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Japan to Indonesia and to France. He was a Fellow at Harvard University, the Center for International Affairs and a member of the *teijuryo* of the Ambassadors Award (prix des Ambassadeurs) in France.

Bouthayna Iraqui-Houssaïni

Member of Parliament, Kingdom of Morocco. She is currently managing the two companies that she started, LOCAMED, set up in 1990, and ORTHOPROTECH, in 2000. She is also a member of the Board of Trustees of the Banque Populaire in Rabat. She helped to the foundation of the MENA Arab Network of Businesswomen. In 2007, she was elected as a member of Parliament, associated to the RNI Party and in July 2009, she became Vice President of the Association named "Club Entre-prendre," which she founded with a handful of well-known businessmen. She graduated from the University of Paris XI with a doctorate in Pharmacy.

Samuel Kaplan

American Ambassador to Morocco. He is founding member and President of the Kaplan, Strangis and Kaplan law firm and member of the board of directors of several listed corporations. He served as one of the managers of John Kerry's presidential campaign in 2004 and member of Barack Obama's National Finance Committee. Ambassador Kaplan received business administration and law degree from the University of Minnesota, where he was elected President of the Law Review.

Sergei Karaganov

Russian political analyst; Russian foreign and economic affairs specialist. Chairman of the Presidium of the Council on Foreign and Defence Policy; Deputy



Director at Academy of Sciences of Russian and Dean of the Higher School of Economics of the State University. Member of the Foreign Policy Council of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Jean de Kerguiziau de Kervasdoué

Holder of the Economics and Health Services Management Chair at CNAM (National Conservatory of Arts and Trades), Co-director of the Pasteur/CNAM School of Public Health and member of the Academy of Technology. He previously served as a staff member in the Ministries of Health and Agriculture, as a Policy Officer in the Cabinet of Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy, and as Director of hospitals in the Ministry of Health. He holds a degree in Agronomy from the Institut national agronomique Paris-Grignon, an MBA and a PhD in Socioeconomics from Cornell University in the United States. His most recent books are *Les Prêcheurs de l'apocalypse* (Preachers of the Apocalypse), Plon, 2007 and *Très chère santé* (Very Dear Health), Perrin, 2009.

Momodu Koroma

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sierra Leone, Minister of Presidential Affairs, Minister of Energy and Environment. He was responsible for governance reform as well as reform in the public service. University professor, physicist, environmentalist and also an expert on renewable energy, he took part in the setting up of the Peace Building Fund for Sierra Leone together with United Nations after the war in this country for peace consolidation.

Driss Ksikes

Journalist and a media specialist, he is Editor-in-chief of Revue Economica and Managing Director of the CESEM, HEM's Research Center (HEM is a leading Moroccan Business School). He leads the Moroccan think tank Collectif Stratégie. He is also a literary critic and a member of many international magazines editorial boards. His novel *Ma boîte noire* was published by Le Grand Souffle, Paris, and Tarik Editions, Casablanca.

Celso Lafer

Professor of Philosophy of law at University of São Paulo and President of FAPESP (São Paulo Foundation for the Advancement of Research). He was Minister of Foreign Relations, Minister of Development, Industry and Trade, Ambassador-Permanent Representative of Brazil to the WTO, the UN and the specialized agencies in Geneva. In 2006, he was the Countries and Cultures Chair at the John W. Kluge Center in the Library of Congress, Washington, DC. He holds a PhD at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Bruno Lafont

Chairman and CEO of Lafarge. After occupying various positions at Lafarge, where he began his career in 1983, he joined the Group's senior management in May 2003 as Executive Vice President. He co-directs the Cement business unit, oversees the Aggregates and Concrete business units as well as Lafarge North America and ensures that all 77,000 employees focus on the Group's four top priorities: strengthening its customer orientation and performance culture, making its organisation more efficient and promoting employee development. He is a graduate of the École des hautes études and the École nationale d'administration.

Eneko Landaburu

European Union Ambassador / Head of Delegation to the Kingdom of Morocco. Embarking very early on a political career, he became a member of Spain's Basque Parliament in 1980, representing the Spanish

Socialist Workers Party (PSOE). Turning his attention to the European Community, he was appointed the European Commission's Director-General for Regional Policy and Cohesion in 1986. From 2000-2003, he served as the Commission's Director-General for Enlargement, overseeing membership negotiations with candidate countries, and from 2003-2009, as Director-General for External Relations. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Notre Europe think tank, founded by Jacques Delors in 1996.

Fatine Layt

Executive Committee member and managing partner of Oddo Corporate Finance. After stints at Euris, an equity fund, and Editeuris, which holds Euris's shares in various publishing and media groups, she became CEO of Compagnie européenne de presse professionnelle. She then created her own business, Intermezzo, an advisory M&A firm specialized in the media. In 2003, she partnered with Jean-Marie Messier to found Messier Partners LLC. Three years later, she created Partanêa, a small investment bank with shareholders worldwide. In 2008, she sold the bank to Oddo & Cie, where she currently works. She graduated from the Institut d'études politiques de Paris and received financial analyst training at the Société française des analystes financiers.

Seung-Hoon Lee

Chairman of Lee International IP & Law Group, one of the oldest law firms in Korea. He is Chairman of Infinite, a leading corporate imaging and branding company, and Chairman of Infiniss, one of the largest brand licensing and distribution companies in Korea. He also serves as an advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. He holds a JD from Georgetown University, a MA in International Affairs from Columbia University and Bachelors degrees in Urban Planning and Architectural and Mechanical Engineering from Seoul National University.

Georg Lennkh

Austrian Ambassador, Special Envoy for Africa at the Federal Ministry of European and International Affairs. After occupying various posts for the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo and New York (UN), he became Head Foreign Policy Advisor in the office of Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky and helped plan the Cancun Summit. After serving as Ambassador to the OECD in Paris, Director of the Austrian Development Agency and Head of the commission that conducted the Burundi peace talks in Arusha, he became the EU Presidency's Special Representative for Chad in 2006, a position he currently holds. Ambassador Lennkh studied law in Graz, Austria and international relations in Bologna, Italy and Chapel Hill, North Carolina in the United States.

Manoelle Lepoutre

Executive Vice President, Sustainable Development and Environment, at Total. She served as Vice President-Exploration in Norway before becoming Total's Vice President-Geosciences in the United States in 2000. In 2004, she was appointed Vice President-R&D at Total Exploration & Production, responsible for all programs designed to secure the technologies and capabilities required for future oil and gas exploration, production and development, while addressing the full range of technical, business and environmental issues. Ms Lepoutre is a graduate of the École nationale supérieure de géologie de Nancy (ENSG) and the École nationale supérieure des pétroles et des moteurs (ENSPM) engineering school.

Jean-David Levitte

Diplomatic Advisor and Sherpa to French President Nicolas Sarkozy, he heads the National Security Council. He served as France's Permanent Representative to the United Nations in Geneva, then as Diplomatic Advisor and Sherpa to former President Jacques Chirac. He was subsequently appointed France's Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York and in 2002, French Ambassador to the United States. In diplomatic jargon, he is called "Diplomator" in tribute to his diplomatic skills. He holds the Raymond Triboulet Chair at the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences.

Pierre Levy

Director of the Policy Planning Staff, Foreign and European Affairs Ministry of France. He was Secretary General of the Commission of the White Paper on France's Foreign and European Policy and Head of the Service for Common Foreign and Security Policy. He was previously Deputy Director of the Cabinet of Pierre Moscovici, Minister for European Affairs. He teaches the international relations at the École nationale d'administration (ENA) and the Institut d'études politiques (Sciences-Po). He holds degrees from the École européenne des affaires (ESCP-EAP) and Sciences-Po Paris and is a former student of the ENA.

Kadri Liik

Director of the International Centre for Defence Studies (ICDS, Estonia), she previously worked as the Editor-in-chief of magazine *Diplomaatia* and hosted the current affairs talk show *Välismaaraja* at radio Kuku. She also was the foreign new Editor of Estonia's largest daily paper *Postimees* after having served as its correspondent in Moscow. She has a Master's degree in Diplomacy from Lancaster University, UK and graduated in journalism from Tartu University in Estonia.

Hubert Loiseleur des Longschamps

After having served within the French Ministry of Industry as Head of Multilateral Affairs, Financial Attaché for Middles East at the French Embassy in Cairo, Head of Division, Finances and Budget and Deputy Director, Hydrocarbon Division, he joined Total Group in 1994 to become today, after various important responsibilities, Senior Vice President International Relations. He is a former student of the École nationale d'administration.

Yacine Mahieddine

Partner, Manager of financial consulting services at PricewaterhouseCoopers and Management Committee member at PwC Consulting. Mr Mahieddine specializes in advising banks and insurance companies on risk management and performance assessment issues. He previously worked for an American investment bank in London, then as a management consultant in Paris, London and New York, with a focus on advisory services for financial institutions. He holds an MBA from the University of Chicago Graduate School of Business and the École supérieure de commerce de Rouen.

Mona Makram-Ebeid

Professor in the Political Science Department of the American University of Cairo (AUC). She has been a vocal and dynamic member of Parliament where she served in the committees of Foreign Affairs, Education and Budget. She was concurrently elected Regional President of the Parliamentarians of Global Action, a NGO based in New York. She also served as Advisor to the World Bank (MENA region) and Consultant

to the CSIS in Washington. A graduate of Harvard University, she received the prestigious Distinguished Alumni Award from the AUC's President.

Mohamed Yassine El Mansouri

Appointed Managing Director of Studies and Documentation (DGED) by HM Mohammed VI, he has been in turn Wali and Managing Director of Foreign Affairs for the Ministry of Internal Affairs. His negotiation skills allowed him to play an active role in the normalization of Spanish-Moroccan relations, mainly through his work on joint measures against illegal emigration and drug traffic.

Hervé Mariton

Member of the French Parliament. In the Finance Committee, he is Transport and Supply rapporteur. He was also a member and Vice President of the Rhône-Alpes Regional Council. He was Minister of Outre-Mer and UMP National Secretary for Defence, and President of the political club *Réforme & Modernité*. He is a graduate of the École polytechnique and the Institut d'études politiques de Paris. He is the author of several parliamentary reports on the budget of transport, on the financing of the rail system, on the tariff policy of the SNCF, on penalties radars and on the evolution of the local taxation.

David Mercer

President of Mercer & Associates, a government and public affairs consulting firm. Previously, he served as the Deputy National Finance Director for the Democratic National Committee and as Finance Director for Operations for the DNC's 1996 Democratic Convention. He has also held senior roles ranging from strategic communications to convention delegate operations in five presidential campaigns. In the private sector, he worked with Procter & Gamble, Citizens Energy, the Bank of Boston and the Monitor Channel.

Jacques Mistral

Head of Economic Studies at Ifri, he is a member of the Conseil d'analyse économique, of the Cercle des économistes, and President of the Société d'économie politique. He served as the Minister-Financial Advisor to the Embassy of France in the United States of America and in this position he has been invited as Senior Fellow by the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, for the academic year 2005-2006. He received his education at the École polytechnique and holds a PhD in Economics from the University of Paris.

Mohamed Moâtassim

Advisor to King Mohammed VI. He previously served as Minister of State to the Prime Minister for Parliamentary Relations in the government of King Mohammed Karim Lamrani III and Policy Officer in the Royal Cabinet. He graduated from the Rabat Faculty of Law and later earned a PhD in Political Science. His books include *L'Expérience parlementaire au Maroc* (The Parliamentary Experience in Morocco) and *Le Régime politique marocain* (The Moroccan Parliamentary Regime).

Dominique Moïsi

Special Advisor to Ifri and Professor at Harvard University. He formerly taught at the following institutions of higher learning: École nationale d'administration, École des hautes études en sciences sociales and Institut d'études politiques de Paris. He also served as an assistant to French political philosopher Raymond Aron. An expert in geopolitics and international politics, he holds the



European Geopolitical Chair at the College of Europe in Natolin (Warsaw). He studied political science and law at the Sorbonne and Harvard. His latest book – *La Géopolitique de l'émotion* (Geopolitics of Emotion) – was published by Flammarion in 2009.

Philippe Moreau Defarges

Researcher at Ifri and co-editor of its annual report, RAMSES. A Diplomat and Minister Plenipotentiary, he has held various administrative posts relating to the European Community's development. He also teaches general studies, international affairs and the "right to intervene" concept at the Institut d'études politiques de Paris (IEP). He is the author of many books and articles on international relations, geopolitics, global governance and the construction of Europe. He is a graduate of IEP-Paris and the École nationale d'administration. His most recent books are: *La Mondialisation* (Globalisation), PUF, 2010; *La Gouvernance*, PUF, 2008.

Pierre Morel

European Union Special Representative for Central Asia and the Crisis in Georgia. He previously served as Ambassador to Moscow, Beijing and Rome. Since October 2006, he has been seconded to the European Commission as European Union Special Representative for Central Asia. He graduated from the École nationale d'administration.

Hugh M. Morgan

Principal of First Charnock, Australia. He is also a Director of the Board of the Reserve Bank of America, President of the Australia Japan Business Co-operation Committee and a member of Lafarge International Advisory Board as well as a Trustee of the Asia Society New York, Chairman of the Asia Society AustralAsia Centre, President of the National Gallery of Victoria Foundation and Chairman of the Order of Australia Association Foundation. He is a graduate in Law and Commerce from the University of Melbourne.

Saïd Mouline

CEO of the Renewable Energy Development Center (CDER) in Morocco and President of the Sustainable Development Commission at the General Confederation of the Moroccan Companies (CGEM). He was Advisor to the President of OCP Group and worked within the Cabinet of the Minister of Energy and Mines, counselling various national and international organizations like the Mohammed VI Foundation for Environmental Protection, the World Bank, UNDP, etc. He is graduated from the Institut national polytechnique, Grenoble, France, and the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Tawfik Mouline

Policy Officer in the Royal Cabinet, he manages the Royal Institute of Strategic Studies, which was founded by His Majesty the King Mohammed VI. After occupying high-level positions at ONA Group, he joined the Ministry of Economy and Finance in 1995. Very active in the non-profit and research sectors, he sits on the board of directors of the Institut universitaire de recherche scientifique and the Association marocaine des polytechniciens and is co-author of *Panorama économique du Maroc* (Economic Panorama of Morocco). He is a graduate of the École polytechnique and the École des mines de Paris.

Amr Moussa

Secretary-General of the League of Arab States since 2001. He was Director of the Department of International Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and

Ambassador to India. In 1990, he became the Permanent Representative of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the United Nations, New York and the year after, Minister for Foreign Affairs. He is graduated from Cairo University, LLB Faculty of Law.

Wolfgang Munchau

Associate Editor and European Economic Columnist of the *Financial Times*. Together with his wife, the economist Susanne Mundschenk, he runs Euro-intelligence.com, an internet service that provides daily comment and analysis of the euro area, targeted at investors, academic and policy makers. He was one of the founding members of the *Financial Times Deutschland* where he served as Deputy Editor and then Editor-in-chief. He holds a MA in International Journalism at the City University, London. His book *Vorberen*, on the financial crisis, has received the prestigious GetAbstract business book award and is now published by McGraw Hill in the US.

Dan Oiknine

Chairman, Chamber of Commerce and Industry, France-India. He is an entrepreneur who set up different projects in the high-tech and Internet industry after heading several managing positions for technology leaders like Netapp and Cisco/Nokia. He started his career in the luxury goods industry, helping famous luxury brands (Cartier, Dior, Celine, Lagerfeld, Lacroix, etc.) to establish in the western hemisphere. He earned a Bachelor's degree in Economics at Sorbonne University and a Master's of Science and Techniques at Dauphine University, Paris.

Bernard Oppetit

Chairman of Centaurus Capital he founded in 2000. He was Head of the Risk Arbitrage Department in the US for Paribas and while keeping responsibility for Paribas' global Risk Arbitrage business, he moved to London to become Head of Equity Derivatives, overseeing Option and Convertible Bonds trading desks in London, Paris, New York, Tokyo and Singapore. In 2000, he resigned from BNP Paribas to launch Centaurus Capital, one of the largest European hedge fund managers, dedicated to "event-driven" and credit strategies. He is a graduate of the École polytechnique in Paris.

Yoichi Otabe

G8 Sherpa, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan. Among various positions within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, he was appointed as the Minister for Economic Affairs of the Embassy of Japan to France, the Director-General for African Affairs and as the Director-General of Economic Affairs Bureau.

Fathallah Oualalou

President of the municipality of Rabat and former Moroccan Minister of Economy and Finance, member of Parliament representing Rabat and President of the USFP party in the house of representatives. A University Professor, he is a member of the Centre d'étude et de prospective stratégique think tank, the Union for the Mediterranean's research network, both based in Paris, and the Socialist International Commission on Global Financial Issues in New York.

Thommaso Padoa-Schioppa

Chairman for Europe of Promontory Financial Group and President of Notre Europe. He was Minister of Economy and Finance of Italy, Chairman of the Trustees of the IASC Foundation and member of the Executive Board of the European Central Bank. After having been General Director for Economic and Financial Affairs at the Commission of the European

Communities, he has been Joint Secretary to the Delors Committee. He graduated from the Luigi Bocconi University and has a MSc from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Quentin Peel

International affairs Editor of the *Financial Times*, he is also an associate Editor, responsible for leader and feature writing. Working at the FT since 1975, he served successively as southern Africa correspondent, Africa Editor, European Community correspondent and Brussels bureau Chief, Moscow correspondent and chief correspondent in Germany. On his return to London, he became foreign Editor. He was educated at Queen's College, Cambridge, where he studied Economics with French and German.

Amir Peretz

Member of several Knesset committees including the Economic Affairs and Foreign Affairs and Defence Committees. Born in Morocco, he emigrated to Israel at the age of four. He was elected Mayor of his town Sderot, bringing the left back to power. He publicly voiced his support for an independent Palestinian state and led peace-promoting initiatives between residents of the town and their neighbours in the Gaza Strip. In 1988, he entered the Knesset and has served as a member of Parliament ever since. He was also Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence.

Periclès-Paul Petalas

Chairman and CEO of EFG Bank European Financial Group. After having held various positions at the Union Bank of Switzerland, Zurich, and at Banque de dépôts, Geneva, he has been appointed Chief Executive Officer non Executive Director of various EFG Group companies. He holds a PhD in Theoretical Physics and a post graduate degree in Industrial and Management Engineering at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich.

William Pfaff

Journalist, International Herald Tribune. He has been an Executive of the Free Europe Committee and Deputy Director of Hudson Research Europe Ltd, in Paris, the quasi-independent European affiliate of the American Policy Research Organization, the Hudson Institute. He has written a newspaper column since 1978, begun at the invitation of the Paris-based *International Herald Tribune*. He subsequently was syndicated in the United States and internationally by the Los Angeles Times Syndicate. He received the Arthur Ross Award for Distinguished Commentary on American Diplomacy and Foreign Relations from the American Academy of Diplomacy and has been a member of the international jury for the Prix Tocqueville.

Jean-Noël Poirier

Vice President, International and Marketing, Areva France. After holding many diplomatic posts with the United Nations in Asia, North Africa and the Middle East, he became an Advisor to former Foreign Minister Hubert Védrine, for North African, Middle East and United Nations Affairs. After serving as French Consul General in Ho Chi Minh City, he joined, for the second time, the French mission to the United Nations as Political Counsellor. In late 2005, he became Deputy Director, Far East Asia, responsible for bilateral relations between France and North-East Asian countries. A graduate of IEP-Paris and the Institute of Asian Languages and Civilisations, he won the Foreign Affairs Ministry's "Cadre Orient" competition, Asian Division (Chinese, Vietnamese).

Michael Posner

Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, USA. Founder and President of Human Rights First, he has been at the forefront of the international human rights movement for 30 years. Previously, he was a lawyer with Sonnenschein, Nath & Rosenthal in Chicago, a lecturer at Yale Law School and a visiting lecturer at Columbia Law School. A member of the California Bar and the Illinois Bar, he received his JD from the University of California, Berkeley Law School and a BA from the University of Michigan.

Jordi Pujol i Soley

Former President of the Generalitat de Catalunya. Active in the Catalan autonomy movement from a very young age, he founded the political party Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya (CDC) in 1974. In May 1980, he became the 126th Head of Catalan's autonomous government (President of the Generalitat). After 23 years in power, he gradually retired from political life after the 2003 elections. He still serves as President of the CiU and CDC. He earned a medical degree from the University of Barcelona and has received honorary doctorates from several French-language universities, including Lumière Lyon II, Paris VIII, Toulouse and the Catholic University of Brussels.

Alexei Pushkov

Director, Institute of Contemporary International Studies, Diplomatic Academy in Moscow. He was Foreign Policy Advisor and Speech-writer to the General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, Deputy Editor-in-chief, *Moskovskie Novosti* (Moscow news) and Deputy Director-General, Public and Media Relations, Russian Public TV. Since April 1998, he has been holding various positions, among which Fellow and member, World Economic Forum in Davos Executive Board; Editorial Board "National Interest," Washington, DC; Political Commentator "Voice of Russia," Moscow and member of the International Institute of Strategic Studies, London. He received a PhD in History and International Relations at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations.

Mireille J. Quirina

Vice President, Corporate Affairs Europe, Middle East and Africa – EMEA – Du Pont de Nemours International S.A. Geneva. She oversees the stewardship of Du Pont's sustainable growth approach and market-facing goals, with specific focus on public policy, government and regulatory advocacy communications and stakeholders' engagement strategies. A native of Paris, she holds a Master degree from Paris La Sorbonne, and an advanced degree in International, Comparative and European Law from the Paris Law Faculty, Paris I.

Cherif Rahmani

Algeria's Minister of Urban and Rural Development, the Environment and Tourism. He previously held the following positions: Minister of Youth and Sports; Minister of Equipment; Minister on special assignment in charge of administering the Algiers Wilaya; Minister-Governor of Greater Algiers; and Minister of Urban and Rural Development and the Environment. He graduated from Algeria's École nationale d'administration and received a PhD in Urban and Rural Development from the University of Poitiers in France.

William Ramsay

Director of the Energy Program at Ifri. He formerly served as Deputy Executive Director at the International Energy Agency (IEA), where he also managed relations



with non-member countries. He also held the posts of Under Secretary of State at the US State Department and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Congo. As Head of the Office of Energy Producing Countries, he oversaw bilateral discussions on energy issues between the United States and Mexico, Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf Cooperation Council and Japan. He received an MBA in International Marketing from the University of Michigan and a Master's in International Business and Raw Materials at Stanford University in California.

Anil Razdan

Former Secretary Power, India. He has been a distinguished civil servant, energy expert and international negotiator. He was Secretary Power after senior assignments in Ministries of Atomic Energy, Power, Petroleum and Natural Gas and Mega Energy Corporation. He initiated paradigm shift in capacity addition and galvanised international investment in supercritical power equipment, piloted Hydro Policy and revised Rural Electrification Program, reform based Power Distribution, National Action Plan for Energy Efficiency. He was India Chair of World Energy Council and is currently chairing its global study Energy for Mega Cities. He studied Physics and Law at Delhi University and has been a Visiting Fellow of the University of Oxford. Among various awards, he received the Hiralal Daga Gold Medal in Law.

Narcis Serra

President of the CIDOB Foundation. He has been Catalan Minister of Town Planning and Public Works, Mayor of Barcelona, Minister of Defence and Vice President of the Spanish Government. In his present functions, he has promoted the creation of the Barcelona Institute for International Studies (IBEI). He is also President of Caixa Catalunya, a saving bank, and the Museo Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. He holds a BA in Economics from the University of Barcelona, and a PhD in Economics from the Autonomous University of Barcelona. Recently, he has published *La Transición Militar* and, together with J. Stiglitz, *The Washington Consensus Reconsidered*.

Meir Sheerit

Member of the Israeli Knesset for the Kadima Party. Born in Morocco, he emigrated to Israel in 1957 and served in a number of high-level cabinet positions, including Minister of the Interior, Minister of Housing and Construction, Minister of Finance, Minister of Justice, Minister of Transportation and Minister of Education, Culture and Sports. He was first elected to the Knesset in 1981 and served as Mayor of the City of Yavne. He holds a BA and a MA from Bar-Ilan University.

Eugen Simion

Former President of the Romanian Academy. At present, President of the National Science and Art Foundation, he has been, among various positions, Editor of *Gazeta Literara*, Professor at Sorbonne University, Paris, Lecturer at Bucharest University and Professor at the Faculty of Letters, Bucharest University. He is a graduate of the Faculty of Philology, Bucharest University, and holds a PhD in Philological Sciences, with a thesis on Eugen Lovinescu, under Serban Cioculescu's coordination.

Serge Sur

Professor of Public Law, Faculty of Law, University of Paris II Panthéon-Assas. He directs the Master's in Research & International Relations Program as well as the Thucydide Centre -International Relations Analysis and Research. He is also Editor-in-chief of

the *Questions internationales* journal, published by La Documentation française. He received the Edouard Bonnefous Award from the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences at the Institut de France for the French International Relations Directory. He is a qualified (*agrégé*) Professor of Public Law.

Tesfai Teclé

Special Advisor to the Chairman of the Board of the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa. He brought AGRA more than 30 years of experience in management, policy development, and investment in rural development and agriculture in developing countries. Previously, he was the Assistant Director-General and Head of Technical Cooperation with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in Rome. He has served in various senior capacities at the UN, worked with the Institute of Development Research in Ethiopia and the World Bank in Washington, DC. He has a PhD in International Economics and Development from Cornell University, Ithaca, USA.

Mostafa Terrab

Chairman and CEO of OCP Group. He was an advisor in the Royal Cabinet and also served as Secretary-General of the MENA Economic Summit. In 1998, he was appointed Director-General of the National Telecommunications Regulatory Agency. Then, he joined the World Bank as Lead Regulatory Specialist in the Global Information and Communications Department, and headed the World Bank's Information for Development Program. He holds a MS and PhD in Operations Research from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and received an engineering diploma from the ENPC, Paris.

Mohammed Tozy

Professor at the Hassan II University of Casablanca and at Sciences-Po, Aix-en-Provence, France. Researcher at the Mediterranean Laboratory of Sociology (Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l'homme) and Director of the Centre marocain des sciences sociales de l'Université Hassan II, he is also Visiting Professor at New York University, Sciences-Po Paris, Université autonome de Madrid, and University of Venezia. He works as an expert for many institutions like the Royal Institute for Strategic Studies, the World Bank, etc. He is the author of *Monarchie et Islam politique*, Presses de Sciences-Po.

Raphael Tuju

Former Foreign Affairs Minister of Kenya. When the National Rainbow Coalition took over in 2003, he became Information Minister after being elected as a member of Parliament from Rarieda Constituency in the December 2002 parliamentary election. Prior to the 2005 referendum vote in Kenya, he formed the Progressive People's Party and joined Narc through the LDP. In the December 2007 parliamentary election, running as a candidate of Kibaki's Party of National Unity, he lost his seat. He has a Master's degree in Mass Communication from the University of Leicester.

Hubert Védrine

Independent board member and founder of Hubert Védrine Conseil, a consulting firm. He served as Diplomatic Advisor to the late French President François Mitterrand and Spokesman and Secretary-General at the Élysée presidential palace before joining the Council of State in 1995. Foreign Minister from 1997 to 2002, he and Dominique Moïsi co-authored *Les Cartes de la France à l'heure de la mondialisation* (France's Assets in the Era of Globalisation). In 2003, he founded a consulting firm, Hubert Védrine

Conseil, which specializes in geopolitical strategy. He is a graduate of the École nationale d'administration and his major books are: *Les Mondes de François Mitterrand* (François Mitterrand's Worlds), Fayard, 1996, and *Mitterrand, un dessein, un destin* (Mitterrand, a Design, a Destiny), Gallimard, 2005.

Nicolas Véron

Senior Fellow at Bruegel, Brussels, and Visiting Fellow at Peterson Institute for International Economics, Washington, DC. Previously, he has served as Chief Financial Officer of Multi-Mania, renamed Lycos France, Corporate Advisor to Minister Martine Aubry at the French Ministry of Employment and Solidarity and Economic Advisor to the Préfet of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais Region (Lille, France). He also worked at Rothschild & Cie Banque and VEGLA, part of Saint-Gobain Group. Education: École nationale supérieure des mines de Paris, degree of "Ingénieur de Corps Techniques de l'État," and École polytechnique, degree of "Ingénieur polytechnicien." Latest publication: *Le Grand Dérèglement : chroniques du capitalisme financier*, Éditions Lignes de repères, March 2009.

Serge Villepelet

Chairman of PricewaterhouseCoopers France. Statutory auditor to large private and government-owned corporations, he created PwC's "Public Sector" division, worked in the Audit department and, before becoming Chairman of PwC France, oversaw PwC's Advisory department in France and Europe-wide. A graduate of ESSEC, statutory auditor and chartered accountant, he has spent his entire career in the PwC audit and advisory network, which operates in 151 countries. He also sat on the firm's international board and has been a member of its Global Strategy Council since 2008.

Werner Weidenfeld

Director, Center for Applied Policy Research, Munich, he holds the Chair of Political Systems and European Integration at the Ludwig-Maximilians-University. He was Professeur associé at the Sorbonne in Paris and worked for the German government as Coordinator for German-American Cooperation. He edits the journal *International Politik* and is a member of the Board of the German Society for Foreign Affairs (DGAP) in Berlin, of the Institute for European Policy in Bonn and of the Bertelsmann Foundation in Gütersloh. Graduation as PhD and habilitation in political sciences.

Thomas Wellauer

Head Corporate Affairs and Executive member of Novartis. After having started his career with McKinsey and Co., Switzerland, as a Partner and Senior Partner, he was, at Crédit Suisse, a member of the Group Executive Board, initially responsible for the Group's insurance business before becoming CEO of the Financial Services Division. He graduated with a PhD in Systems Engineering and a MS in Chemical Engineering from the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich. He also holds a MBA from the University of Zurich.

Bruno Weymuller

Advisor to the CEO of Total, where he has been President of Strategy and Risk Assessment. Member of the Board of Directors of Sanofi-Aventis S.A., Elf-Aquitaine, Technip and Rexecode. He began his career at the Ministry of Industry after which he joined the Cabinet of Prime Minister Raymond Barre. A former student of the École polytechnique, he is also a graduate of the École des mines in Paris, and holds a Master of Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Andrew Wigley

Advisor to the Abu Dhabi Executive Affairs Authority, a marketing and communications consultancy with offices in the UAE, UK and US. He began his career in the UK working in both the House of Commons and the House of Lords as a political advisor before moving to Brussels to take up a post in the European Parliament. He later joined Burson-Marsteller providing public affairs support to business, NGO's and political groups in Brussels, London and San Francisco. He also held public affairs and corporate responsibility for Europe, Middle East and North Africa for BHP Billiton, the world's largest Mining Group.

Sung-joon Yim

President of the Korean Foundation. At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he has served in a number of major foreign-service posts, including those of Ambassador to Canada and Egypt. He also assumed the role of Executive Director, Headquarters of the summit preparation for the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM). He has been Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, MOFAT and, in 2002, was appointed as the National Security Advisor to President Kim Dae-jung. He graduated from Seoul National University, from the University of Oxford, United Kingdom, and the Keio University of Tokyo, Japan.

Lionel Zinsou

Franco-Benin investment banker and enterprise creator. Managing Partner of the Private Equity Firm PAI. At the investment bank Rothschild & Cie, he has been General Partner, Head of Middle East and Africa, member of the Global Investment Bank Committee. Former Advisor to the Industry Minister and the Prime Minister of Benin. At Danone, he has held various positions.

Thierry de Montbrial

Thierry de Montbrial is President of the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri), which he founded in 1979. He is Professor Emeritus at the Conservatoire national des arts et métiers. In 2008, he launched the World Policy Conference. He has been a member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques of the Institut de France since 1992, and is a member of a number of foreign academies including the Russian Academy of Sciences.

He serves on the board or advisory board of a number of international institutions.

Thierry de Montbrial chaired the Department of Economics at the École polytechnique from 1974 to 1992. He was the first Chairman of the Foundation for Strategic Research (1993-2001). Entrusted with the creation of the Policy Planning Staff (Centre d'analyse et de prévision) at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was its first Director (1973-1979).

He has authored fifteen books, several of them translated in various languages.

He is a Commandeur of the Légion d'honneur and has been awarded other State honors by the French and several foreign governments. He was awarded the Grand Prix of the French Geographic Society in 2003. Thierry de Montbrial was born in 1943. He is a graduate of the École polytechnique and the École des mines, and received a PhD in Economics from the University of California at Berkeley.

OPENING & CLOSING SPEECHES





وفي هذا السياق فإن الضرورة الملحة لتقنين وضبط اقتصادي جديد، وإعادة النظر جذريا في التوازنات الجيوسياسية، ليست ضربا من ضروب المزايدة، ذلك أن كثافة وتنوع العلاقات بين الدول والشعوب، تضع على المحك السلام والاستقرار الدوليين، بل وحياة ومصير البشرية جمعاء.

ومن هذا المنطلق، فقد أضحى تدبير العلاقات الدولية يتطلب حكمة قائمة على العدل والانضباط، تهدف إلى إرساء أسس مشروع مجتمع كوني، يستند إلى آليات تشاركية في اتخاذ القرار، واعتماد مقومات روحية مثل النية. وهو مفهوم يكتسي بعدا أساسيا في الإسلام، بحيث تتداخل في جوهره عوامل الإرادة والصدق والإيمان.

وعلى عكس ما كان عليه الوضع من قبل، فإن هذا المشروع لا يجدر أن يتم التعامل معه كقرار معروض من فوق، وإنما يتعين أن يكون نتاج مسار بنيوي، سياسي وحضاري، قادر على ضمان سلام دائم، قائم على الإرادة السياسية، والحق في علاقات متبادلة، وعلى مبدأ احترام التنوع.

إن الهدف من انتهاج هذه المقاربة، التي لا محيد عنها، يتمثل في بلوغ الكونية، انطلاقا من الخصوصية، دون النزوع نحو القضاء عليها. فتحقيق السلام الشامل الذي تم التنظير له منذ أزيد من قرنين من الزمن، يظل مشروعا مطروحا باستمرار، كأفق سياسي، بل واختيار قابل للإنجاز، على المدة المتوسطة، إذا ما نحن وفرنا له الوسائل الضرورية، ضمن مقاربة واقعية وطموحة.

ومن هذا المنظور، نؤكد عزم المغرب على الانخراط في هذا التوجه القوي، الذي يحمل في طياته بوادر إعادة تنظيم جذري للقوى السياسية، ولقواعد العمل الاقتصادية، وللممارسات الاجتماعية، ولحركية ودينامية الأفكار.

وعلى الرغم من أن "الكونية" ما تزال شأنا حديثا في مختلف أرجاء العالم، فإن المغرب يتطلع إلى كونية جديدة، عادلة وتشاركية، وأكثر إنسانية، تعيد التوازن للعالم، وتتيح مصالحة مع ذاته؛ وذلك بإعطاء معنى لتوجهاته، إذكاء روح الثقة فيه.

ولهذه الغاية، يتعين العمل على جعل هذا التحدي مسؤولية جماعية، وقضية كل الدول، ومختلف الفاعلين، كيفما كان وزنهم، وذلك للدفع قدما بمشروع متجدد وغير مسبوق، "مشروع مجتمع كوني"، يمكننا من مد الجسور مع روح عصر الأنوار، كما جسده إيمانويل كانط، ومع عصر ابن خلدون، أول منظر للتاريخ العالمي للحضارات. وبذلك، نضع القاطرة على السكة الصحيحة، نحو تحقيق هدف أسمى، ألا وهو جعل "الكونية" أكثر إنسانية وعالمية.

وإن نتطلع بكامل الاهتمام، إلى ما سيثمره هذا المؤتمر الهام، من مقترحات وتوصيات بناءة، فإننا نرحب بالمشاركين المرموقين فيه، معربين لكم عن أجمل متمنياتنا بالمقام الطيب بين ظهرانينا، وفي رحاب أرض مراكش الحمراء، هذه المدينة التاريخية الوطنية والعالمية، والتي تجسد بمعالمها الحضارية والثقافية، وبطورها المعاصر، رمزا للتآلف الإنساني المنشود، وقبلة للعاملين عليه، ومنوهين في الختام بمنظمية.

أعانكم الله، وكلل أشغالكم بالتوفيق.

ومن هذا المنطلق، فإنه يمكن اعتبار هذه الأزمة، على الأرجح، بمثابة النقمة التي في طيها نعمة، متى استطاع العالم إعادة النظر في طرق التحليل، وفي أنماط التفكير السائدة، وتمكن من تجاوز العقبات الفكرية، التي ساهمت في انهيار قطاعات بأكملها من الاقتصاد الدولي.

فما أحوج الإنسانية اليوم، إلى أنماط مركبة من التفكير، لتنوير عالم يكاد يغرق في الظلام، بفعل مقاربات سطحية وتبسيطية، ولتفادي الخيارات القائمة على الثنائية التعارضية بين الدولة والسوق، والحسابات الفارغة، وذلك لإعادة الاعتبار للخيار الوحيد الواقعي والطموح.

إنه خيار الدولة التي تؤطر وتنظم وتساعد، وتساهم بالتالي في تحرير الطاقات، وتفتح المجال فسيحا أمام حركية السوق.

ولتحديد هذه الرؤية المتجددة وإشاعتها، والدفع قدما بالتفكير الجاد والمعمق في كافة أبعادها، واستشراف الطول الوجهة الممكنة لبلورتها، فإن المغرب يتطلع بكل اهتمام، للإسهامات القيمة لمؤتمركم الهام؛ بالنظر لمؤهلاتكم الفكرية، وخبرتمكم الواسعة، ولما راكمتوه من تجربة غنية في مجالات عملكم ودائرة انشغالاتكم.

فقد سبق لكم أن سلطتم الضوء على المخاطر الناجمة عن عولة ناقصة، وعلى الإشكالات المتعلقة بعدم ملائمة آليات الحكامة العالمية.

وبموازاة ذلك، ما فتئتم تذكرون بمحدودية الفكر الليبرالي الوحيد، ومخاطر النماذج النمطية، والمآزق الذي يؤدي إليه التشابه البنيوي للأفكار وخطها. وذلك بفعل تواطؤ النخب أو تلكؤها، أو استغالتها عن القيام بدورها الطليعي في إضفاء طابع إنساني وإيجابي على التحولات العالمية، باستباقها وحسن قراءتها، والنهوض بدور ملموس، في بلورة وتفعيل حلولها وخلاصاتها على أرض الواقع، بكفاءة وتجرد وحكمة وحكمة.

وتلكم سبيلكم للدعوة الصادقة والمساهمة البناءة في الإقرار بضرورة التنوع السياسي والاقتصادي والاجتماعي، والعمل على ترسيخ فضيلة الانفتاح، وإقناع الآخر بالأخذ به، والدفع في اتجاه إعادة تركيز النقاش على الدول بصفة عامة، وعلى بلدان الجنوب بصفة خاصة.

ونود بهذه المناسبة، أن ندعوكم إلى تعميق التفكير والنقاش، في إناء هذا النهج العالمي وتعزيزه بأبعاد إنسانية وروحية، وكذا الأخذ بعين الاعتبار التحديات المعقدة والمتداخلة التي تواجه البشرية.

كما نحثكم على إضفاء بعد أوسع على مقاربتكم، بالتوجه نحو دول الجنوب، وذلك بربط التفكير القائم حاليا حول منطقة البحر الأبيض المتوسط، برهانات القارة الإفريقية، من خلال إدماج القضايا المتصلة بنماذج جديدة من التفكير، قوامها توطيد وحدة وسيادة ومناعة الدول، واندماجها الإقليمي، ضد التخلف والتجزئة والإرهاب وعدم الاستقرار، ومحاربة نزوعات الهيمنة، وخلق كيانات هشة، لا مكان لها في عصر التكتلات القوية؛ وعمادها الحكامة الجيدة والتركيز على الإشكالات الكبرى المرتبطة بالفلاحة والماء والطاقة، والتغذية والصحة، والمناخ والبيئة، في صلب هذا النقاش البناء.



ROYAL MESSAGE

محمد السادس ملك المغرب

جلالة ملك المغرب

الحمد لله وحده، والصلاة والسلام على مولانا رسول الله وآله وصحبه.

أصحاب المعالي والسعادة،

حضرات السيدات والسادة،

يطيب لنا أن نتوجه إلى المشاركين في أشغال المؤتمر العالمي الثاني للسياسة، معبرين عن إشادتنا باختياركم المغرب، أرض السلام والانفتاح لاحتضانه.

وكما تعلمون، فإن هذا المؤتمر الهام يلتئم في سياق مطبوع بتحديات عميقة، ومشحون بتوجهات بالغة التعقيد. وإذا كانت الأزمة المالية والاقتصادية التي ضربت مختلف الأسواق العالمية الرئيسية قد أثارت جملة من التساؤلات، مبرزة ضرورة إعادة النظر في أسس النظام الاقتصادي العالمي، فإنها تستحث الجميع على العمل بحرص للحيلولة دون تحولها إلى أزمة اجتماعية وسياسية مزمنة.

لقد هزت هذه الأزمة غير المسبوقة بقوة أركان نظام كان العالم يؤمن باستمراريتها، لاسيما في ظل الاندفاع نحو الليبرالية. بيد أن انهيار بعض أبرز المؤسسات المالية العالمية، واستفحال أزمة الائتمان، فضلا عن التجاوزات الناجمة عن التحرر المفرط من التأطير القانوني؛ كلها عوامل أدت إلى التشكيك الواضح في أسطورة نظام ليبرالي صلب وشمولي؛ حيث أظهرت الاختلالات الكبيرة التي أفرزتها هذه الظرفية، محدودية الرؤية القائمة على نهاية التاريخ بانتصار الليبرالية، والمبنية على السلطة المطلقة للسوق، وعن تخلي الدول عن مسؤولياتها الضبطية والإستراتيجية.

كما أنها أبانت أن العالم اليوم، في حاجة ملحة إلى عودة الدولة، ليس تلكم الدول الشمولية، بل الدولة الإستراتيجية، الديمقراطية العصرية، والمنظمة للسوق. وهو الدور الذي حجبه الإنجازات الكبرى للانفتاح الليبرالي.

وبموازاة ذلك، فإن ضرورة عودة الدولة يواكبها تنامي الوعي بالحاجة إلى حكمة عالمية شاملة ومنصفة، قادرة على هيكلة الأسواق المعولة الجامحة، والتحكم في القوى الفاعلة فيها.

وأمام هذا المد الذي ضرب الاقتصاد العالمي، فإن المغرب كان في طليعة الدول القلائل، التي استعدت لمواجهة الأزمة، وعملت قدر استطاعتها، على معالجة هذه القضايا المصيرية.

وعلى الرغم من كون المغرب اعتمد مبكرا نظام الاقتصاد الليبرالي المنفتح، وانخرط فيه، فإنه يحرص دوما على عدم الانسياق وراء تجاوزات الليبرالية في شكلها المتوحش، الذي لا ينبغي أن يكون مدعاة لإنكار الدور التاريخي لليبرالية في تحرير وتقدم الإنسانية.

ومن هنا، فقد تمكنت بلادنا، بفضل نظام مالي ومصرفي مهيكول ومنظم، واقتصاد متوازن، مبني على الزراعة وعلى التنوع الصناعي، من التحكم في تداعيات التقلبات الاقتصادية التي هزت العالم بأسره، بل والحد نسبيا من انعكاساتها السلبية.

فقبل ظهور الأزمة بوقت طويل، كان المغرب سباقا للعمل بما يمكن تسميته بـ "الحكمة الإنسانية"، أي بنظام يحد من انعكاسات العولة، التي اجتاحت العالم خلال العقود الأخيرة، بل ويجعلها أكثر إنسانية.

ومن ثم، كان حرصه على الانكباب على عدد من القضايا والأخذ بتوجهات رئيسية، أثبت فيما بعد أهميتها البالغة، وملاءمتها للوضع الحالي.

وبتوفيق من الله، والتزام راسخ باختيارات وسطية، وتجاوب عميق من التطلعات الحقيقة والمشروعة لمواطنينا وقواهم الحية، وتضامن ملموس من الجهات والفئات المحرومة، وانخراط فاعل في عصرنا، اتخذنا عدة مبادرات مقدامة، وحققنا مكاسب هامة، لا يشكل الإتيان على ذكر بعضها تفاخرا، وإنما وعيا مسؤولا بأهمية التقدم المحرز. بل إننا نعتبره، قبل ذلك، حافزا على المضي قدما، بحزم وعزم، في الطريق الشاق والطويل، اللازم لاستكمال بناء مغرب موحد وديمقراطي ومتقدم وعصري.

منطلقنا في ذلك، أن السياسة بمفهومها النبيل لم ولن تموت، لأنها من كينونة الإنسان، ولأنها فن الممكن، وجوهر الديمقراطية؛ بل إنها ازدادت ارتباطا بالناس، بتخلصها من السياسة السياسية، وقيامها على المشاركة الواسعة والقرب والحكمة الجيدة والمواطنة الكونية.

ومن ثم كان مذهبنا في الحكم يقوم على توطيد الدولة القوية بسيادة القانون، والديمقراطية التشاركية، وترسيخ حقوق الإنسان في أبعادها الشمولية، وجعل الإنسان في صلب التنمية، بإطلاق المبادرة الوطنية للتنمية البشرية لمحاربة الفقر والهشاشة والإقصاء والتهميش، بموازاة مع سياسة أوراش كبرى، وبرامج ومشاريع ومخططات مهيكلة، ممولة أساسا باستثمارات عمومية هائلة؛ وكذا انتهاج الحكامة الجهوية والترايبية، واقتراح المبادرة المقدامة للحكم الذاتي، وإطلاق الإصلاح العميق للقضاء، والانخراط الفاعل في الحوار بين الأديان، والدفاع عن القيم الروحية والإنسانية المثلى للتسامح والاعتدال والتضامن والإخاء، ضد كافة أشكال التطرف والعنف والانغلاق.

حضرات السيدات والسادة،

لقد أظهرت الأزمة الراهنة محدودية النماذج النمطية والتبعية المالية، في غياب أي تدقيق في هذه النماذج وممارستها.

كما أكدت أهمية التنوع، سواء تعلق الأمر بالقضايا البشرية، أو بالأفكار والثقافات، ومحيطها الطبيعي، وهي بذلك، إنما أبرزت الحاجة إلى عولة موسعة، إدماجية وتشاركية، حريصة على الإنصات للأصوات المعارضة، والانفتاح على الاختيارات المختلفة.



ROYAL MESSAGE

His Majesty King Mohammed VI

Praise to God

May Peace and blessings be upon the Prophet, His Kith and Kin

Your Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to send this message to the participants in the second session of the World Policy Conference. I commend your choice of Morocco, a land of peace and open-mindedness, as the venue for your conference.

As you know, this important conference is taking place at a critical time when complex trends are gripping the world.

The financial crisis and the economic crisis, which followed, have affected all major international markets, prompted questions and underscored the need to reconsider the rules of the game worldwide. The new situation also requires much vigilance, lest the financial crisis become a chronic social and political crisis.

The recent economic and financial crisis has seriously undermined an economic order whose sustainability was never in doubt, particularly amid the general eagerness to embrace liberalism.

The collapse of some of the major financial institutions, the widespread loan crisis and unbridled deregulation have profoundly challenged the myth of omnipotent, omniscient liberalization. The gaps that were exposed showed the limitations of the vision based on the End of History, and the triumph of liberalism, which is itself founded on the "all-powerful" market, in which States seem to have relinquished their strategic responsibilities.

In fact, the situation underscores the need for the State to resume its strategic role, not as a totalitarian State, but as a modern regulator. The part it plays has been somewhat overshadowed by the great strides made by liberal economic thinking.

At the same time, there has been increased awareness of the need for equitable, global governance which is capable of checking sweeping globalization and regulating the mighty forces of globalized markets.

When this tidal wave hit the world, Morocco was one of the few countries that were prepared for it and did what it could to address the crucial issues involved.

Although it embraced a liberal economic policy quite early, Morocco has been cautious not to be carried away by the excesses of liberalism. One cannot, however, deny the historic role liberalism has played in the advancement and liberation of mankind.

Because it has always had a well-structured, regulated financial and banking system, a balanced economy rooted in agriculture, and a diversified industrial base, Morocco has managed to check the effects of the economic crisis that has rocked the world and limit, to a certain extent, its adverse consequences.

Well before the recent crisis struck, it had anticipated the need to practise what one may call "governance with a human face," that is to say a system of governance that is capable of mitigating the effects of globalisation and make this phenomenon, which has marked the past decades, more humane.

In this respect, Morocco has actively sought to address a number of issues and act on the basis of major policy guidelines that have since proved to be particularly relevant and timely.

By the Grace of Almighty God, we have remained deeply committed to a middle-of-the-road approach in our earnest efforts to fulfil the genuine legitimate aspiration of our citizens and of the nation's forces. We have also managed to show tangible solidarity with disadvantaged regions and segments of the population, while keeping up with the times. To achieve this, I have launched several bold initiatives and the country has been able to accomplish a lot. If we mention some of our achievements, it is not because we want to sing our own praises, but rather to show how aware we are of the amount of progress made. Those accomplishments constitute an incentive to make headway on the long, arduous path ahead in order to complete the task of building a united, democratic, advanced and modern nation.

Constructive politics will always be a basic part of human activity. As the art of the possible and the linchpin of democracy, politics is most efficient when it is close to the citizen's concerns, and when it shuns politics for politics' sake by promoting broad participation, outreach programs, good governance and global citizenship.

This is how we came to adopt participatory democracy in a State which derives its strength from the rule of law and deep respect for all types of human rights. At the same time, we are seeking to place man at the heart

of the development process and have, to this end, launched the National Initiative for Human Development in order to fight poverty, vulnerability, social exclusion and marginalization. Furthermore, we have initiated major projects through government investments. We have also embarked on a policy based on good governance at regional and community levels. Similarly, we have come up with a proposal for an autonomy status in the southern provinces. We are also implementing far-reaching reforms in the justice sector. Furthermore, we are actively involved in the ongoing interfaith dialogue and are seeking to uphold spiritual values and humane ideals which advocate tolerance, moderation, solidarity and fraternity, and oppose all forms of extremism, violence and ostracism.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The current crisis has shown the limitations of standardized models and of blind financial conformity without careful examination of financial practises and models.

It has also shown the need to respect the diversity of people, or ideas, of cultures and of the physical environment in which they evolve. Finally, it has demonstrated the need for a broad-based, inclusive and participatory form of globalization that takes into consideration different opinions, views and approaches.

In short, the crisis may well prove to be a blessing in disguise, provided we manage to reconsider the basic premises, dominant schools of thought and intellectual barriers that have wreaked havoc on entire segments of the global economy.

We need a sophisticated approach to light the way for a world that is almost groping in darkness due to superficial, simplistic methods, and to avoid having to choose between the State and/or the market and to avoid zero-sum games.

The aim is to opt for the only approach that is realistic, relevant and ambitious, in which the State supports, regulates and supervises economic activity, while helping to achieve the full potential of the market.

To fulfil this objective and promote the above vision, Morocco is counting on the World Policy Conference to prompt serious reflection on all the aspects involved and actively seek solutions. We look forward with keen interest to your valuable contributions, given your vast experience and great competence in your respective fields.

You have highlighted the dangers of truncated globalisation and of the inadequacy of global governance mechanisms.



You have also been reminding us of the limitations of liberal thinking and of the risks inherent in standardizing models as well as in deadlocked situations that result from uninspiring ideas and from the complicity of certain leaders, their procrastination, or their failure to play a pioneering role in terms of giving global developments a humane, positive meaning, anticipating them, interpreting them properly and giving them concrete substance in everyday life, in a wise, competent, impartial manner.

You have earnestly been calling for political, economic and social diversity, promoting the virtues of openness and seeking to convince others to embrace the same ideals and re-focus the debate on States in general, and the countries of the South in particular.

In this respect, I would like you to go a step further, enrich “globalness,” add a human and spiritual dimension to it, and take into account the vast array of complex challenges confronting mankind.

I request you to look further south and link the current debate on the Mediterranean to the stakes in Africa, and to incorporate issues relating to new paradigms of thought that seek to bolster the unity, sovereignty and inviolability of States, encourage regional integration to fight backwardness, partition, terrorism and instability, resist hegemony and the creation of fragile entities for which there is no place in this time and age of major blocs and groupings, and promote good governance. Special emphasis should also be laid on key questions regarding agriculture, water resources, energy, food, security, health care, the climate and the environment.

Calling for new economic regulations and a restructuring of the world’s geopolitical balance is not a form of speculative musing. The density and complexity characterizing interaction between nations and people constitute a threat to global peace and stability, perhaps to the survival of mankind.

Ensuring peace and stability requires genuine governance based on justice and discipline. The reference here is to setting up a “universal society” based on bottom-up, participatory decision-making processes, the development of an international policy forum and the adoption of spiritual parameters, such as *niyya*, which refers, in Islam, to a fundamental dimension involving a dynamic interplay between intention, sincerity and faith.

Such a project should not be yet another instruction from people in senior positions; rather, it should be the result of an inclusive political and cultural process that can contribute to lasting peace, guarantee the right to balanced trade and ensure respect for diversity.

It should be based on a fundamental approach that seeks to uphold universal values by focusing on the individual, not by crushing him. This roadmap for global peace, sketched out more than two centuries ago, is a timely project that we should be able to implement in the medium term, provided we come up with the means required and adopt an approach that is both practical and ambitious.

Morocco is keen to remain at the heart of this powerful trend which heralds a sweeping reorganization of political forces, of the rules of the economic game, of social practices and of the exchange of ideas.

“Globalness” is still a new concept everywhere in the world. Morocco is calling for a new, more equitable, participatory “globalness,” a “globalness” with a human face; one that makes the world at peace with itself, promotes integration, imparts a sense of purpose and enhances confidence.

We have to make sure everyone is actively involved in this global trend; all players, all countries –big and small– should rally around an unprecedented, inspiring project: that of building a “universal society” which helps us reconnect with the spirit of the Enlightenment, as seen by Emmanuel Kant, and with the work of Ibn Khaldun, the first theoretician of the international history of civilizations.

We will then be on our way toward achieving a major ambition, namely to give “globalness” a truly human and universal essence.

Welcome to Marrakech, a city steeped in history, with a myriad of cultural monuments; a symbol of the human empathy and mutual assistance we all yearn for. I keenly look forward to your constructive proposals and recommendations.

Before concluding this message, I would like to pay tribute to all those who were directly or indirectly involved in organizing this major event and seeking to ensure its success.

Wassalamu alaikum warahmatullah wabarakatuh

OPENING SPEECH

Thierry de Montbrial

Mr Advisor, representing His Majesty; Prime Ministers; Presidents; Excellencies; Ladies and Gentlemen.

I am happy to be in this magnificent city of Marrakech and in this magnificent country to open this conference. As his representative, Sir, please extend my appreciation to His Majesty for the very substantial speech you just read.

I would first like to recall that the goal of the World Policy Conference, now in its second year, is to help rebuild global governance. This is a goal that is both very specific and very ambitious.

We are talking about “governance” rather than “government” to convey the need for flexible coordination systems at a time when purely hierarchical structures seem unsuited to the challenges facing the world. Global governance essentially involves *coordinating the production of public goods* as they are understood by States, which remain the basic reality of international society. Each country has its own vision of public goods, a vision affected –by not determined– by global debate.

As you said, Sir, what we are seeking to do today –by “we,” I mean the World Policy Conference, but also anyone working on the issue of governance– is to achieve a practicable and realistic approximation of the plan for perpetual peace: that old concept that, as you said, is associated with illustrious names. You mentioned Ibn Khaldun: many Westerners would benefit from reading the works of this great philosopher and historian. Naturally, the writings of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, Emmanuel Kant and, more recently, the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas also come to mind.

We want to help develop a concrete and realistic version of this concept. This is a vital challenge because, if we fail to adapt our coordination structures to a world that is changing rapidly, and even too rapidly, we will experience systemic crises the likes of which the recent economic and financial crisis would only be a preview of things to come. We must therefore avoid the risk of a major structural crisis worldwide. That’s the defensive aspect, but it is also important to develop coordination methods that are lasting and universally beneficial.

I personally regret that after the Second World War, the name *League of Nations* was replaced by *United Nations*. That was undoubtedly inevitable because the League of Nations was bankrupt due to events during the interwar period. But I believe that at our current stage of deve-



lopment, the expression *League of Nations* corresponds better to reality than *United Nations*, simply because the nations are not, or not yet, united. The States as a whole constitute a society much more than a community, in the sociological sense of these terms. What we want to construct is a true League of Nations. Any society must be structured to reflect common, overarching interests, those that transcend the inevitable conflicts between its members. It must be organised in such a way as to prevent or limit the effects of disturbances of all kinds, whether economic or political in nature.

For those familiar with the early works of Henry Kissinger on the Congress of Vienna and the creation of a European entente after the Napoleonic wars, I am thinking in particular of the “revolutionary actor” concept. The revolutionary actor is the one who refuses to obey the established rules for the common good, and who, as a result, imperils society. Every society must take steps to restrict actors who seek to destroy or destabilise it.

These ideas may seem abstract, but in fact they are very concrete. The great French mathematician and physicist Paul Langevin once said, “The concrete is the abstract rendered familiar through use.” These abstract ideas typically take shape in the process of organising international trade. The WTO’s goal is to maintain a basically open economic system because we know that if the system closes up, we will again experience crises comparable to those that occurred in the 1930s, which led to the Second World War, through protectionism, the rise of nationalist movements and the rest. And the issue of fighting troublemakers has now taken a decidedly concrete turn, with international terrorism orchestrated by non-state political actors such as Al-Qaeda.

These issues should be further examined from two perspectives: time and space.

From the perspective of time, we must take care to build a coordination system that is viable both over the medium and long term without, however, neglecting short- and medium-term issues. So we must be prepared to work on two different timescales. With regard to space, we must work at both regional and global level. It is not reasonable to expect us to develop mechanisms for resolving all local problems on a global scale. One of the major shortcomings of governance as it operates today is precisely the poor way it handles regional issues.

I think that at future sessions of the World Policy Conference –and this includes our work over the next two days– we should keep this time-space distinction in mind: short/medium and medium/long term on the one hand, regional and global on the other.

I believe that a reformed United Nations –which, I am aware, will certainly never again be called the League of Nations– will have to set itself the objective of ensuring cohesion and the legitimacy of the coordination systems developed for each major problem affecting the world as a whole, at the various levels of time and space.

Allow me to say a few words about events that have occurred since our first meeting a little more than a year ago in Evian. I am thinking in particular about the economic and financial crisis. Those of you who attended the meeting last year remember that the WPC coincided with a dramatic worsening of the crisis. Jean-Claude Trichet had taken the time to come despite the enormous tension. Today it is safe to say that the financial crisis is behind us –as long as we do not slacken off and think that because things are going better, we can do without essential systemic reforms.

With regard to the economic situation, the picture is far from clear. Most experts are still floundering when it comes to developing exit strategies. No one knows how many years it will take to put the economic system as a whole back on the rails.

But beyond the economic aspect, I want to emphasise that global governance does not only involve the economy –there is also strong interaction between the economy and politics, security problems and a certain number of more specialised issues, such as energy, climate change, health and the environment. We will address all of these topics during the conference.

I must say –no doubt too abruptly– that the world has seen little progress in these areas over the past year. With respect to energy, for example, since we will be at the Copenhagen Conference in two months, I fear that we are heading toward disappointment because the governance and negotiation systems for issues as complex as the link between energy and climate change are not up to the task. The same holds true for other issues as well, including health care. We therefore have an enormous amount of work ahead of us.

To address these concerns, I would like to make a few comments from the standpoint of methodology. Firstly, I want to underscore the primacy of States. The World Policy Conference was conceived in late 2007 and first held in 2008. We were the first to recall the principle of the primacy of States at a time when it was still fashionable to consider them as nothing more than hindrances to the advent of the “best of all worlds.”

Yes, States have primacy because by definition they embody the common good of their people, even though

they do so imperfectly, which brings us back to the subject of coordination that I was just discussing.

Naturally, States must also implement domestic reforms and not only in the way they coordinate intergovernmental relations. In order to improve the functioning of systems as complex as finance, energy, health care, etc., they must cooperate with other stakeholders and thus the other active or political units concerned on a case-by-case basis. States must segment and coordinate, which involves the UN objective that I previously referred to. In support, we need a spirit of cooperation that transcends conflicts and differences –lacking which, nothing is possible. And that, most likely, is the major obstacle.

Over the past few years, I have been trying to describe this new world in my writings. Last year in Evian, I used three terms for that purpose: multipolarity, heterogeneity and globality. Allow me to say a few words about each subject.

Multipolarity: The United States, of course, is and will remain the leading world power for the foreseeable future. No one disputes that. But on every governance issue, the United States can no longer claim to hold the only key to the common good. It must reason more in terms of *partnership* than in terms of *leadership*, which is not inherent in its culture. It must learn to work with other players. But the poles corresponding to each of the above-mentioned issues are not necessarily the same. If I may use mathematical language, the intersection of all sets of the poles corresponding to the different issues obviously include the United States. The United States is always among the poles, at least at global level. This is a very important point. For each issue, therefore, we must identify the poles. For example, the creation of the G20 seems like a positive initiative in terms of macro-economic coordination and global finance. But in terms of major political concerns, the appropriate G would probably consist of permanent members of a reformed Security Council within the United Nations system. And we must acknowledge that little progress has been made on that front.

What I want to say about the Gs –groups corresponding to the various governance issues– is this. Firstly, selecting members for a G depends on the issue in question, but when a G is formed, a charter must be developed that defines both the rights and responsibilities of each member. The aim is to ensure effective governance in the relevant field, not only for the good of the group’s members but also for the good of others. And that raises a challenge we face everywhere: for a group to operate effectively, it must be large enough to include the main players in the relevant field without being too large to function properly. As an example, one of the major pro-



blems in the energy and climate negotiations, which we will surely see in Copenhagen, is that there are too many players, at least during the current phase.

Defining an appropriate G –the right size for each problem– is a difficult exercise, but I repeat: each G must have a charter of rights and responsibilities. The responsibilities must include contributions to the common good by providing substantial resources –economic and military, for example.

I cannot emphasise strongly enough the responsibility aspect. It seems to me, ladies and gentlemen, that we have much to do. Unless I am misinformed, I am unaware that any existing Gs are making any effort to precisely describe their duties in writing, not only for the good of their members but for the good of other States as well. In that regard, I think it would be appropriate to revise the entire United Nations Charter. And allow me to add, even if it means putting a cat among the pigeons, that even certain documents approved by the UN General Assembly, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights –“universal” because at the last minute René Cassin managed to replace the word “international” with this adjective–, would pose a problem. The Declaration of Human Rights is superb, many support it and of course I do myself, unconditionally, but it is not universal: because not all members of the international society participated in drafting it, it is not an integral part of all cultures. So we have important work to do in specifying both the rights and responsibilities of the Gs’ members. And this especially pertains to the members of the most recent addition, the G20.

Underlying these issues, however, are problems of effectiveness and legitimacy. Effectiveness demands that a group not have too many members and that, of course, the group itself be properly organised. Legitimacy demands a sufficient number of members and that there be mechanisms for addressing the interests of non-members –and in this area everything, or at least much, remains to be done.

Of course, when we talk about these groups, which have been proliferating over the years, we must also include international organisations in the economic sector, such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. For the most part, the issue of linkage and coherence among these institutions remains to be decided and, as I said before, a reformed United Nations could play a major role in this area.

Heterogeneity, my second description for this new global system, refers to a key issue. The ideological factor remains very important in today’s world. Ideology sim-

ply means that each nation operates according to a “system of ideas” and such systems do not form a coherent whole. Fukuyama’s “end of history” equation (democracy + market economy => peace + prosperity) is based on an ideological premise that is particularly open to question because the terms used are not defined with any precision. So it is not operational.

We must therefore recognise that different groups of people, different nations and different political entities have different ideologies and cultures. And the only way to work together is to be tolerant of one another. You yourself, Sir, used this word a few moments ago. Tolerance means respect for others, listening to others, and constructively trying to understand them. We can all agree that this effort has generally been very inadequate. In fact, it is not easy to understand someone else’s mindset.

One example is China’s foreign policy. China is not well represented at this year’s World Policy Conference, but I have reason to hope it will be better represented next year. When the Chinese say things that shock us, we should interpret them through the lens of their culture and history. We then realise these are not intended as subterfuges against Western interests, for example. When the Chinese draw attention to the dangers that may result from occupying Iraq or Afghanistan, as they have been doing since the early 1990s, they haven’t necessarily been trying to catch Westerners in a trap. These are basically fair arguments and this type of speech can be best understood in reference to a strategic culture in which the absence of war is generally preferable to a state of war. That goes well beyond the Latin adage, *Si vis pacem, para bellum*: “If you want peace, prepare for war.” So there are wide gaps in understanding that we must take very seriously.

I will not have enough time to elaborate on another idea that I will have to be content with sketching out. I am talking about the problem of translation. Think about the documents that govern the European Union. Now think about the failed plan for a constitution. The effort to write a text that would work in all EU languages condemns it, by necessity, to a sort of vacuity or at least an extreme linguistic poverty because all languages express a certain mindset. What we should be seeking in a revised and edited Constitution would not be a series of translated texts, but those that are perceived expressing cultural equivalents through the cultures of different nations. That, to my mind, is an avenue worth exploring.

Lastly, my third description is *globality*. Globalisation is the result of the revolution in information and communication technologies. By its very nature, it is an irreversible phenomenon. Not completely, however. Let me explain: it is a phenomenon that perpetuates itself by

extension but it can be artificially stopped. Nothing prevents States from re-establishing trade barriers. Nothing prevents them, for example, from using the same technologies to control websites. It bears repeating it would be disastrous if States were to give in to that, meaning it could lead to a third world conflict. A real one. So we must, at all costs, come together and allow globalisation to continue on its way, but in a more harmonious manner, to use a word essential to Chinese culture.

We must seek ways to govern that will support harmonious globalisation. That, in the final analysis, is the objective of the World Policy Conference process. It assumes a certain number of conditions that I earlier tried to delineate, with tolerance a particularly important factor.

Our work follows the general principles that I just outlined.

For this year’s conference, called a *Groundwork Meeting*, we have chosen seven major themes with a dozen roundtables.

For each theme, I strongly encourage you to identify the relevant issues and main points that call for improvement. Outline solutions, yes, but as they say, “A problem well-stated is a problem half-solved.” Personally, I think that a well-stated problem at this point is already an accomplishment. And that does not mean spreading ourselves too thin. I also urge you to work in a spirit of tolerance and mutual respect. There is no place at the World Policy Conference for unilateral statements of an ideological or polemical nature. We are here in search of ways to advance the common good.

From this perspective, I am confident that over the years the World Policy Conference will help push things forward a bit. To that end, I wish to recall two of the principles discussed in Evian. Our goal is to bring together committed and often high-level figures active in political life with business leaders and other major representatives of all parties with a stake in globalisation issues, including opinion leaders. We also want to give the floor to States which, in practice, typically have no voice on this matter. It is in this way that we can hope to build a better world, a world that will still be liveable in 2100 and 2200. And God knows that it is not easy to imagine what the world will be like in the year 2200.

But there is one thing I do know: if we do not make every effort today to improve global governance over the long term, the world in 2100 or 2200 will be unliveable.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is why we are here. I would again like to thank everyone who worked so hard to make this conference possible. I want to especially acknowledge our Moroccan friends as a sign of my appreciation, particularly those sitting in the first row.



DINNER SPEECH

Jean-David Levitte

I hope I'm not going to spoil your dinner after a long day of work which must have been tiring, though certainly fascinating. Thierry asked me to speak about a rather weighty topic –global governance.

I would first like to thank, through my friend Taïeb Fassi Fihri, his Majesty and all the authorities of the Kingdom of Morocco for the wonderful welcome we have once again received in Marrakech.

I would also like to thank Thierry de Montbrial, President of Ifri, for all the work he has done over the decades and for taking the initiative to create the World Policy Conference. President Sarkozy attended the first one with President Medvedev and other heads of State. It took place a year ago in Evian and the topic was “security.” This year it is “global governance.” I cannot think of any subject more important that could bring us together for two or three days of intense and open discussions even though –yes, I know– it's on the record. So I'm going to tread carefully and try to avoid any pitfalls!

Why do I believe there is no subject more important? Quite simply because, as you know, we live in a globalised –a doubly globalised– world. No country today can claim to settle any problem by itself; all States are literally interdependent and, secondly, all problems are interrelated. We are therefore condemned to working together on a global scale.

We live in a profoundly transformed world: we lived through the bipolar world, then the unipolar moment came and went, lasting a decade from the fall of the Berlin Wall to the fall of the Twin Towers in New York. We are now experiencing a multipolar world and I'm convinced that, when the current economic crisis ends, the hierarchy of world powers will not be exactly the same as it was when the crisis began. That's obvious: countries like China, India and Brazil will rise in rank. We must take all of this into account.

The major question this raises is whether our multipolar world will be harmonious or antagonistic. The answer is not obvious. Many factors encourage antagonism. From an economic perspective, there is a strong temptation for each party to go its own way, especially during a crisis. And there is a real risk of confrontation in the commercial sphere with regard, for example, to currency parities or competition over investments. I could also cite many other examples. It seems to me if that we want a harmonious multipolar world, we need effective multilateralism. It's like oiling the gears –it's absolutely necessary.

And it's all the more necessary because, for the first time in human history, we are confronted with global crises that threaten not only our economic future but also the future of our planet. I am referring in particular to global warming, which we will address in Copenhagen on 18 December.

I will end this brief introduction with one comment: we often have the impression that humanity is evolving in a linear direction that sometimes reaches a plateau after periods of progress before moving forward again.

I believe that is the wrong way of looking at things. If you look at the history of civilisations, you will notice, as did Paul Valéry, that they are mortal; many of them have completely died out. The difference between yesterday and today is that in our current globalised world, all civilisations are facing the same perils. It's not just this or that civilisation in danger of regressing or even disappearing: it's the entire world, it's our planet. And that is also why the issue of global governance is absolutely fundamental. If we do not succeed, it will be the law of the jungle –in other words, the law of the strongest, and we all know how that turns out.

How should we judge our accomplishments since we got to work, since the United Nations and other international organisations faced their responsibilities after the end of the bipolar era and especially since the economic crisis began?

Let's look first at the United Nations: the least one can say is that reform has been at a standstill for a long time, starting with the Security Council. It is not acceptable that we have still not managed to break the impasse. It is not acceptable that countries like Japan, India, Brazil, Germany or a large African country do not have a place among the permanent members of the Security Council. We need to solve this problem, yet we have been beating around the bush for years. The United Kingdom and France are recommending a path of temporary reform. Why temporary? Because over the years we have become convinced that we will never succeed with one bold stroke. So we consider temporary solutions –10 years, 15 years– that would allow us to try out reform before perfecting it and deciding whether we still need to work on it and improve it.

A few words about specialised institutions. Here, too, there is a lot to do. They are also in need of reform. Let me take a random example –the hunger riots we all witnessed. It's really shocking to realise that two years ago hunger riots broke out all over the world while granaries were full. There is a real problem with food security governance. We spoke about it with my Sherpa colleagues: How can we get all the organisations responsible for feeding the world (FAO, WFP, IFAD, World Bank, regional

development banks) to come together around a common project: feeding the world not only today and tomorrow but also for decades to come? How can we encourage these organisations to join forces, to work together?

Health is another example. We are faced with extremely serious epidemics, particularly AIDS. With at least eight international organisations dealing with health issues, the WHO's director-general has suggested creating an H8 –“H” for Health– so that the eight groups would finally start working together!

Another problem demands our attention: the incompatibility of the rights created by the different international organisations.

Let me cite one example: the WTO is a fine organisation which, while having trouble completing the Doha Round, does have a body for settling differences. The WTO is the youngest organisation, yet it does not work with the International Labour Organisation. One of the key issues of our time, however, is the world's ability to ensure universal respect for workers' basic rights, with the aim of fair global competition, while taking into account differing levels of development.

Another example is the environmental issue, which did not exist when the United Nations was created. In fact, the words *environment* and *climate* did not even appear in the United Nations Charter. Since then, Member States have dealt with one problem after another and, for each treaty, have created a body to monitor enforcement. Won't Copenhagen finally be the right time to create an International Environmental Organisation that would bring together all existing tools and be responsible for overseeing all the decisions I hope we make on 18 December?

I'm using these examples to illustrate the huge task required to reform the United Nations' international organisations.

Now on to the Bretton Woods institutions. Economic and financial reforms are moving forward because States have taken action in response to the crisis. We set next spring as our deadline to complete the reform of the World Bank and January 2011 for a provisional reform of the International Monetary Fund. We must first specify their responsibilities, which have been expanded to reflect the lessons gleaned from the crisis. It's a difficult job, especially because we will have to redistribute power among the States to the benefit of emerging countries.

Let me immediately add that Europe will not be alone in paying the cost. And for a good reason: overall, Europe has a rightful role in the Monetary Fund even though



some of its States have experienced strong growth over the years and are under-represented, such as Spain and Ireland, while others have grown more slowly and are now over-represented. Yet I want to stress that Europe has a rightful role. It will be necessary, however –and this will be difficult– to find among over-represented countries worldwide the five points we must give to China and other emerging countries, which is legitimate. We have much work ahead of us but at least we have a set objective, like the deadline: complete the reform by January 2011. I'm optimistic that we'll succeed.

Now I would like to say a few words about the “G” issue: G8, G14 or G13, G20. No one disputes the fact that we need these informal groups. Since he was elected, President Sarkozy has forcefully stated his view that the G8 should expand. It is inconceivable to him that we continue to decide the planet's economic future without the participation of China, Brazil, India, Mexico, South Africa and certain other countries.

This issue was partly addressed in Pittsburgh, where it was decided that the G20 would be the primary informal forum for dealing with economic and financial concerns. But no one discussed what to do about the G8.

We will be discussing this subject with our G8 Sherpa colleagues over the weekend. The discussion promises to be heated and interesting because the answer is far from obvious. In addition to the financial and economic issues that are the prerogative of the G20, there are a large number of global concerns that are currently handled by the G8, such as food security, development aid, aid to Africa and non-proliferation. Should we continue this way or not? How should we proceed? That's the purpose of our discussion.

The second question is: how should we view the G20? It's a phenomenal success. Why? We must acknowledge that it's partly because of fear and panic. With the fall of Lehman Brothers on 15 September last year, we woke up to find ourselves on the edge of an abyss. Speaking for Europe on the United Nations podium on 23 September, President Sarkozy proposed holding a summit. What kind of format would it have? We were very flexible but we were certain about one thing: this summit was necessary to avoid the disaster of the 1930s, namely every country for itself, each adopting the solution best suited to its national approach, with the combination of all these national measures leading right to collective disaster.

The G20 did remarkable work. It wasn't easy at the time to persuade President George W. Bush, but we did get the Washington summit, followed by those in London and Pittsburgh. These successive summits resulted in

decisions –urgent decisions that provided the necessary support to banks because for several weeks we had no idea from one day to the next how we were going to solve the problems faced by certain banks. That has been done and the good decisions we made can be credited with preventing new speculative bubbles on an ongoing basis.

The heads of State also decided to support the economy as long as necessary –that is, until it picks up again. And decisions unthinkable before the crisis were also taken, such as eliminating tax havens and bank secrecy, regulating bonuses, etc. I think deregulation has come to an end; we saw where that led us and all of the G20 States have agreed to set up, not bureaucratic regulations, but minimum regulations to protect us, if possible, from new crises.

But the G20 also has its weaknesses. First of all, we don't really know the actual number of member countries. We say “G20,” but in fact when you count, there are at least 24 countries in the room. In Pittsburgh, there were 35 participants if you added all the international organisations that were invited. [And you have to multiply] 35 by 2 because there's either the President or Prime Minister and his Finance Minister, which makes 70. If you add two staff members, that makes 140. Pittsburgh was a little like a train station concourse and that's a mortal sin for a group that's supposed to be small. If we can't speak to each other freely around a table of reasonable size, there's a risk that each leader will read a speech without engaging in real discussion. That is the major risk threatening the future of the G20.

The second risk lies in the absence of clear operational rules for the G20. Until now, we have always improvised. But how do we establish a rotation rule? Another question: Should we adopt a troika, which we have typically done, or should we leave full responsibility to the country holding the annual presidency? Do we need a secretariat? These are the issues we are facing and that must be addressed because if not, we risk powerlessness and paralysis now that fear has largely disappeared. France will take over the G20 presidency in 2011, after South Korea in 2010. These two transition years will be decisive for ensuring the viability of this new forum.

Now a few comments about Europe's role. We are living in a multipolar world. Where is Europe? Europe is naturally suited to playing a major role in the multipolar world of the 21st century. We have 500 million citizens working together toward a common future, with shared economic regulations and the world's highest GDP, taking the 27 countries as a whole. The EU accounts for 60% of public aid to world development and is united in defending its commercial interests. All these facts are very impressive. But the image that we project

is somewhat different. In reality, the real question for Europeans isn't “Are we a great power?” but “Do we want to be a great power?”

During France's presidency of the EU, we tried hard to be. On behalf of Europe and with the forcefulness you know so well, President Sarkozy threw himself into trying to settle two serious crises that had not been on the French presidency's agenda: the crisis pitting Russia and Georgia against each other and the financial crisis that led us to work with other Europeans practically every weekend and that drove Europe to recommend solutions to the world. It was Europe that suggested the G20 meeting. Another example is climate change. For a long time, Europe alone was able to put ambitious decisions on the table in perfect compliance with the goals of a unanimous scientific community.

When Europe wants something, it can act. The whole question is whether it wants to.

I have just come from Brussels where the European Council finally decided to implement the Lisbon Treaty. If all goes well, on 1 December the Lisbon Treaty will come into force. We must now quickly find a stable president for the European Council, who will be Europe's face and voice and who will lead European delegations worldwide, likely for a period of five years –and then a true European Minister of Foreign Affairs with a quality diplomatic apparatus. This official's title will be “High Representative, Commission Vice President,” but he or she will really be Europe's Minister of Foreign Affairs. These two new positions will help us better take on the responsibilities that we should have.

I believe that in a globalised world with a need for effective multilateralism, Europe has much to contribute because the EU-27 are successfully practicing multilateralism every day. We are living our family life by practicing the art of compromise on a daily basis. It has become second nature for Europeans to continually seek solutions in their shared life despite extremely different pasts and a history characterised more by periods of war than by periods of peace. Are people aware that Europe is experiencing its longest period of peace since the Roman Empire? We have made war impossible among ourselves and each day we are building our common future. Can we share our solutions with the world? I think so. I truly believe so. We're working on it.

Instead of a conclusion, I have a few remarks.

Overall, I am strongly optimistic about the world's ability to make the necessary decisions. We did so during the economic and financial crisis and we are working



toward major progress in Copenhagen on the decisive issue of global warming. There is also a desire to move forward on other concerns.

All of this is fragile, of course. So what convictions should we rely on so that the structure we are seeking to build –global and effective governance– does not come crashing down around us?

The first conviction comes from the crisis itself. By its scope and suddenness, it basically shows us that the old way of doing things no longer works. The crisis has opened our minds. It has liberated all the prisoners of the doctrinaire free market approach who used to say: “We can’t do anything different because we’ve always done it this way.” That’s the first conviction that should guide us: we *can* think differently.

The second conviction is that time is not our ally when it comes to global governance. Time works against us because as fear about the economy fades and time passes, momentum could disappear. We must therefore work twice as hard to move ahead quickly and effectively.

The third conviction is that the crisis has returned the State to its proper place. For many years, we were told that the globalised world was made for large corporations, conglomerates and civil society, and that deregulation was the solution to all our woes. On 15 September 2008, we all understood that perhaps we had been a bit hasty and had gone too far. That day, the States found themselves confronted with their responsibilities and understood that we could only emerge from the crisis together, that we were condemned to work collectively and, if not, we would all go down together.

Lastly, the fourth conviction, the recipe for success, is having grand ambitions and bold objectives. For a simple reason: if you ask States to sacrifice their national interests for global interests, but the sacrifice you’re requesting will only lead to modest progress, who will be willing to sacrifice their national interest for this small step forward?

I firmly believe that if we really want to set up global governance in the 21st century, we need far-reaching vision that aims high. We must have grand ambitions and we must not lose any time.

Will we be up to the task? In 1945, amid the ruins of World War II, the era’s leaders managed to create institutions that have served the world well until the recent past. It is now up to us to build those we will need for the 21st century!

Thank you.

CLOSING SPEECH

Thierry de Montbrial

I will not attempt to draw any real conclusions from these two days. It will take time to think about everything that was said. Instead, I will limit myself to a few remarks.

The objective of the World Policy Conference, which we plan to hold every year, is to make a positive contribution –and I want to emphasise the word “positive”– to meeting the most urgent and serious collective challenge for the planet as a whole. We are not going to reshape global governance from one day to the next –we would be very naïve to think so– yet it is true that time is short. In an increasingly interdependent world, the lack of appropriate governance methods can only lead to tragedy.

Over the past two days, we have seen that the problems addressed are multi-faceted and that we have to master them if we want to be constructive and effective. We do, of course, face some formidable technical challenges. That is obvious in the economic and financial arena. While the field of economics has made enormous strides in recent decades, there is still a lack of consensus on many subjects among the well-informed. There is much to discuss and discussion often requires the latest knowledge –the financial sphere being just one example of this.

The same holds true for security. A useful conversation about political and military issues demands special training, a special vocabulary and openness to different ways of thinking. Of course, if you consider other, more specialised, governance issues such as those we have also discussed these past two days –water, food, energy, health– each of them assumes a framework of specific references and knowledge. In terms of governance, we should not rest content with generalities and just chit-chat, even though common principles may inspire a search for solutions.

To complicate matters, technology is often tinged with ideology. We see that constantly. For example, in economics, being a monetarist or Keynesian doesn’t only reflect a theoretical or empirical choice. There is an ideological dimension as well. Typically, the “right” tends to be monetarist and the “left” Keynesian. If you talk about environmental or health issues, everyone will understand that ideology is involved without putting too fine a point on it. Ideology encompasses technology and vice versa, which complicates debates and discussions.

In addition to technical aspects mixed with ideology, there are the political aspects as well. What exactly do we mean by “political?” Let’s take the example of the “Gs,” those

somewhat fuzzy groups which, as a whole, have conceptually replaced the old directorate idea, a subject of great debate in the early 1960s within the Atlantic framework. Each group can only function if its members all share the political will to achieve positive results. Why is the most famous group –the real G5, the Security Council’s group of permanent members–ineffective? The answer, of course, is because its composition does not reflect the realities of the early 21st century, and because, for historic reasons, the five permanent Security Council members never seem able to agree on a positive action plan. They continue to play a zero-sum game, meaning that a gain for some members must be a loss for others.

If, on a certain issue, the relevant G does not agree to a positive action plan transcending the individual conflicts of interest among members, the group’s work will only lead to disappointment. That was why I recommended yesterday that each G create a charter of rights and responsibilities and, of course, an appropriate organisation. That is not the current state of affairs.

To my mind, the two currently most important G groups are: first, in political matters, the G5, which I have just discussed (the permanent members of the Security Council); and, second, in economic matters, the G20. It is necessary to reform the G5 and improve the G20, after which the G8 could probably be eliminated. Again, we must clearly redefine or adjust the composition and responsibilities of these two groups along the lines I specified. The situation can only be clarified in a positive spirit of cooperation. We are still very far from that point.

Another key factor, which I believe clearly emerged during our discussions, is the cultural aspect. I would like to return to this subject and I’m very pleased that the message conveyed yesterday morning by His Majesty King Mohammed VI focused on the human and cultural aspects.

When I was young, it was fashionable to talk about cultures and civilisations. In reality, this dialogue was often reduced to bar-room philosophising. It is not a matter of bringing together imams, a Catholic priest, a Protestant pastor, an Orthodox pope, a rabbi, some Buddhists and a few other good souls for light to shine forth. It comes down to an issue that I raised yesterday morning: what is manifestly clear, including during the types of discussions we’re having there, is that even though we are often close to one another in certain respects, we remain enclosed in different mindsets. We sometimes use the same words, but behind the verbal façade lie more or less incompatible preconceptions. Naturally, we cannot truly understand each other under such conditions. This fact goes well beyond the simple question of language because language expresses culture,



as has been mentioned a number of times. Some even consider language as a sort of third memory or collective unconscious in the Jungian sense.

We are all aware that in today's world, growing interpenetration, a characteristic of globalisation, is producing a cultural stratum that toward uniformity, including the way we speak. But this phenomenon is superficial. You don't have to dig too deep to reach other, thicker layers. One of the speakers mentioned the universal language, meaning English –but which English? “Universal” English is not the real English language, which is extremely rich and complex like all languages of high culture.

The problem is that the thin layer of the globalised sub-culture tends to impoverish conversation and even aggravate the lack of understanding at the most basic level. This even occurs in international politics. I want to go back to an example I alluded to yesterday morning. During a recent conversation, a high-level Chinese official told me that in his opinion Westerners (the United States and European Union) tend regularly to interpret his country's positions negatively, whereas the Chinese typically base their criticisms of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars on thousands of years of experience. In fact, the Chinese don't necessarily seek to manipulate us every time they tell us something! And when the Russians claim the Georgians attacked South Ossetia, are they totally wrong? We all read history in our own way. Through a Western cultural prism, the Russian military intervention in Georgia demonstrated a return to a form of imperialism. When the Russians see American or Western efforts to expand NATO to Georgia, they also feel attacked. We are convinced we are spreading the good word, leading a human rights crusade, etc. We always stay in the proselytising mode, while pretending to ignore –or worse still, actually ignoring– the tangible interests hidden behind our own ideology, which we dress up in the name of universal values.

At a minimum, let us recognise that in addition to conflicts of interest in the strict sense of the term, the different ways of interpreting things may be based on extremely different mindsets. This goes right to the heart of the cultural and ideological dimension of geopolitics. Let's at least be sufficiently tolerant and try to understand others' points of view as we would like others to understand ours. Someone said yesterday that rather than “tolerance,” he preferred the term “empathy.” I, too, like the idea of empathy –the ability to put yourself in someone else's shoes in order to understand his or her perspective. If we don't all make efforts of this kind, we will find it very difficult to create governance methods suited to the high level of interpenetration characteristic of globalisation –even in specialised areas such as climate change and health.

As one last example to illustrate this idea, I would like to return to the issue of borders. When Western countries state that the province of Kosovo must become an independent State, they are basing this argument on a certain interpretation of a nation's right to self-determination. But if the South Ossetians demand implementation of the same principle for their own benefit, the same Westerners change their interpretation. Are there two sets of rules? That is why international law is essential: we need common standards. The development of common standards is an integral part of governance. When a problem with minorities becomes acute, do we favour their right to self-determination or the inviolability of borders? Do we favour a concerted effort to redraw the borders, as did the Group 4 + 2 for German reunification? Borders are a latent issue in every part of the world. In Europe, the Trans-Dniester strip of land –legally part of Moldova– could one day provoke a major conflict in the absence of good governance.

When each party in the name of its own vision, its own mindset, claims it is right and “others” wrong, we fall into a binary tragedy: the good and the bad. And that leads to nothing other than calamity.

I think that these issues –cultural in the strongest sense of the term– logically precede any calculation of self-interest and any strategic consideration, even based on the broadest consensus of what this means. Of course, self-interest can be superimposed on profound anthropological realities and that is generally the case. The fact remains, however, that cultural factors are the most basic element and deserve close examination in any discussion of governance.

Allow me to add a last comment on this matter by coming back to the issue of translation in the linguistic sense of the term. What is the basis for the American Constitution's success? Stanley Hoffmann, whom a number of us here count as a friend, often says: “If you could only use one word to define the identity of the United States, it would have to be *Constitution*.” In France, two words would be necessary: *State* and *language*. The American Constitution is a brief text. It's a sober text. It's a text that goes right to the heart of the matter. It's a literary text. It's a text that arouses emotion from the very first paragraph. How are you going to arouse emotion if different people create a potpourri hundreds of pages long that must be literally translated into 27 languages? This question may seem technical. It is, in fact, of crucial importance, in my opinion, and has not been sufficiently thought out. If I were to oversee the creation of a European Constitution, I would call upon a great writer to produce a short text and leave the details to implementation treaties. I would not attempt

to translate the text literally but have it recreated in each language based on the genius of that language. Didn't Baudelaire say when translating Edgar Allen Poe, “Only a poet can translate a poet?”

One day, in the United States, I found a bilingual edition of Mallarmé's poems. Mallarmé's work is already somewhat hazy in French! In fact, the “translator” had composed new poems with thoughts equivalent to those in the original, but expressed in the genius of the English language.

In my view, that is an avenue worth exploring, especially in the light of what I was trying to say about culture. I hope that in future sessions of the World Policy Conference we will pay more attention to the cultural, and even anthropological, foundations of governance.

Finally, the last point I would like to address is the issue of global versus regional.

“Regional” has two meanings: regional from above and regional from below. During the last mini-session, we discussed –certainly much too quickly– the issue of regional from below, which deserves further attention. But what I would like to talk about now is the question of regional from above. We generally agree that many global governance problems should be managed at a regional rather than international level. Why should the Security Council directly handle East Timor or any other crisis occurring in an obscure corner of the world foreign to most people? To illustrate this remark, let me point out that hardly anyone who became passionate about Chechnya after the fall of the Soviet Union previously knew anything about the existence of the Chechens or the complexity of the Caucasus.

Conflicts should be settled at the regional level if at all possible. This common sense remark refers to what the European Union calls the “subsidiarity principle.” Having said that, I come to a basic difficulty of a geopolitical nature in the most profound sense of the term, leading us back to culture and ideology: how do we define regions? During the session on security, the statement was justifiably made that India should play a more prominent role in world governance. The Kashmir conflict mobilises considerable resources. As a result, Pakistan refuses to redeploy the forces it needs to fight the Taliban on its Western flank, making it all the more difficult to stabilise Afghanistan. Complicating the picture is Afghanistan's other large neighbour, Iran, which is largely at odds with the “international community,” mainly because it wants to cross the nuclear threshold, possibly to produce nuclear weapons, now possessed by Israel and Pakistan. Does that mean we must include India if we are to define a Middle East region based on the objective of good governance?



This question of how to appropriately define regions is very sensitive and deserves more thorough exploration on the part of all those who aim to advance thinking on global governance.

Among the subjects we did not address during this conference, despite a very full schedule, is digital technology. We undoubtedly overlooked other topics as well and I would be grateful to you for any suggestions you may have.

The time has come to conclude the conference. The World Policy Conference process will naturally continue and I hope to expand it. I also would like to see as many of you as possible stay involved.

I wish to warmly thank all of those who made this beautiful conference in Marrakech possible. Several teams took part: the Ifri staff, of course, with great devotion and commitment. And the Moroccan teams, which played a decisive role in our success. All deserve our appreciation.

I am especially grateful to our sponsors, without whom none of this would have been possible. I hope that we lived up to the confidence they showed in us.

I would like to conclude by acknowledging the interpreters. I know they did a remarkable job.

Lastly, ladies and gentlemen, I want to thank all of you for participating in the discussions and making them as valuable as they were.

PRESS

المصحات



Learning to Speak Anew in a Tribal World

By **William Pfaff**, *International Herald Tribune*, November 5, 2009

MARRAKECH, Morocco – The international conversation among foreign policy-makers and political specialists (on the Western side of the world, at least) has since the Cold War and the Second World War tended to be Anglophone and something of an American monologue.

There has been a perfectly good reason for that, at least on the Western side of the Cold War, since ambitious young politicians, officials and military men from Europe and elsewhere went to the United States to study after 1945, and the U.S. government conscientiously subsidized many scholarships and overseas policy studies centers.

There wasn't the same traffic the other way across the Atlantic by young and ambitious Americans. This is why, until Gen. Charles de Gaulle came back to power in France in 1958, Western Europe was an Atlanticist and Anglophone bastion. This now is changing.

I use the terms Anglophone or English-speaking rather than the usual French and Continental expression Anglo-Saxon, meaning Anglo-American. That term is still widely used in Europe, but erroneously, as Anglo-Saxon actually means a (German) Saxon in England.

The Saxons and Angles were Germanic tribes who took over England in the 5th century –together with the Jutes; but we won't go into the Jutes, since they were a Low German tribe. Saxony, today, is High German, and, in any case, all of them, once settled in England, were in 1066 taken over by the French Normans –who, of course, were really Scandinavians.

The point of this digression is that political domination progresses and changes, and something like this is happening today.

I'm not aware of any modern Americans who think of themselves as descending from Angles or Jutes –and certainly not from the French, even the Norman French; to do that on the recent American political scene might be considered un-American.

(Barack Obama, on the presidential campaign trail, did not face the accusation of being French, as John Kerry did four years before, even though the Kerrys are presumably Celts, from Ireland, which one would think OK for an American to be. For a hundred years now, all the football players at the University of Notre Dame, wherever their parents happened to come from, have been Fighting Irish.)

It might seem that the world today, in an era of terrorism, would be becoming more rather than less tribal than it was in the early post-Second World War years. Woodrow Wilson, in 1919, had thought it would be good for all the Europeans to have their own nationalistic little countries. This made an enormous amount of trouble and helped bring on the Second World War. Slobodan Milosevic, in tearing apart Wilson's united Yugoslavia in the late 1980s and the 1990s, was making a start toward a Third World War. Some terrorists have the same thing in mind.

At Marrakech, a new version of the international policy conversation has been taking place. It is called the World Policy Conference. It has been created by France's (unofficial) Institut Francais des Relations Internationales and is meant to become an annual affair devoted to the proposition that the world has arrived at a point when serious things have to be done to strengthen international institutions of governance.

The principal speakers at last week's meeting were officials or scholars from Brazil, Saudi Arabia, Japan, Turkey, Togo, Bolivia, South Korea, India, Israel, Algeria, Egypt, Senegal, Mexico and Mongolia, with a considerable unofficial Russian presence.

The usual European governments were prominently represented at official or semiofficial levels, as well as the IMF, the Arab League, the International Energy Agency –but curiously enough, not the United States, despite a “high-level” commitment.

The United States today is widely perceived as a large part of the current world problem. Today, the effort is how to cultivate new institutions of international cooperation and “governance.” Washington used to do it all alone, but a major part of the world is restless.

People speak of a “multipolar world,” and the reason that Europeans are leading the effort to develop the new international dialogue is simply that the European Union now is seen globally as the modern model for democratic international institutions.



Diplomatic Memo; Europe Still Likes Obama, But Doubts Creep In

By **Steven Erlanger**, *The New York Times*, November 2, 2009



MARRAKECH, Morocco – The election of Barack Obama as president seemed to most Europeans to be unadulterated good news, marking an end to the perceived unilateralism and indifference to allied views of former President George W. Bush.

But nine months into Mr Obama's presidency, trans-Atlantic relations are again clouded by doubts. Europe and the United States remain at least partly out of sync on Afghanistan, the Middle East, Iran and climate change.

Many Europeans argue that Mr Obama has not broken clearly enough with Bush administration policies that they dislike, while some Americans argue that the Europeans are too passive, watching Mr Obama struggle with difficult issues, like Afghanistan and the detention center at Guantánamo Bay, without providing much substantive help.

Many of these concerns will be central to the United States-European Union meeting in Washington beginning Tuesday that Mr Obama will lead, and they were the subject of debate at a World Policy Conference run by the French Institute of International Relations in Marrakesh over the weekend.

Mr Obama remains popular with the European public, but a senior European official said that he was worried about an underlying disaffection. "It's dangerous, because we must not get into a spiral of dissatisfaction on both sides," he said. These generalizations lack real substance, he said, but the criticism runs that "the U.S. thinks that Europeans don't want to do anything to help and the Europeans feel that the U.S. is naïve and not delivering enough."

Another senior European official said that for "all the talk of multilateralism" and the European contribution of aid and NATO troops to the fight against the Taliban, which has brought more than 500 European deaths, Afghanistan remained an American show. "Europeans are sitting around waiting for Washington to decide what the Afghanistan policy is going to be," he said.

On Iran, Europeans, and especially the French, are concerned that Mr Obama could sacrifice the principle of preventing Tehran from enriching uranium—as demanded by the United Nations Security Council—to get what seems like an agreement for broad talks with Iran on regional and bilateral issues.

President Nicolas Sarkozy of France went so far as to chide Mr Obama in public at the United Nations General Assembly in September, saying: "I support America's outstretched hand. But what has the international community gained from these offers of dialogue? Nothing but more enriched uranium and centrifuges."

A lot of the problem is the fault of the Europeans themselves, said Hubert Védrine, a former French Foreign Minister. "Europe for Obama is not a priority, not a problem and not a solution for his problems," he said in an interview here. "Obama keeps a distance and has a kind of hauteur" with European leaders, Mr Védrine said. "But that's not a sufficient reason for Europeans to act like spectators" as Mr Obama tries to cope with his challenges. "I think it's necessary to help him," he said.

European nations have been slow to help Mr Obama with the major points on his agenda. They have so far agreed to take only a handful of detainees from the Guantánamo detention center, which Mr Obama vowed to close within a year. And European countries that belong to NATO have also been slow to provide Mr Obama much extra help in Afghanistan, in part because many Europeans strongly oppose the war and Washington has not yet agreed upon a compelling new strategy to succeed in Afghanistan.

Jean-David Levitte, Mr Sarkozy's diplomatic counselor and former ambassador to the United States, said that Europe nonetheless remained Washington's best ally. Mr Obama's election was enthralling to Europeans, he said, "transforming the image of the United States in just several months." He said, "We all feel a stake in the U.S."



Le Figaro

France • 2/11/09

La France a des idées pour rénover la gouvernance mondiale. Jean-David Levitte, le conseiller diplomatique du président Sarkozy, les a exposées samedi soir à Marrakech dans le cadre de la 2^e World Policy Conference (WPC), qui a réuni plus de 120 participants venus de trente pays, à l'initiative de l'Institut français des relations internationales (Ifri).

The New York Times

United States • 1/11/09

Many Europeans argue that Mr. Obama has not broken clearly enough with Bush administration policies that they dislike, while some Americans argue that the Europeans are too passive, watching Mr. Obama struggle with difficult issues, like Afghanistan and the detention center at Guantánamo Bay, without providing much substantive help. Many of these concerns will be central to the United States-European Union meeting in Washington beginning Tuesday that Mr. Obama will lead, and they were the subject of debate at a World Policy Conference run by the French Institute of International Relations in Marrakech over the weekend.

elEconomista.es

Spain • 1/11/09

El ex presidente de la Generalitat Jordi Pujol dicta esta tarde una conferencia en la II World Policy Conference, que se realiza desde el viernes hasta hoy domingo en Marraquech (Marruecos), donde hablará sobre el papel de las regiones. Según informaron a Europa Press fuentes de CiU, el congreso está organizado anualmente por el Institut Français des Relations Internationales (Ifri), una entidad de debate sobre los retos en el mundo, y que dirige Thierry Montbrial.

Les Afriques

Switzerland • 1/11/09

Thierry de Montbrial, président de l'Institut français des relations internationales, parle de l'ONU, du FMI, de la Banque mondiale et de la Françafrique... A l'occasion de la deuxième édition du World Policy Conference, tenu du 30 au 1er novembre à Marrakech, en présence de représentants de 33 pays, nous avons rencontré Thierry de Montbrial, président fondateur.

Al Marrakchia

Morocco • 10/10/09

وأشار المنظمون إلى أن المؤتمر، الذي يجمع رجال سياسة ومسؤولي منظمات دولية ورؤساء مقاولات كبرى وخبراء وباحثين، يشكل مناسبة لتبادل الأفكار حول الحكامة العالمية في جميع جوانبها وخاصة منها الجيوسياسية والاقتصادية والبيئية.

РИА Новости

Russia • 30/10/09

Маргарита Кислова. Представители 30 стран мира, а также международных организаций, бизнесмены, эксперты и исследователи обсудят на Второй конференции по глобальному управлению (World Policy Conference/WPC) вопросы мировой политики во всех аспектах, включая геополитический, экономический и экологический, сообщает в субботу марокканское агентство МАП.

Xinhua

China • 31/10/09

The second World Policy Conference (WPC) started in the Moroccan city of Marrakech Friday with the participation of representatives of 30 countries from the world, state news agency MAP reported. This year's edition of the event gathers over 120 delegates from different countries, organizers said. Meanwhile, major international firms will take part in the event, especially those being active in the energy, finance, health, industry and development sectors.

서울 = 뉴스와이어

Korea • 30/10/09

한승수 전 총리는 모로코 마라케쉬에서 개최되는 제2차 세계경제 정책회의(10.30-11.1)에 참석하여, '녹색성장'을 주제로 기조연설을 할 예정이며, 동 회의 참석계기 2010년 한-스페인 수교60주년, 2011년 한-포르투갈 수교50주년을 앞두고 양국과의 우호협력관계 증진을 위해 대통령특사로 11.2(월)-6(금)간 포르투갈 및 스페인을 방문할 예정이다. ※ 세계경제회의(World Policy Conference)는 프랑스 국제관계 연구소(IFRI)에서 주관

Kuwait News Agency

Kuwait • 29/10/09

القاهرة - 29 - 10 (كونا) - يتوجه الأمين العام لجامعة الدول العربية عمرو موسى السبت المقبل الى مدينة مراكش المغربية في زيارة تستمر عدة أيام يشارك خلالها في فعاليات مؤتمر السياسة العالمية الذي ينظمه المعهد الفرنسي للعلاقات الدولية. وذكر المتحدث باسم الأمين العام لجامعة الدول العربية المستشار عبد العليم الأبييض في تصريح صحفي اليوم أن عددا كبيرا من المسؤولين الدوليين سيشارك في المؤتمر الذي يستمر لمدة يومين .

Bernama

Malaysia • 1/11/09

من جهته، حذر الرئيس المؤسس لـ "مؤتمر السياسة الدولية"، مدير المعهد الفرنسي للعلاقات الدولية، السيد تيري دو مونتريال، من تداعيات الأزمة الاقتصادية والمالية، التي تشكل في نظره بداية لمسلسل أزمات أكثر خطورة، مشيرا الى أنه "لايمكن لأي أحد التكهن بعدد السنوات التي تلزمننا لإعادة وضع النظام الاقتصادي على المسار الصحيح".

Al Hayat

Saudi Arabia • 2/11/09

وقال اركادي دفوركوفيتش وهو مستشار بارز لميدفيديف في مؤتمر السياسة الدولية في مراكش: «لا نزال متفائلين في شأن توقيع اتفاق جديد هذا العام والذي سينطوي على تقدم كبير للعالم في هذه المسألة». واضاف في وقت متأخر من مساء السبت: «لدينا الآن حوار جيد وبناء للغاية في شأن المسألة. اعتقد أن العقبات اغلبها فني وبوسعنا إتمام الأمر في الوقت المناسب».

Al Youm

Algeria • 29/10/09

موسى فى مراكش السبت لمقبل

يتوجه الأمين العام لجامعة الدول العربية عمرو موسى، السبت المقبل، إلى مراكش للمشاركة فى فعاليات مؤتمر السياسة العالمية بدعوة من المعهد الفرنسى للعلاقات الدولية، وبمشاركة عدد من المسؤولين



PARTNERS & ORGANIZER





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OCP Group has been providing phosphate, one of the three key nutrients used to fertilize soils, for more than 80 years, and is a major contributor to the development of Morocco. It represents 15 to 20% of the total exports of the country and has an important social impact on 80 to 100 000 families. It is a global company with assets on 4 continents and commercial presence in 5 continents.



The Crédit Populaire du Maroc (CPM) is mainly in charge of fostering the development of all the SMEs, craft, industrial and service companies by the granting of short, medium and long-term loans. It contributes to the deployment of savings, their use in the regions where they are collected and the promotion of local and banking activities.



As the 5th largest publicly-traded integrated oil and gas company in the world and a major actor in the chemicals business, Total has operations in more than 13 countries on 5 continents with approximately 97 000 employees. The group's strategy involves deploying a sustainable growth model combining the acceptability of its activities with a sustained program of profitable investments.



World leader in building materials, Lafarge extracts resources from the heart of the earth to make materials to bring to the heart of life. Present in 79 countries, the Group responds to the world's demand for housing and infrastructure and is driven by the needs of its customers, shareholders, local communities and architects.



Novartis provides healthcare solutions that address the evolving needs of patients and societies and thus offers a diversified portfolio such as innovative medicines, cost-saving generic pharmaceuticals, preventive vaccines, diagnostic tools and consumer health products. Based in Basel, Switzerland, it is the only company with leading positions in each of these areas, employs approximately 99 000 full-time-equivalent associates and operates in more than 140 countries around the world.



In June 2005, the Zinsou Foundation opened its doors in Cotonou, Benin. While at first mainly an exhibition space for African artists, it has expanded its horizons and activities over the past four years. The Foundation's work now includes a variety of cultural, educational and social initiatives.



EFG Group is an international banking group which is organized into two groups: EFG International which is a global private banking and asset management group headquartered in Zurich, Switzerland, and listed on the SIX Swiss exchange (EFGN); Eurobank EFG, which is one of the largest banking groups in Greece, listed on the Athens Stock Exchange (EUROB).



PricewaterhouseCoopers is the major international firm providing industry-focused insurance, tax and advisory services for public and private clients. It refers to the network firms of PricewaterhouseCoopers International Limited, each of which is a separate and independent legal entity.



MérieuxAlliance, the family holding company of Alain Mérieux, comprises 4 companies dedicated to public health such as prevention, diagnosis, prognosis, treatment and clinical follow-up: Bio Mérieux and Transgene in France; Silliker and ABL Inc. in the United States. It employs 10 000 people worldwide.



Established in Trieste in 1831, Assicurazioni Generali is the parent company of an international group operative in 64 countries, with key operations concentrated in continental Europe. Over the years, the Group has expanded its operations in Central-Eastern Europe and in Asia and is the 3rd major European insurer.

MEDIAS



The Figaro Group is a media company working on both paper and digital supports. It is led by *Le Figaro*, France's best selling newspaper. It releases weekly magazines focused on investigation journalism, woman-trend and TV news. Lefigaro.fr is France's leading news website. The group also includes sites dealing with sports, economics, weather forecast or classified advertisement.



L'Express is the leading newsmagazine on French market. Every week, its award-winning team of journalists investigate, uncover and make sense of the news, applying the values which led the founders, Françoise Giroud and Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, close to 60 years ago: to be modern, opinionated, independent. Along with its highly successful website, *L'Express* now accompanies readers every minute of the day, providing insight and depth.



France 24 is the French international news channel broadcast 24/7 in 3 languages: French, English and Arabic. It gives a French perspective to international current events through diversity of opinion, debates and confrontation of viewpoints and is available on the main satellite positions and commercial feeds reaching more than 100 million households in Europe, Africa, the Middle East, Asia and the east coast of the United States.



Al Jazeera, which means "the Island" or "the Peninsula" in Arabic, referring to the network's status as the only independent news network in the Middle East, is a television network headquartered in Doha, Qatar. Initially launched as an Arabic news and current affairs satellite TV channel with the same name, Al Jazeera has since then expanded into a network with several outlets, including the Internet and specialty TV channels in multiple languages, and in several regions of the world.



Organizer

French Institute of International Relations



French Institute of International Relations (Ifri), 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. In 2009, for the third consecutive year, Ifri is ranked by the University of Pennsylvania as one of the top ten most influential 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 debate are published in the 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 large range of topics, and linked to various international networks, Ifri is today a major prospective and policy-oriented European think tank.

Thierry de Montbrial
President

Song-Nim Kwon
Advisor to the President

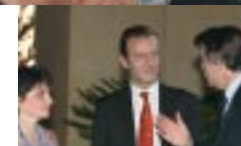
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