

Global Governance

December 9-11, 2011 - Vienna - Austria

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December 9-11, 2011 - Vienna, Austria



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PRESIDENT'S NOTES



For better global governance

The 2008 financial crisis, climate change, euro zone crisis, Arab Spring and Fukushima disaster have lent additional credence to the approach of the World Policy Conference, an international meeting conceived of in 2007 as a place where leaders can put their heads together and think about ways of improving global governance. The fourth conference's participants — figures at various levels and in various areas of governance — have contributed their ideas, remarks and proposals, whose salient points we have gathered here. The prevailing overall impression is that, despite the sometimes-serious issues the world faced in 2011 and the fears they inspired, a system of global governance that is making headway under the pressure of events and mindsets has helped to keep the situation under control so far. Better organisation and stronger means of global governance and powers, such as those the WPC advocates, should go a long way towards helping to solve global problems, foster security and bring prosperity to an ever-widening circle of people.

Europe and the euro

The crisis rocking Europe has two main immediate causes: Greece's economic weakness and the lack of convergence of the euro zone's 17 members. In the long term, convergence, which has turned out to be an essential condition for the euro's success, requires an improvement of and a better balance between the euro zone countries' competitiveness. In the shorter term, it means that each country must stick to rigorous budget and fiscal policies and follow set rules. Departing from those rules is what led to the sovereign debt crisis, which, in the long term, has the potential to destroy democracies and the middle class. The crisis requires the implementation of drastic policies in an emergency context. In the present situation, the northern countries, which have smaller deficits and debts, must agree to manage their surpluses in a spirit of solidarity with other countries in Europe. Outside aid requires the IMF's intervention.

Institutional arrangements, particularly those involving the euro, proved insufficient. They must not only promote stability, but also ensure the return of growth. Implementation of existing regulations and more coordination are absolutely necessary to head off another crisis. Structural reforms must supplement financial measures dictated by urgency. Major strides have already been made for the euro zone's organisation, but it will take time to see their effects.

Moreover, policy cannot be boiled down to cold calculation of the national interest. Europe must put its values at the heart of the integration process. Bold, responsible policies must find popular support, which requires more advanced information and non-partisan awareness-raising campaigns to explain what is at stake. More democracy and federalism can help fill Europe's democratic deficit. Europeans must be sufficiently receptive to globalisation in order to give a new impetus to their economies.

The G20

The G20 is a huge step forward for the global economy. It brings together the global system's heavyweights and accounts for over 85% of the world's GDP and two-thirds of its population. To boost its legitimacy, the group's composition should undergo review every five years based on regional and economic criteria. Prodding candidate states to improve their governance would give that modification on a regular basis an additional advantage.

The G20 should also monitor the implementation of global financial regulations and evaluate their impact. But its meetings must not just bring together finance ministers; they must become a global steering committee where foreign affairs ministers address global governance issues. An agriculture ministers' meeting could include countries not represented at the G20.

Lastly, the G20 should tackle social issues in order to stem the increasingly intolerable tide of rising inequality. It should be more involved in Europe's problems, in cooperation with the IMF.

Global governance

Globalisation and technological changes are challenging the power of sovereign States and international institutions. Established institutions and systems are by nature resistant to change and tempted to defend their acquired advantages. New forms of governance should not just involve the biggest or the most powerful. The present multilateral system is far too complex. Over 158,000 agreements and conventions hinder the dynamism of international institutions.

The scope of globalisation requires a sense of scale. It is necessary to learn how to break down disciplinary boundaries and become much more respectful of normative values and systems that are different from those of the main global players.

Conflict resolution

The rapprochement between Poland and Russia can be considered a model of effective reconciliation policy. The key factor of success lies in the promotion of mutual understanding by an exchange of political or historical viewpoints backed by local religious and spiritual communities.

How can this method be applied to the conflicts between Latvia and Russia, India and Pakistan, Greece and Turkey or Thailand and Cambodia? No two conflicts are alike. It is necessary to act on a case-by-case basis, organise discussion and build trust. Lastly, it is necessary to call upon groups of independent persons, who are in a better position to reframe the issues and take a fresh look at conflicts that often date back centuries.

This brief summary obviously cannot do justice to the richness of the fourth WPC's debates, available in their entirety at www.worldpolicyconference.com (see also www.worldpolicyconferencetv.com). The conference ended on a relatively upbeat note, but the improvement of global governance is a race against time. The WPC's goal is to contribute to the success of the shifts necessary for successful globalisation to blossom. Otherwise, the world may break up again into hostile blocs or, perhaps worse, anarchy.



Thierry de Montbrial
President and founder

The biggest disasters in the past two years have certainly not been nuclear. Floods in Pakistan produced more than 10,000 deaths, and in China, air pollution kills 400,000 people a year. Coal mining accidents claim more lives each year than all nuclear catastrophes combined.

Internet was originally designed to keep information flowing in the event of nuclear war. It can play a part in disaster management, just as the GPS system does.

Development and security

The 21st century's threats and challenges are putting governments' ingenuity and flexibility to the test. States and governments face five global security threats:

- i) The growth and spread of extremist or fundamentalist ideas, wellsprings of terrorism. Governments must react to the legitimisation of terrorist acts justified by a simplistic discourse (for example «religion is under threat»).
- ii) Cyberwar: the more interconnected the world becomes, the higher the risk that information systems can be shut down. The anonymity of cyberspace makes it an ideal weapon for outlaws. But cyberattacks are not wars. Their impact is limited and they do not aim to acquire new territories, powers or resources — unless they are a first stage preceding real attacks. The nature of the Internet seems to rule out its governance, but governments are cooperating on Internet security and talks are under way to draft a possible «Internet Geneva Convention».
- iii) Terrorist or rogue groups may develop nuclear strike capabilities or the ability to electronically disrupt nuclear reactors. Movements may carry out attacks on nuclear facilities. The IAEA is keeping an eye on Iran's official nuclear facilities. That State signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and has provided a list of sites concerned, but other facilities may be hidden and undeclared. If Iran acquired nuclear weapons, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Egypt would follow suit, spelling the end of the NPT. It is therefore necessary to keep atomic weapons out of Iran's hands by any legal means possible. The IAEA has decided to create a low-enriched uranium bank to control the flow of radioactive materials better and ensure supply if a problem occurs. One reserve already exists in Siberia. Going further, the idea of nuclear fuel assurance (NFA), guaranteeing the supply of users by producer countries in the form of contracts between the nations involved and the IAEA, has recently been adopted.
- iv) The security of what are sometimes called global public goods must be guaranteed. The oceans can become conflict zones. Countries have always bitterly disputed maritime borders (especially in the Asia-Pacific region). Outer space can also become a battleground.
- v) Drug trafficking and transnational criminal activity are rocking political and social stability, infringing upon human rights and holding back economic development in many parts of the world. The remedies are known but hard to implement: the reinforcement of the primacy of law and of the police, the prevention of terrorism and the fight against corruption, trade in human beings and illegal migration.

The existing multilateral architecture does a poor job of integrating the growing, multifaceted influence of non-state players. The role of companies should be fully recognised in «sector-based» approaches.

The «triangle of coherence» must be consolidated. The G20 assumed leadership on this issue straightaway. Specialised international institutions and UN agencies implement and mobilise their expertise and organisational skills. Lastly, the UN co-ordinates the policies required to meet these global challenges.

Democracy and human rights

Governance, democracy and human rights do not necessarily go hand-in-hand. Any combination is possible. Great principles are not naturally universal, and some regimes take advantage of that argument to block progress in their countries.

Many countries that do not respect human rights sit on the Human Rights Council. That is unacceptable. A mechanism to periodically assess human rights records has been set up and involves every State, without exception, in order to ensure that body's legitimacy. Poor countries cannot be the only ones targeted, which was often the case in the past.

The Arab Spring asserted a yearning for human dignity, democracy, social justice, employment and the end of corruption. People everywhere demand respect for human rights. The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights remains an indisputable, visionary touchstone.

People must have avenues of recourse when their rights are flouted. By their very existence, and also by their actions, universities, international institutions and non-governmental organisations can move democracy and human rights forward.

We know that the United States will not join the International Criminal Court (ICC) as long as heads of State do not enjoy certain protections against the many judicial actions possible. However, they backed the ICC's intervention in the Darfour tragedy, indicating that they accept the court's reality. In that regard, a request should be made to bring Syria's leaders before the ICC.

Companies, human rights and governance

Private initiatives originating with the UN (Global Compact) or NGOs seek to lead companies, especially multinationals, to follow a certain number of rules involving people and the places where they work. Commitments and pacts can be established. We are only at the start of a long process. It will be necessary to monitor the application of these rules everywhere, whatever the political environment and the local government.

Given their wealth and, often, the poverty of the local populations in the areas where they operate, multinationals must become more involved in solving major humanitarian problems — hunger, disease, lack of education — if only on the local scale.

The social model

Demonstrators worldwide are upset that governments no longer live up to citizens' expectations, especially when it comes to equality. If undeserved privilege and an unjust distribution of wealth become the norm, it will be hard to assuage people's anger.

Scandinavia can be considered a model for the reinvention of the West when it comes to equality. Income inequality is limited in every State making up the region. But no social model lasts forever in a fast-changing world. The challenge is to strike a balance between security and performance.

With education and information, it is necessary to fight the rise of populist movements that draw their strength from the present troubles to promise simplistic solutions to complex problems.

Energy and the environment

It is the duty of governments to tell energy companies what they must do and comply with in the framework of clear, stable regulations.

It is absolutely essential to promote the reduction of carbon emissions. The concept of sustainable growth must be systematically expanded. Companies should be rated for their environmental performances.

Food security

How can nine billion people be healthily fed between now and 2050? That is the challenge of food security.

Food price volatility is a serious problem for poor populations. Today's high prices are the outcome of decades-long underinvestment in agriculture that must be remedied. The most noteworthy technological breakthroughs probably involve genetically-modified organisms (GMOs), the improvement and use of fertilisers and irrigation, and the use of second- and third-generation biofuels.

The experiences of Brazil, India and China show that the food production chain must be organised, paying particular attention to cooperative organisations: some of the most efficient producers in Brazil and other emerging countries belong to cooperatives.

Health

Progress has been made on the 2000 Millennium Goals but there is still a long way to go. Health is too often still perceived as a matter of sovereignty, but it is a major international challenge.

In the Western countries, funding for innovation comes chiefly from the private sector or public/private partnerships. If pharmaceutical companies do not have an efficient structure for undertaking risky long-term investments, they will cut their research and future innovation capabilities.

Global health citizenship could be promoted in the G20 and WHO in order to develop a set of standards and good practices.

Global governance and disasters

States alone cannot shoulder the full burden of dealing with the aftermath of major disasters that befall them. Global governance must intervene in this type of situation and organise itself to be able to cope with any eventuality.

The Fukushima catastrophe pointed up the need for tighter safety standards. IAEA inspections must be strengthened insofar as nuclear technology must continue to be used for economic reasons. Total transparency is required. However, as for any risky activity, absolute safety is impossible. We can only reduce the risks.

Friday, December 9

- 15:00 – 16:00** **Opening session**
Thierry de Montbrial, President and founder of the WPC
- Opening speeches**
Heinz Fischer, President of the Republic of Austria
Abdullah Gül, President of the Republic of Turkey,
 Guest of honor of the 4th edition of the WPC
- 16:00 – 16:15** **Coffee-break**
- 16:15 – 17:00** **Plenary session 1**
The ECB and the sustainability of the Euro
- Speaker: **Peter Praet**, Member of the ECB's Executive Board
 Chair: **Thierry de Montbrial**
- 17:00 – 19:00** **Plenary session 2**
“Arab spring and global governance”
- Speakers: **Amr Moussa**, former Secretary General of the League of Arab States, candidate to the Egyptian presidential elections
HRH Prince Turki al-Faisal, Chairman of King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies
Edward Djerejian, Founding Director of James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, former US Ambassador to Syria
Christophe de Margerie, Chairman & CEO of Total
 Chair: **Volker Perthes**, Chairman and Director of *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP)*
- 19:00 – 20:15** **Plenary session 3**
“Major catastrophes and global governance”
- Speakers: **Yukiya Amano**, Director General of the IAEA
Scott Charney, Corporate Vice President, *Turstworthy Computing* of Microsoft
 Chair: **Jim Hoagland**, Associate Editor, Chief Foreign Correspondent of the *Washington Post*
- 20:15 – 21:15** **Welcome cocktail**
- 21:15 – 23:00** **Dinner at the Hofburg Palace (Conference Center)**
Herbert Stepic, CEO of Raiffeisen Bank International

Saturday, December 10

- 09:00 – 10:15** **Plenary session 4**
“Corporate social responsibility and global governance”
- Speakers: **Mary Robinson**, former President of Ireland, President of the Mary Robinson Foundation
Narayana Murthy, President and founder of *Infosys Technologies Limited*
 Chair: **Bruno Lafont**, Chairman and CEO of Lafarge Group
- 10:15 – 10:45** **Coffee-break**
- 10:45 – 12:15** **Plenary session 5**
“The future of the G8 and G20: challenges and prospects for the economic and financial systems”
- Speakers: **Jacob A. Frenkel**, Chairman of JPMorgan Chase International, former Governor of the Bank of Israel
Il Sakong, Presidential Envoy of the Republic of Korea
Lourdes Aranda, Sherpa of Mexico to the G20, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico
 Chair: **Kemal Dervis**, Vice-President for Global Economy at the Brookings Institution and Senior Advisor at the Sabanci University; former Minister of Economic Affairs of Turkey
- 12:30 – 14:30** **Déjeuner-débat**
 avec **Kishore Mahbubani**, Dean and Professor in the Practice of Public Policy of the *Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore*
- 14:45 – 15:30** **Plenary session 6**
“Debriefing of the European Council”
- Jean-David Levitte**, Diplomatic Advisor and Sherpa of President Nicolas Sarkozy
- 15:30 – 17:00** **Plenary session 7**
“Europe as a laboratory for global governance”
- Speakers: **Toomas Hendrik Ilves**, President of the Republic of Estonia
Bartholomew 1st, Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople
Fu Ying, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China
Kemal Dervis, Vice-President for Global Economy at the Brookings Institution and Senior Advisor at the Sabanci University; former Minister of Economic Affairs of Turkey
 Chair: **Charles Kupchan**, Professor in international relations at the Georgetown University

17:00 – 17:30 Coffee-break

17:30 – 19:30 Parallel workshops

- 1. Energy and environment**
Manoëlle Lepoutre, Executive Vice President, Sustainable Development and Environment of Total
Paal Frisvold, Chairman of the Board of *Bellona Europa asbl*
Kristina Rüter, Research Director of *Oekom research AG*
William Ramsay, Senior Advisor of the Center for Energy at Ifri
- Speakers:
 Chair:
- 2. Food security**
Louise Fresco, Professor at the University of Amsterdam
Yashwant Thorat, CEO of the Rajiv Gandhi Trust
Qu King, President of the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS)
Jean-Yves Carfantan, Senior Consultant, AgroBrasconsult
Mostafa Terrab, Chairman and CEO of OCP Group
- Speakers:
 Chair:
- 3. Health**
Petra Laux, Head of Global Public Affairs at Novartis
Steve Howard, Founding Secretary General of The Global Foundation
Jérôme Contamine, Executive Vice-President, Chief Financial Officer, and Member of the Executive Committee of Sanofi-Aventis
- Speakers:
 Chair:
- 4. Global Governance and its current state**
Sean Cleary, Chairman of Strategic Concepts (Pty) Ltd
Bruno Lafont, Chairman and CEO of Lafarge Group
Stewart Patrick, Senior fellow and director of the program on international institutions and global governance at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)
- 20:30** **Gala dinner at the Rathaus**
Martti Ahtisaari, former President of the Republic of Finland, Nobel Peace Prize 2008

Sunday, December 11

- 9:00 – 10:00** **Reports from parallel workshops**
- 10:00 – 11:15** **Plenary session 8**
“Development and security”
- Speakers: **M. K. Narayanan**, Former National Security Advisor of the Prime Minister; Governor of West Bengal of India
Yury Fedotov, Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
 Chair: **Jim Hoagland**, Associate Editor, Chief Foreign Correspondent of the *Washington Post*
- 11:15 – 11:30** **Coffee-break**
- 11:30 – 12:30** **Plenary session 9**
“Africa”
- Speakers: **Lionel Zinsou**, Chairman of PAI Partners
Jean-Michel Severino, Chairman of *Investisseur et Partenaire*, member of the French Academy of Technology
Christopher Dickey, *Newsweek Magazine*
 Chair:
- 12:30 – 13:30** **Déjeuner-débat**
“Lesson learned: an experience of the Polish-Russian rapprochement”
Anatoly Tokunov, Rector of the Moscow State Institute of International relations, Co-Chairman of the Polish-Russian Group on Difficult Matters
Adam Daniel Rotfeld, former Foreign Minister of Poland, Co-Chairman of the *Polish-Russian Group on Difficult Matters*
- 14:45 – 15:45** **Plenary session 10**
“Middle East”
- Speaker: **Ehud Barak**, former Prime Minister; Minister of Defense and Deputy Prime Minister of Israel
 Chair: **Steven Erlanger**, Paris Bureau Chief of the *New York Times*
- 16:00 – 18:00** **Plenary session 11**
“General debate”
- Speakers: **Hubert Védrine**, former French Minister of Foreign Affairs
Igor Ivanov, former Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs
Joschka Fischer, former German Minister of Foreign Affairs
Robert Badinter, former French Minister of Justice, former President of the Constitutional Council
 Chair: **Dominique Moïsi**, Special Advisor at Ifri
- 18:00 – 18:15** **Envoi**
- 20:30** **Closing dinner**

A group of men in suits shaking hands, rendered in a halftone dot pattern. The image is a black and white halftone print of a group of men in suits shaking hands. The dots are arranged in a grid, creating a textured effect. The men are smiling and appear to be in a celebratory mood. The text 'OPENING SESSION' is located in the top right corner.

OPENING
SESSION

Thierry de Montbrial

President and founder of the WPC



Globalisation means more and more interdependence, which leads to more and more complexity. With complexity comes uncertainty. The characteristic of complexity is that very small causes can have immense repercussions all over the system. These repercussions are fundamentally unpredictable. (...) when the bubble burst, it was something fundamentally unpredictable as far as the particular circumstances are concerned. When bubbles burst, it can lead to situations such as the present one, which affects the whole European Union. If the European Union were to start to dismantle, that could be a major factor of destabilisation for the whole world. (...) because of this growing uncertainty, governance is essential. Without governance, our highly interdependent system is likely to explode. (...) At some point, I wish we could draft a declaration of universal values



See the full speech
in video

Heinz Fischer

President of the Republic of Austria



In my view there are two core challenges on our Global Agenda: One is related to the needed development of our institutional framework and of the decision-making and -implementation processes at all levels. The other deals with the new societal dimension of our response. (...) The private sector has understood the fundamental infrastructural significance of international issues and is today a partner in the pursuit of global issues. (...) How can we realize a coordinated and complementary process of Global Governance with so many different actors, interests, visions and capacities? (...) Modern industrial management has provided us with a useful model. (...) I am referring to the concept of "management by objectives" which evolved for company structures where a large number of different actors share the same objectives and contribute to their achievement with different normative frameworks and operational responsibilities. (...) Private institutions have become important economic policy authorities. (...) Reinstating the primacy of politics is one of the major challenges – we cannot afford to waste this opportunity. By the end of 2008 the G-20 started with an ambitious initiative to re-regulate financial markets.



See the full speech
in video



Abdullah Gül

President of the Republic of Turkey,
Guest of honor of the 4th edition of the WPC



The Arab Spring; sovereign debt crisis in Europe; alarming tension between Iran and some other countries; (...) and finally, the nuclear contamination in Japan. All these factors have the potential to push the international system from a state of “imperfect equilibrium” into a “perfect imbalance”. Therefore, we have to be extremely vigilant on the global governance of these issues. (...) No single power can cope with these challenges alone. There is a need for truly effective multilateralism with the participation of the emerging powers. (...) If we want a sustainable international system, we must also think about devising new cooperation schemes to lift billions of people out of poverty. We should remind ourselves that development and security are directly linked and mutually reinforcing. (...) the emerging democracies in the MENA region are examining Turkish democratic experience and the institutional set-up. Turkey is a source of inspiration for them. (...) There is a rise in electoral support for political parties which portray immigration as the main cause of insecurity, unemployment, crime, poverty and social problems. As a result, we are extremely concerned about the rise of xenophobic and Islamophobic tendencies.



See the full speech in video



PLENARY
SESSIONS





The ECB and the sustainability of the Euro



Peter Praet
Member of the ECB's Executive Board

We at the ECB take our responsibilities. Monetary policy in the euro area will remain dedicated to our mandate, which is to maintain price stability over the medium term. The policy measures taken by the ECB have resulted in the Governing Council's outstanding record during the past 13 years in terms of price stability and anchoring of inflation expectations. The ECB will continue to remain an anchor of confidence and stability in a global economy characterised by marked uncertainties. This is the central contribution we can make to foster sustainable growth, job creation and financial stability in the euro area as a whole.



CHAIR:
Thierry de Montbrial
President and founder
of the WPC





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CHAIR:
Volker Perthes
Chairman and Director
of *Stiftung Wissenschaft
und Politik (SWP)*

Arab spring and global governance”



Amr Moussa
former Secretary General of the League
of Arab States, candidate to the Egyptian
presidential elections

I predict that the next Parliament will be an arena of real, serious discussion among different currents and ideologies, which is something that we have not had for the last 60 years. In my opinion, this is a positive point because what will emanate from that will be either a consensus or a serious discussion, with decisions to be taken not only by majority in the Parliament, but which will also translate the mood in the country – and the mood in the country is that Egypt will have to play its role as a member of the international community in the 21st Century. (...) We want to move together and have interaction where our world lives in a better way and with more connections.



HRH Prince Turki al-Faisal
Chairman of King Faisal Center for
Research and Islamic Studies

(...) King Abdullah introduced a decree where the suffrage in our electoral system was expanded to include women, not simply for voting rights but also to be represented in our electoral system. (...) All of these changes that are taking place in the Kingdom are taking place on a horizontal level but also on a vertical level and one thing that I can say about the Kingdom's approach to meeting these challenges of development, human rights, freedom and all the aspirations that people around the world share together (...) is that of reform. Reform is no longer a choice for us. It is an imperative. For us to be able to meet these challenges of providing justice, livelihood and equal opportunity for all is an opportunity as well as a challenge.



Edward Djerejian
Founding Director of James A. Baker III
Institute for Public Policy,
former US Ambassador to Syria

The United States is following a differentiated policy toward the «Arab Awakening.» United States policy is guided by two principal factors: First, adherence to American values such as freedom, democracy and human rights; and second, the pursuit of United States national security interests in the broader Middle East. In the long arch of history the United States identifies with the Arab Awakening's quest for individual freedom, equality of opportunity and broader political participation. In the near term, the United States must also pursue its national security interests in each country on a case by case basis.



Christophe de Margerie
Chairman & CEO of Total

From time to time, I like to use verbal formulas that have a lasting effect, but we have to remain relatively neutral because as a company we are not citizens of all the countries in which we operate. However, it is a kind of neutrality that I would describe as committed, certainly more committed than neutral. We cannot afford to adopt a “laissez-faire” position regarding certain situations or events when we are aware of the fact that something may be done to improve them a little. We may be mistaken, but as a stakeholder in all these countries we are entitled to have our say. That said, we must also listen and then try to find the best possible solutions with the politicians.



CHAIR:
Jim Hoagland
Associate Editor, Chief
Foreign Correspondent
of the *Washington Post*

Major catastrophes and global governance



Yukiya Amano
Director General of the IAEA

Showing the highest level of nuclear safety is a responsibility for each country. The role of the IAEA is to help them. Every country is varied and an international response is needed. Since the first day of the accident, the IAEA wanted to be at the centre of the international response. (...) I went to Japan just after the accident. I visited the Fukushima Daiichi site. We convened a Ministerial meeting and we adopted an action plan and now the priority is the implementation of the action plan. It is not words, but actions that count. The responsibility lies with each country. However, an international response is needed and the IAEA is now ready to take that responsibility.



Scott Charney
Corporate Vice President, *Trustworthy Computing* of Microsoft

I think the biggest thing that people need to start to appreciate in more detail is that the Internet is now connecting everyone's life. It is the social fabric. When the personal computers first came out, the idea was that there would be a computer on a desktop. Everyone's home and desk would have a computer. However, it was really embraced because of the push by enterprises to drive up work productivity. Today, of course, people are using communications technologies in every aspect of their life all the time. You can see this with the Arab Spring. As a result of that, what has happened is, we have got rid of the systems that would support regular human activity in the absence of the availability of machines.

Corporate social responsibility and global governance



CHAIR:
Bruno Lafont
Chairman and CEO
of Lafarge Group



Mary Robinson
former President of Ireland,
President of Mary Robinson Foundation



Narayana Murthy
President and founder of *Infosys Technologies Limited*



Bruno Lafont
Chairman and CEO of Lafarge Group

We now have soft law, the beginnings of global governance in the area of corporate responsibility for human rights. I believe the central challenge ahead is to turn the progress of the past decade into new actions that will move governments and markets sufficiently to make respect for human rights part of mainstream business practice around the world. Clearly, we are still at the very early stage of addressing private sector roles and responsibilities in ensuring respect for human rights. Much of the work ahead will involve applying these new internationally agreed principles to difficult challenges facing specific industry sectors in specific operating contexts.

As long as corporations seek respect from every stakeholder, I believe they will automatically use the power of corporate social responsibility to add value to society. It is very important to add value to society simply because society contributes customers, employees, vendor partners, politicians, bureaucrats and government officials. Therefore, if a corporation wants to exhibit longevity, if it wants to be in business for a long time, if it wants to add value to its stakeholders, then it is extremely important that the corporation lives in harmony with society. And that is where I believe corporate social responsibility becomes extremely important.

The novelty of the phenomenon of CSR is that it is moving from a peripheral and sometimes controversial function of the firm towards a more central and well accepted one, increasingly seen not only as a condition of survival for the firm today, the licence to operate, but as a powerful lever to render sustainable value creation in the long run. (...) Fundamental in this new role of corporates is their scale and reach in a globalised world. As they are both global and local, companies have the ability to promote CSR everywhere. Their multi-local nature can indeed be an irritant for states as it limits their autonomy, but it can also be a nice supplement to the role of states in managing public goods and redistributing the value created by globalisation.



The future of the G8 and G20: challenges and prospects for the economic and financial systems



CHAIR:
Kemal Dervis
Vice-President for Global Economy at the Brookings Institution and Senior Advisor at the Sabanci University; former Minister of Economic Affairs of Turkey



Jacob A. Frenkel
Chairman of JPMorgan Chase International, former Governor of the Bank of Israel

The World Economic System faces major challenges. The most urgent at the present time is the crisis of the euro system. (...) The long-term resolution of the Euro Crisis requires a much closer harmonization of fiscal policies and a much stricter adherence of fiscal rules. In order to succeed in the long-term the Euro Zone Countries will need to adopt structural measures that will contribute to improved productivity and higher sustainable growth. (...) The United States will start its modest recovery and a "double-deep", which was feared just not too long ago, seems to have been avoided. At the same time, Asia, led by the economies of China and India, will continue to grow at very rapid rates and Latin America, which in the past was the source of economic turmoil, is now becoming a source of stability and growth. In short, the picture of the global economy looks brighter than the one that is seen only through the European lens.



Il Sakong
Presidential Envoy of the Republic of Korea

In this age of deep globalization and high interdependence, globally concerted policy efforts are more important than ever in dealing with major crises at international or regional level. The appropriate governance system is particularly crucial at the global community level in this age of non-polar or G-Zero world. (...) the world at the time of the Seoul G20 Summit faced a heightened risk of global currency war. In fact, the G20's ability to avoid the potential currency debacle at Seoul certainly showed the world its potential to become a functioning global steering committee. (...) the current European crisis well illustrates the importance of appropriate governance and committed leadership in dealing with the crisis. There is no doubt that the crisis could have been managed much earlier without further contagion if there was a strong governance framework.



Lourdes Aranda
Sherpa of Mexico to the G20, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico

The priorities for Mexico will be: economic stability, international trade, financial regulation, food security, and green growth. In particular, Mexico will seek to:

- Restore economic stability to revive growth.
- Reject protectionist measures and explore ways to strengthen the multilateral trade system and its institutions.
- Reinforce the IMF's role to prevent future crises and clarify its role in the current crisis.
- Promote green growth issues, such as the establishment of the Green Fund and the implementation of programs to simultaneously alleviate poverty and reduce deforestation.



CHAIR:
Thierry de Montbrial
President and founder
of the WPC



Jean-David Levitte
Diplomatic Advisor and Sherpa
of President Nicolas Sarkozy

During that long night of negotiations between the 8th and 9th December, we adopted a number of rules, which we summed up in five key words. First, the convergence of our economies, without which the euro has no future. Second, discipline. (...) In the absence of fiscal discipline, there comes a time when there is an increase in debt, so we must return to fiscally sound policies. Third, solidarity, because if we have convergence and discipline, they will quite naturally lead to solidarity between the members of the 17 members of the euro zone club. Fourth, integration, precisely because convergence, discipline and solidarity will lead euro zone member countries to ever greater integration. Finally, competitiveness, because the path I have just described will enhance our competitiveness thanks to the adoption of the structural reforms we will be discussing in the first half of 2012. (...) We are not only determined to save the euro, but also determined to become one of the world's most competitive areas in the 21st century.

Debriefing of the European Council

Europe as a laboratory for global governance



Toomas Hendrik Ilves
President of the Republic of Estonia

My question is how long can we sustain or expect the Parliament to sustain its pro-European solidarity in a democratic country when it is going against the wishes of the electorate? I am afraid that it is not possible to do that for long. (...) Our range of movement is therefore limited and I would point out that the first Government to fall as a result of the crisis was one of the most responsible Governments in Europe and perhaps not coincidentally a new member - Slovakia. Slovakia decided to do the right thing and, again poorer than Greece, they committed themselves to the EFSF and the Government fell. That was the first political victim of the crisis in Europe and it was a Government that did all the things that we would expect a good European Government to do. I think that we will see more and more problems like that.



H.H. Bartholomew I
Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople

The European Union, and Europe more generally, is beyond all doubt a laboratory for global governance. However, as history shows, it is not the only one. (...) Europe, heir to medieval Christenheit, may be witnessing a repetition of the past. In the Middle Ages, the Western Christian ecumenical ideal confronted a similar but competitive challenge, namely Islam. The Crusades, the major episode of this "clash of globalizations," marked a tragic period of Mediterranean history. The modern European model of global governance may also have to reckon with alternative paradigms stemming from the global poles emerging in our time. Based on old and venerable civilizations, these poles have their own inherited wisdom in regard to the organization of large spaces. Divergent concepts of global governance, which arise whenever the balance between efficiency and legitimacy is at stake, might weaken the common effort, with grave global consequences.



Fu Ying
Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China

Comparing Europe to a "laboratory for governance" makes sense from the perspective of governance. Europe leads the world in industrialization, innovation, green economy and many other fields. (...) The European experience of the last half a century is largely successful. The world of ours, however, is one of diversity. Many things, culture, traditions, stage of development, vary from one region to another. China's neighborhood is on the other side of the globe. While there may be useful European experiences, they can't be simply transplanted. (...) There are many discussions about if China is to "rescue" Europe and how. (...) What Europe needs is not a savior but a cooperation partner.



Kemal Dervis
Vice-President for Global Economy at the Brookings Institution and Senior Advisor at the Sabanci University; former Minister of Economic Affairs of Turkey

I do not believe that there can be a successful end of the story without the surplus countries – the north, particular Germany but not only Germany – accepting that they also have to make an effort so that their surpluses do not continue at very high levels. (...) I believe that a significant increase in the space for pan-European politics has to enable the integration process (...) I do not think that this integration process (...) can work unless there is a strengthening of what I would call pan-European democracy. (...) Otherwise I think that the gap between the technocrats, the economists, the summits and the Councils and the everyday life of citizens will be too great and that will be the main obstacle to the success of Europe.



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CHAIR:
Charles Kupchan
Professor in international relations at the Georgetown University



CHAIR:
Jim Hoagland
Associate Editor, Chief
Foreign Correspondent
of the *Washington Post*

Development and security



M. K. Narayanan
Former National Security Advisor
of the Prime Minister;
Governor of West Bengal of India



Yury Fedotov
Executive Director of the United Nations
Office on Drugs and Crime

Emerging threats and challenges in the 21st Century are likely to test the flexibility, ingenuity and ability of governments worldwide. The element of risk is bound to increase as the Century progresses. As was evident in the case of the 'Arab Spring', governments display a weakness when it comes to prediction and anticipation of events and analysis of risks. States need to build adequate capacity for such eventualities to be able to deal with the likely upheavals in the 21st Century. The world will also need to build new structures to cope with the emerging dimensions of security in the 21st Century. This should include a capacity to deal with non-State actors. Also, it must be understood that no nation can today hope to protect its interests entirely on its own. This will call for closer cooperation and wider participation among countries and across continents.

Although there are many factors that impact upon security and development, one of the key challenges is transnational organized crime. Due to their multifaceted nature, transnational crime and drugs are capable of undermining security and hindering development. (...) These threats are evidence that, in terms of transnational drugs and crime, no country, no matter how big or powerful, is capable of dealing with these issues in isolation. We must accept that they can only be confronted if the international community accepts shared responsibility for this transnational issues. In addition, while drugs and crime, often appear to be local in nature, our solutions must be global.



CHAIR:
Christopher Dickey
Newsweek Magazine

Africa



Lionel Zinsou
Chairman of PAI Partners

Africa is still seen as a continent of conflicts, pandemic disease, hunger and so on. Five or six years ago, I would have said this ill perception was a major problem for Africa. Today I think it is a major problem for Europe. It has totally changed because as Africans, we have been perceived by the OECD countries as a sort of hopeless continent during the 1980s and 1990s. In a sense, we tended to share this view and to see ourselves through a sort of European or American biased viewpoint. This has totally disappeared. (...) Asia becomes important in Africa. (...) the perception of Africa by China is totally different. It is not neo-colonialism. It is just a country looking at a continent with a sort of pragmatic view and nothing like a colonial heritage. (...) I would say we are probably the continent where the rule of law is progressing the most and the fastest.



Jean-Michel Severino
Chairman of *Investisseur et Partenaire*,
member of the French Academy
of Technology

2011 is the first year where the GDP of non-OECD countries will be higher than the GDP of OECD countries. It also leads us to try to see whether we can find ways out of the major economic crisis that the OECD world faces by introducing new partners into the game. (...) Africa is going to reach a minimum of 1.8 billion people and probably more over the next 30 years. The second piece of news is that growth has resumed. Over the past decade, Africa has enjoyed a growth rate of above 5% per annum. If you maintain this trend over the next three decades, which is of course a theoretical assumption, then some time between 2040 and 2050, sub-Saharan Africa will enjoy an absolute GDP equal to the size of the current Chinese GDP. (...) Now Africa is the least indebted continent in the world because of the demographic dividend that Africa is now enjoying and which is going to create a growth engine that will last for about 70 to 80 years.



Middle East



CHAIR:
Steven Erlanger
Paris Bureau Chief
of the *New York Times*



Ehud Barak
former Prime Minister; Minister of Defense
and Deputy Prime Minister of Israel

If we could somehow miraculously end up with having mandatory high school education for each and every young woman in the Muslim world, it would change the whole landscape within a generation, (...) I believe that those leaders in the Arab world who opened their societies more for many voices and for women's advancement ended up more stable when they faced this Arab Spring. (...) We strongly believe in two states for two peoples: a strong independent Israel with its security considerations. (...) This will be side by side with a Palestinian democratic state that is de-militarized but living in a good way to express the dreams and the future of the Palestinian people. (...) after 44 years of reigning over what we call the region Judaea-Samaria, all settlements together do not cover even 2% of the area. We do not build new settlements. That is just propaganda. We add certain units to already existing settlements (...) the Iranians are trying to turn nuclear. It is a challenge for the whole world because a nuclear Iran will totally change the landscape of the Middle East.



General debate



Hubert Védrine
former French Minister of Foreign Affairs

The next developments in the great matter of governance will depend on whether or not alliances will be formed. If so, will they divide the world into hostile systems or will they make it possible to go beyond such hostility? (...) In my view, everything should be done to ensure that the new forms of government we are thinking about are not victims of the bipolar or oversimplified systems that paralysed the methods of government that had been imagined in the past. On paper, the system established in 1945 was good and the Security Council system was good because they were an improvement on the powerless League of Nations. However, some geopolitical events subsequently paralysed these systems. We must bear in mind the fact that we are thinking about the G20 of the future, the new European system etc.



Igor Ivanov
former Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs

Russia is also living through profound reforms. These are reforms that started 20 years ago with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and we have had a lot of discussions about reforms. (...) The new generation wants a real change and a real democratic system. If you compare them with Italy or Greece, they have not been talking about salaries or the pension age, but about the modernisation of the country and strengthening the democratic system. (...) In our country, people want evolution, not revolution. We have had revolutions and suffered from them. We want evolution and our country to be a modern country with strong democratic institutions. (...) Russia will need to be a strong player and have a modern economy. That is why we proclaimed the modernisation of our economy and to have a strong democratic system inside the country and speak the same language with other international players.



Joschka Fischer
former German Minister of Foreign Affairs

In the 21st Century the defining force will be the rise of the new powers or, even more, the desire of the people to get out of poverty and achieve the same living standard that we have been used to in the West. (...) A new industrial revolution, a so-called green revolution, will transform, together with the transformation of the global political system, the 21st Century and I think that that is an extremely important and positive development. We are talking about the redistribution of power when we look at the international system and a shift from the West to the East. The West has lost its monopoly. Is that terrible? (...) It is positive because it is a consequence of globalisation. (...) it will define the future. Will this be without contradictions? Definitely not. Will there be conflicts? Yes. However, I think that the underlying element will be cooperation because with 7 billion people and the new communication reality and the common challenges, cooperation that is also based on competition will be an important factor.



Robert Badinter
former French Minister of Justice, former President of the Constitutional Council

In the last analysis, the International Criminal Court (ICC) reports to the states because it lacks a stand-alone force. There is no international judicial police force that acts as the prosecutor's arm of the law. For pre-trial investigations, the ICC is entirely dependent on the resources made available to it by others, because it has a budget, without which it could not achieve its objectives. In these times of economic stringency, it is not easy for the ICC to obtain the funds it needs, which are indispensable. (...) In order to establish its credibility, the international criminal justice system has to be universal. In other words, legal proceedings must be initiated on the basis of the gravity of the crimes committed and not on the basis of the political interests of the member states. There are still too many states that benefit from absolute immunity thanks to the Security Council.



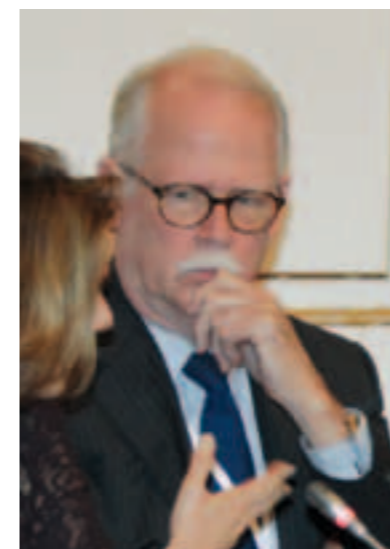
CHAIR:
Dominique Moïsi
Special Advisor at Ifri







1. Energy and environment



William Ramsay
Senior Advisor of the Center for Energy at Ifri

We have got a collective public policy objective here of providing abundant, affordable, secure, clean energy to more of the world's population than benefit from it now. (...) How many countries do you need around the table to resolve the issue? How many countries are critical to getting the kinds of decisions made that you can then implement more globally? (...) Energy policy makers are fully aware of what the policy options are and what the programmes could be. They understand the technologies. (...) You get the impression as you look around the marketplace that it is not really policy driving the markets, it is events. It is things that are happening beyond the control of politicians. (...) This is not a time of high political courage. We have too many elections going on. The economy around the world is too parlous and it is not a time when politicians make difficult decisions.



Manoëlle Lepoutre
Executive Vice President, Sustainable Development and Environment of Total

The main mission of an energy company like Total is to produce, transform, and make affordable and accessible energy for people (...) However, we want to do this by better understanding the impact we have on them and on the environment and to better integrate all the challenges. (...) Our first priority is to manage the risk associated with our operations, to avoid any major accidents and that is really a constant progress. (...) The second priority is to identify and adjust the environmental and health impact of our operations. (...) Every time we start the project we do what we call an environmental baseline meaning that we involve academic and scientific partners in the assessment of, for example, the biodiversity and sensitivity around our future installation. (...) Definitely for CO2 we think that there is a need for global rules.



Paal Frisvold
Chairman of the Board of *Bellona Europa asbl*

The fact is that we need to reduce emissions, we know that, but we also know that 80% of the world's energy is based on fossil fuels and that the global energy demand is increasing rapidly and vastly and that there are nearly two-thirds of the global population that does not have adequate access to energy. There are one billion people in the world without energy and the question is what we do about that. How do we allow all the people who do not have access to energy to grow out of poverty and still allow us to cut green house gas emissions?



Kristina Rüter
Research Director of *Oekom research AG*

Key challenges in the Oil & Gas industry include Climate protection and gradual shift to low-carbon/non-fossil energy sources, Minimisation of environmental risks and impacts of operations, Worker safety and accident prevention, Protection of human rights and livelihoods, and Transparency on payments to governments and anti-corruption. In addition to the Corporate Rating, Oekom screens a wide range of client-specific exclusion criteria covering certain business areas and controversial business practices. There is a track record of listed companies that had a favourable financial rating but an unfavourable Oekom Corporate Rating due to their environmental, social and governance performance at the time their share price crashed, which illustrates that sustainability analysis helps minimising investment risks.



2. Food security



Mostafa Terrab
Chairman and CEO
of OCP Group



Louise Fresco
Professor at the University of Amsterdam

We need to push for serious innovation. The things that have worked so well since the 1960s, the combination of plant nutrients, water, credit and infrastructure development needs to be reinvented in some ways. We have done a great deal with the so-called Green Revolution, but we have also seen the effects levelling off, and we need to find new ways to produce foods sustainably (...) we can better use the positive side of food price fluctuations to channel investments into agriculture, because it is also an opportunity and not just a tragedy, to make sure that the natural balance or rebalancing will take place in the marketplace by producing more food if there is a shortage if expressed by prices.



Yashwant Thorat
CEO of the Rajiv Gandhi Trust

One of the things that is quite clear now is that the impact of food prices, both high and volatile, is likely to continue. (...) the impact of world price changes on households are not generic; they are very highly context specific, and the impact of food price rises are dependent on the commodity, the national policies that affect price transmission from world markets to domestic markets, the demographic characteristics and production characteristics. (...) Price volatility makes small farmers increasingly vulnerable. High prices worsen food security in the short term but in the long run, they lead to investments being made in agriculture and to better food security, because countries feel they have to invest and increase productivity.



Qu Xing
President of China Institute of
International Studies (CIIS)

I summarise the measures taken by Chinese governments in this regard into 11 fields: first, intensifying supervision on the quality and safety of agricultural products, second, establishing and strictly implementing market access systems for food quality and safety, third, intensifying state supervision by sample surveys for food quality, fourth intensifying rectification of food workshops, fifth, promoting the responsibility system for regional food safety control, and sixth, stepping up supervision of the food circulation sector. The seventh is intensifying supervision of food safety in the catering industry, the eighth is carrying out rectification of overall food quality and safety, the ninth, speeding up the construction of a risk warning and emergency response system, the tenth is establishing and improving a food recall system, and the 11th is improving the food safety credit system.



Jean-Yves Carfantan
Senior Consultant, AgroBrasconsult

Food security claims to keep in mind two main points, first that most of the soil reservoir for feeding the population is located in wet tropical lands, especially in Africa, and these soils do not have the same behaviour as soils in Europe, where you cannot apply the same techniques without destroying the soil; you can add a lot of phosphorous without destroying African soils. However, the main problem is not situated here. The second point is to have more investment, as underlined in Brazil, in education, research, and innovation, and of course transferring results to the farmers as soon as possible, but not as engineers are now doing, meaning not just considering soils as a chemical box. Finally, I would just say that GMOs cover not much less than 10% of crop land today, and even if forbidden in France and other countries, there is real scientific progress.



3. Health



Jérôme Contamine
Executive Vice-President,
Chief Financial Officer, and Member of
the Executive Committee of Sanofi-Aventis

Health obviously is one of the main concerns around social responsibility and governance and health is a topic that deserves more attention than it probably has had in the past. (...) This has been linked to the improvement of the general wealth and the ability of developing countries, which have started to pull ahead of the developed world in many areas, to offer their population a health status that they could not afford some 10 or 15 years ago. (...) over the last 15 years, beyond the role of international bodies like the WHO, there are growing numbers of private foundations that play a significant role in helping to develop prevention, such as the Bill Gates Foundation and GAVI. (...) It is clear that there is still a huge gap between what could be a reasonable and acceptable level of health for the worldwide population and where we are today. (...) there are still a large number of unmet medical needs all over the world.



Petra Laux
Head of Global Public Affairs at Novartis

Health will always be a sovereign matter, but there is more than can be done. At first glance, it might look appealing to have a WHO with beefed-up powers, but healthcare systems vary enormously worldwide, so a very centralised global governance system is probably not the right thing to do. Is there an alternate solution? (...) Firstly, think about introducing a concept of a global health citizenship. (...) Secondly, the bodies of global governance might set up global health standards of practice and conduct. The third recommendation is to have an integrated approach involving all stakeholders, including the disadvantaged population. (...) In Europe, the rights of patients and access to healthcare are codified. (...) A global health citizenship index for all players to sign up to could be a good way of moving forward in health issues.



Steve Howard
Founding Secretary General of
The Global Foundation

Traditionally, health seemed to have been much more managed by government or inter-governmental processes, but this new move 10 years ago to have celebrity alliances like Gates and Buffet and others was quite spectacular. (...) The question I would raise is about goals. It is very hard to understand what global health goals are and who sets them. What is it that we are actually shooting to achieve and who determines that? There are of course the Millennium Development Goals, but how does this fit within a wider framework of human security and international decision making? (...) The second question is, 'How do you measure the progress on these matters?' (...) If we put health too much into its own box, it might turn off all those who are not actually in the health sector. I am quite interested in the idea of human security and about health being part of a human security agenda. (...) health should be on the G20 agenda in an integrated fashion.





4. Global Governance and its current state



Stewart Patrick

Senior fellow and director of the program on international institutions and global governance at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

Governance at the global level is obviously more complex in a system of sovereign states lacking overarching political authority. What we find is often that governments are cooperating horizontally to negotiate new norms and rules of behaviour and embed these in institutions designed to provide public goods and mitigate global bads, but in fact most international organisations and frameworks of international cooperation lack the power to enforce compliance with collective decisions. Most of us would shy away from wanting a global government, and in its absence, governance is a patchwork of institutional arrangements.



Sean Cleary

Chairman of *Strategic Concepts (Pty) Ltd*

One possibility is that we shall hit the wall with a much bigger bang than we have had already, due probably to some combination of financial and social disturbances, associated with dangerous inflection points in respect of our “planetary boundaries”. (...) The other possibility is that we develop a greater sense of humility, stop imagining that we know all the answers and we can go back to business as usual, start developing an appropriate sense of scale, learn to think across disciplinary boundaries, and become more respectful of the different values and normative systems of other major actors in our shared world, allowing them an opportunity of contributing meaningfully to the debate, and actively encouraging them to participate responsibly in creating a more inclusive and sustainable global system.



Bruno Lafont

Chairman and CEO of Lafarge Group

Globalisation, meaning the global approach to challenges, always faces cultural differences (...); we operate in a lot of different countries, and we see that there are limits to the approach of how we should approach global governance with different cultures. (...) Regarding global versus local solutions, the idea that we can only solve problems through international agreements or international treaties is untrue with regard to some challenges, and I will give the example of climate change. Copenhagen for me was not a failure, it was a big success, because the only thing we could reach for was awareness, and awareness is when a company understands its responsibility for its environmental footprint. Now everyone understands what the risk to the planet is and what they should do, and what I see after Copenhagen is that almost all countries we are in have been taking measures and actions, even the US.



LUNCH
& DINNER
DEBATES





Herbert Stepic
CEO of Raiffeisen Bank International

The current struggle is not about keeping or abandoning the Euro-project, but about avoiding the painful economic fallout of sovereign bankruptcies. (...) Morgan Stanley estimates that the European Banking Market will deleverage by EUR 1,5-2,5 trillion over the next 18 months. This will have a serious long term effect on the economic development of Europe. The crisis will not be solved by increased capital requirements on short notice, as the core of the problem is the mistrust of the markets in the solvency of public debt. And the key problem is liquidity and only second to that capital. (...) besides the very necessary consolidation process we need to focus on strategic growth programs. This will only be possible through solidarity. Otherwise we will have enormous social unrest. We are talking about a redistribution of wealth. Pan-European solidarity and in a second step, increased European integration is the only way to avoid a «lose-lose» situation and I would even say to reach a «win-win» situation out of the current crisis for all involved parties.



**Kishore Mahbubani**

Dean and Professor in the Practice of Public Policy of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore

Our zeitgeist has never been as pessimistic as it is today. (...) because we are trying to manage three significant historical junctures at the same time. 1- 7 billion people live in 193 separate cabins on the same boat. (...) We do not have a captain to take care of the global boat as a whole. 2- We also have to handle the greatest power shift in human history : the end of the era of Western domination (and) the return of Asia. 3- As we move into a more transparent unit, the capacity for building myths around great leaders is disappearing. (...) I feel optimistic because I would say that the world has now reached agreement on three new global consensuses. (...) First: the modernisation consensus (that) explains why billions of people all over the world, especially in Asia, are being rescued from poverty. (...) The second is the peace consensus. (...) That is the shining light from Europe. The third is what I call the global village consensus. That is why I say that the next 20 years will be the best 20 years the world has ever seen.



Lesson learned: an experience of the Polish-Russian rapprochement



Anatoly Torkunov
Rector of the Moscow State Institute
of International relations

Adam Daniel Rotfeld
former Foreign Minister of Poland,
Co-Chairman of the *Polish-Russian Group
on Difficult Matters*

Russia and Poland are countries with overlapping history and historic mythology about each other. (...) Our countries always stress the morality of their foreign policy. This mix of lost land, Eurasian breach and Sarmatian heritage dominated Russia's and Poland's foreign policy and self perception for ages. The greatest problem of the previous decade was the lack of new foreign policy in both societies, which led to the revival of all these myths and the emergence of the peculiar phenomenon of a historic policy, or even a historically based foreign policy. This is a complete nonsense in the contemporary role. When our group was set up, our task was to take history from politics and return it into the hands of historians. (...) we decided to select the most painful chapters of our common history. It was presented in a very fair and open way and I would like to say that in my view, the first element that has to be taken as a kind of conclusion to be followed in all these types of discussions is to accept that there is no other way, but to tell the truth. However, the truth does not mean that it is interpreted in the same way, and so we decided that it had to be presented from two different positions, following the principle of mirror reflection.



CLOSING
& GALA
DINNER





Thierry de Montbrial

President and founder of the WPC



“

I would like you to know that I am convinced that this fourth edition of the World Policy Conference has been the best ever in terms of content. I am also delighted to see that a friendly atmosphere has been developing: in my view, this is also a key factor of success for an undertaking such as ours and it is fully compatible with the serious discussion of substantive issues. Indeed, the greater the “club-like” atmosphere (in the broadest sense), the greater the intellectual inputs and the greater the usefulness of our work. Like the concept of “influence”, it is difficult to define “usefulness” in precise terms, but following these four meetings, and more particularly this one, I am fundamentally optimistic about the future of this conference.





Marianne Klicka

President of the Vienna City Parliament



“It is a particular pleasure and privilege for me to welcome you to a gala dinner at Vienna City Hall on behalf of our Mayor, Dr Michael Häupl. Mayor Häupl sends his best wishes, and we hope that the World Policy Conference at the Vienna Hofburg will successfully contribute to world peace. At the same time, we hope that this evening in the Grand Festival Hall of Vienna City Hall will be a lasting memory for all of you. (...) The conference programme includes top-level speakers from international politics, business, the banking sector and the international media, which shows that many countries are trying to contribute to promoting stability and peace. (...) I want to wish you the best of success for the Conference, and a most enjoyable dinner tonight.



Martti Ahtisaari

former President of the Republic of Finland,
Nobel Peace Prize 2008



“Great differences in equality mean great differences in public trust. (...) in terms of European integration, the Scandinavians have been fore-runners. A common labor market was created already in 1954. Our Schengen or passport union dates back from 1957. Close cultural cooperation is based on a treaty from 1972. (...) They all, from Denmark to Iceland, from Norway to Finland and Sweden are countries where income inequalities are minor. Does this mean that in terms of productivity they perform worse than societies where income differences are substantial in order to encourage productivity? Not at all. Scandinavian productivity has been good enough to make good life affordable. (...) No social model can be everlasting in a world that is in the midst of rapid change and social turmoil. The challenge is to find a balance between security and performance. (...) In most European countries and in particular in those where the economic and social situations are stressed, the populists have become a force that cannot be ignored. They offer simple solutions to complex problems. (...) If people feel that undeserved privileges and unreasonable distribution of wealth is the norm, their anger may be difficult to meet.





NETWORKING



INVITED GUESTS



Soumeya Abdelatif

Algerian physician. 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.

Martti Ahtisaari

Former President of the Republic of Finland (1994-2000). He founded Crisis Management Initiative in 2000. In 2005 he facilitated the peace process between the Government of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement. He acted as the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the future status process for Kosovo (2005-2008). He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2008. He has served most of his career in the Finnish Foreign Ministry and the UN, including Special Representative of the Secretary General for Namibia and State Secretary, Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland. He graduated from the University of Oulu.

Manaf Alhajeri

Chief Executive Officer of Kuwait Financial Center, better known as Markaz since March 2004, one of the leading asset management and investment banking entities in the Middle East with a strategic focus to achieve regional leadership. Prior to joining Markaz, he held the position of Deputy Director in the Investment department in the Kuwait Fund for Arab and Economic Development. He writes occasionally in the Kuwaiti economic press, and serves on the boards of non-profit community groups. He is a Certified Financial Manager (CFM) from The Institute of Management Accountants (IMA) New Jersey. He also holds a Master of Science and Bachelor degrees in Civil Engineering from Kuwait University.

Patrick Allard

Consultant on international economic issues to the Policy Planning Staff, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, France. Formerly, he has held the position of Chief Economist / Counsellor for international economic issues, Policy Planning

Staff, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, France. He also has served as Head of the International Macroeconomic Forecasts Division and Head of the Public accounts Division of the French Ministry of Economy. He has also been staff economist at the Economic department of the OECD. He is alumnus of the École nationale d'administration.

Yukiya Amano

Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), he previously served as Permanent Representative and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Japan to the International Organizations in Vienna (2005-2009). He chaired the 2007 Preparatory Committee for the 2010 Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty Review Conference. Before that, he was appointed as Director-General for the Disarmament, Non-Proliferation and Science Department at the Japanese Foreign Ministry (until 2005) after serving as a governmental expert on the U.N. Expert Group on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Education in 2001. He graduated from the Tokyo University Faculty of Law.

Michael Ancram

Former Conservative Member of Parliament. He is a member of the Top Level Group of UK Parliamentarians for Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament and Non-proliferation. He was a member of the Parliamentary Intelligence and Security Committee, Member of the Shadow Cabinet (1997-2005), Shadow Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (2001-2005), International Affairs (2003-2005), Defence (2005), Deputy Leader of the Opposition (2001-2005). He was also Chairman of the Conservative Party (1998-2001), Minister of State, Northern Ireland Office (1994-1997). He graduated from Christ Church at the University of Oxford in History, and the University of Edinburgh, Scotland.

Hannes Androsch

Former Austrian Federal Minister of Finance (1970-1981) and former Vice Chancellor of the Republic of

Austria (1976-1981). He served as Director General of the banking institution *CA Creditanstalt Bankverein* (1981-1989) and Consultant at the World Bank (1988-1989). In 1989, he founded AIC Androsch International Management Consulting GmbH. Today he is an industrialist and he is dedicated to economic-political, socio-political, and scientific-political matters. He has received numerous distinctions and awards and is the author of a multitude of publications. He has a degree in Business Administration and a PhD in Economics.

Lourdes Aranda Bezaury

Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs since 2003 and Mexican Sherpa for the G20 since 2008. She is also President of the *Instituto Matías Romero* and a member of the Mexican Council of Foreign Affairs (COMEXI). She was appointed Ambassador in 2002. She served as Director General for Global Affairs at the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs and as Deputy Representative at the Mexican Permanent Mission to the OAS. She holds a Bachelor's Degree in International Relations from El Colegio de México. She graduated in History and Foreign Policy from the Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales of Geneva and from the Inter-American Defense College (IADC), Washington, D.C.

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.

Robert Badinter

Former French Minister of Justice, Keeper of the Seals. He joined the Paris Bar in 1951 and practiced law until 1981. He was President of the

Constitutional Council. From 1989, he has been called for expertise work on constitutional problems in the new democracies in Central and Easter Europe. He is the main inspirer and promoter of the Stockholm Convention of 1992, creating the *Court of Conciliation and Arbitration in the O.S.C.E.* In 1995, he was elected to the French Senate and reelected in 2004. He holds a B.A. (Sorbonne-Paris) and a L.L.B. degree (Paris School of Law), a A.M. degree from Columbia University and a L.L.D. from Paris- School of Law. In 1965, he obtained the highest degree in French Law, the *agrégation de Droit*, and was appointed Professor of Law in 1966.

Ehud Barak

Israel's Defence Minister since June 2007. He is Chairman of the Haazma'ut faction 2011 and former Chairman of the Labour party. He previously served as Israel's 10th Prime Minister and Minister of Defence from 1999 to 2001. He also served as Minister of the Interior and then as Foreign Minister under Prime Minister Rabin and Prime Minister Peres in the years 1995-1996. He received a B.Sc. degree in mathematics and physics from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1968, and an M.Sc. in economic engineering systems at Stanford University in 1978.

François Barrault

Chairman and founder of FDB Partners, an investment and consulting firm in TMT, renewable energy and publishing. Prior to joining BT as CEO of BT Global Services and being a board member of BT Group PLC and after having created and led BT International as President, he had built businesses or co-founded several companies. He was President and CEO of Lucent EMEA. Prior to Lucent, he worked at Ascend Communications, where he had the position of Senior Vice President International coming from the acquisition of Stratus Computer. He holds a Master of Science (DEA) in Robotics/A.I. He graduated from the École Centrale de Nantes and started his career as a researcher in IBM labs.

His All Holiness Bartholomew 1st

His All Holiness Bartholomew 1st was elected in 1991 Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch. His personal experience and his theological formation give him a unique perspective within ecumenical relations and environmental issues. He is working to bring about reconciliation with Catholic and Anglican Churches and also with other faiths. He was ordained to the Diaconate in 1961 and to the Priesthood in 1969. He served as assistant Dean at the Patriarchal Theological School of Halki and then as Director of the Private Patriarchal Office (Ecumenical Patriarchate). He studied at the Patriarchal Theological School of Halki (the Pontifical Oriental Institute (Gregorian University), Rome, the Ecumenical Institute, Bossey (Switzerland) and the University of Munich.

Reginald Bartholomew

Former Chairman of Merrill Lynch Investment Banking Italy. In the US State Department he was Principal Deputy of the Policy Planning Staff (1974- 1977), Assistant Secretary of State for Politico-Military Affairs (1979-1981), Undersecretary of State for International Security Affairs (1989-1992), and held senior positions in the White House (NSC) and the Department of Defense. Abroad he was US Ambassador to Lebanon (1983-1986), Spain (1986-1989), NATO (1992-93) and Italy (1993-1997). Upon retirement, he joined Merrill Lynch Investment Banking as Vice-Chairman Europe and Chairman Italy (1997-2011). He holds a B.A. from Dartmouth and a M.A. from the University of Chicago.

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 Ph.D. "France and the creation of

parliamentary democracy in Serbia 1830-1914" from the University of Paris- Sorbonne, Paris IV.

François Bujon de l'Estang

Senior International Adviser and member of the European Advisory Board of Citi after having been Director of Citigroup France. Former Foreign Affairs Ambassador of France to the United States and to Canada, diplomatic Advisor to Prime Minister Jacques Chirac and special Assistant to President Charles de Gaulle. Former Director of international relations at the French Atomic Energy Commissariat. He 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

Chancellor of the University of Montreal and Director of National Bank of Canada. Former Chairman of the World Energy Council and Deputy Minister of Environment Department of Quebec. Former Chairman and CEO of Gaz Métropolitain. He graduated from the University of Montreal, where he obtained a master's degree and a doctorate in physical chemistry.

Jean-Yves Carfantan

Senior Consultant, he runs Agro-BrasConsult, a Brazilian consulting company in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. After being a Cooperating Professor at the University of Brazzaville (1975-1978), he became a Professor of International Economics at the Institut Supérieur de Gestion (ISG, Paris), and later a Professor in Agricultural Economics at the École Supérieure d'Agriculture d'Angers. He lectured at several Brazilian universities and consulted to a range of organizations of cooperatives in Brazil. He is the author of *Le choc alimentaire mondial (The Global Food Shock)*, 2009. He graduated in Economics and in Philosophy and holds a postgraduate degree in International Business.

François Chabannes

President of Technochabs. Former Delegate-General of the Council of

French Defence Industries (CIDEF), the Group of Telecommunication and Professional Electronics Industries (GITEP-EDS) and General Manager of the Industrial Laser Company (CILAS). Former Vice-President Defence Strategy in the Aeronautic branch and Secretary-General of the International Department within Thompson- CSF Group. He graduated from the École Polytechnique, the ENSAR; he obtained a master's degree in quantum optics and a degree INFO II (CIRO-Defense computer science).

Scott Charney

Corporate Vice President for Microsoft's Trustworthy Computing Group. He is responsible for a range of corporate programs that influence the security, privacy and reliability of Microsoft's products, services and internal networks. He serves on the President's National Security and Telecommunications Advisory Committee. Prior to joining Microsoft, he served as a principal at PricewaterhouseCoopers. Before that, he served as chief of the Computer Crime and Intellectual Property Section (CCIPS). He served as Chair of the G8 Subgroup on High-Tech Crime. He graduated from the Syracuse University College of Law and received his undergraduate degrees from the State University of New York at Binghamton.

Sergey Chestnoy

Director of Russian Aluminium (RUSAL) International Department since July 2001. He has held several positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia since 1984, including Deputy Director of Department of North America, Special Adviser to the Russian sherpa in G-8, Director of the Economic Section of the Embassy of the Russian Federation in the USA (Washington) and Deputy Director of the Department of Economic Cooperation. He graduated from Moscow International Relations Institute and obtained a doctorate (PhD) in Economics.

Sean Cleary

Founder and Executive Vice-Chairman of the Future World Foun-

dation. Chairman of Strategic Concepts (Pty) Ltd. Strategic Adviser to the Chairman of the World Economic Forum, member of the Board of LEAD International and the International Foundation of Electoral Systems (IFES) and co-author, with Thierry Malleret, of *Resilience to Risk*, and *Global Risks*. He studied social sciences and law and holds a MBA from Henley Management College at Brunel University, United Kingdom.

Bertrand Collomb

Honorary Chairman of Lafarge. Director of Total, ATOC and DuPont, and Chairman of IHEST (Institute for Studies in Science and Technology). Former Chairman and CEO of Lafarge. Member of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques. He graduated from the École Polytechnique and the École des Mines in Paris. He also holds a French law degree and a PhD in Management (University of Texas).

Jérôme Contamine

Executive Vice-President, Chief Financial Officer, and Member of the Executive Committee, Sanofi-Aventis. Former Senior Executive Vice President, Deputy General Manager and Chief Financial Officer of Veolia Environment. Prior to this, he was Vice President Europe and Central Asia, Upstream Division of Total, and Finance Director & Treasurer of Elf Group. He is a graduate of the École Polytechnique (X), France's most prestigious engineering school, ENSAE, the national statistics and economics engineering school, and École nationale d'administration.

Dominique David

Executive Vice-President of Ifri since 2006. He is also Editor of *Politique étrangère*. Researcher at the Ifri since 1992, he was in charge of the Security Studies department (2000-2006). He was researcher at the Center of Political Studies of Defense (université de Paris I), Deputy Director of the Institut français de polymologie (French Institute of Polemology), and Secretary General of the FEDN (Fondation pour les études de défense nationale). He was a mem-

ber of the Scientific Council of Defense to the French Defence Minister (1998-2010). He also taught at the Military School of Saint-Cyr, at the Paris I University and at the Institut d'études politiques de Paris (IEP).

Nathalie Delapalme

Director of Research and Policy of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation since 2010. She served as Inspecteur général des finances at the French Ministry of Economy and Finances, Advisor in charge of Africa to the French Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Advisor to the French Minister of Development. She began her career at the French Sénat, where she served at the Finances and Budget Commission, auditing a number of public expenditures, notably in the defence, foreign affairs, development, environment, research, education, and media sectors. She graduated from the Institut d'Études Politiques of Paris and holds a degree (DEA) in applied economics.

Robert Delbos

Adviser to the India Trade Centre for Oil & Gas. He joined the French natural gas monopoly Gaz de France for 20 years and ended as Head of the Financial and Treasury Department. In 1990, he became CEO of Banque Pétrofigaz, a credit bank dedicated to loans for energy investments. Retired in 2003, he founded Altergaz, first and main competition to Gaz de France Suez in the newly opened French market of natural gas. The Company was sold end of 2010 to E.N.I to match the ambition of challenging GDF Suez in the French market. He graduated from HEC in 1967.

Philippe Delienne

President of Convictions AM. He is co-founder and Vice President of the Française des Placements's Governance Board. He was CPR's General Manager then Vice President (1988-1999) and CNCA's government finance Manager (1986-1987). Before, he was Vice President of Crédit Agricole in Chicago (1982-1987) and Head of the Group's bond issues. He graduated from the Institute of Actuaries of Lyon (ISFA).

Kemal Dervis

Vice President for Global Economics and Development at the Brookings Institution. Former Head of the United Nations Development Program, member of the Turkish Parliament and Minister for Economic Affairs and the Treasury. He earned his Bachelor and Master's degrees from the London School of Economics, and his PhD in economics from Princeton University.

Jean Desazars de Montgailhard

Executive Vice President, Strategy & Development, Lafarge, and Director of Rexecode. He previously was Regional President for Asia Pacific at Lafarge and played a major role in the Group's development in Asia as well as in Africa. He first joined the Group as Vice President Strategic Planning and Development, a position which he occupied in Paris and Spain, where he subsequently became Vice President Sales and Marketing. He started his career at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was deputy Undersecretary of State for arms control. He is a graduate of the École nationale d'administration (ENA) and the Institut d'Études Politiques of Paris. He also holds a Master in Economics.

Edward P. Djerejian

Founding Director, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University. He previously was U.S. ambassador to Israel (1993-1994) and to the Syrian Arab Republic (1988-1991), and assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs in both the George H.W. Bush and Clinton administrations (1991-1993). He also served in the U.S. Foreign Service for eight presidents, from John F. Kennedy to William J. Clinton (1962-1994). His book "Danger and Opportunity: An American Ambassador's Journey Through the Middle East" was published in 2008. He has been awarded the Presidential Distinguished Service Award and numerous other honors.

François Drouin

CEO of OSEO (the French Agency for Innovation and SMEs financing). Former Engineer at the Directorate

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of Navigation of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais Region, Managing Director of the Caisse de Dépôts (French public financial institution) for the Normandie Region and later on for the Bourgogne region, Chairman of the Board for the Caisnes d'Épargne (French savings banks) in the Midi-Pyrenees and for the Crédit Foncier de France (National mortgage bank of France). He holds a degree from the École Polytechnique and from the ENPC (corps de Ponts).

Caspar Einem

President of the Austrian Institute for international Affairs (OIIP) in Vienna since 2011 and President of the supervisory board of Austrocontrol. He served as State Secretary in the Federal Chancellery (1994), Federal Minister of Interior (1995-1997) and as Federal Minister of Transport and Sciences, until 2000, member of the Austrian Parliament (2000-2007). He was also a member of the European Fundamental Rights Convention (2000) and of the European Constitutional Convention, President of the European Centre of Employers and Enterprises providing Public services (CEEP) in Brussels. He finished his law degree (PhD) in Vienna in 1971.

Steven Erlanger

Paris bureau chief of *The New York Times*. He has served in numerous postings for *The Times* in Berlin, Prague, Washington, Moscow, Bangkok and New York where he served as 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 was a Teaching Fellow at Harvard University. He shared in a Pulitzer Prize for Explanatory Reporting for a series on Al Qaeda and global terrorism in 2002. He received an A.B. degree from Harvard College and studied Russian at St. Antony's College, Oxford.

Yury Viktorovich Fedotov

Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and Director-General of the United Nations Office at Vienna

(UNOV) since 2010. He holds the rank of Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations. He served as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the Court of St. James's in London and as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation for International Organizations. As a member or head of Russian delegations, he took part in many international conferences and forums. He started his foreign service career in 1972 as a member of the USSR delegation to the United Nations Disarmament Committee in Geneva. He graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO).

Sauli Feodorow

Ambassador for Human Rights and Democracy of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland. He started his career in the Ministry in 1976. He served as Ambassador of Finland to Luxembourg and as Ambassador to Lisbon, Portugal. He has held various positions in the Political Department and the Department for External Economic Relations. He has served as Head of the Division for the Americas and Asia. During his career, he has been posted in Stockholm, Algiers, Canberra, Paris, Mexico City.

Joschka Fischer

Former Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany (1998 - 2005). He led the Green Party in its first participation in government, both at state level (Hesse) and at federal level. From 2006 to 2007, he held a professorship at the Woodrow Wilson School of International and Public Affairs at Princeton University (USA). He is a member of the Board of Trustees of the International Crisis Group and of the Executive Board of the European Council on Foreign Relations. He is a founding partner of Joschka Fischer and Company.

Heinz Fischer

President of the Republic of Austria (since 2010 and until 2016). He has been a member of the National Security Council and the Foreign

Affairs Council of the Republic of Austria. Dr. Fischer was also Deputy Chairman of the Party of European Socialists (PES), Member of the National Council, Federal Minister of Science and Research and executive chairman of the Social Democratic Group in the Austrian Parliament. He is the author of numerous books and smaller publications in the fields of law and political sciences. He studied Law and Political Science at the University of Vienna from which he obtained a Doctor of Law degree.

Michael Fleischhacker

Editor-in-chief and managing director of the daily newspaper *Die Presse* since 2004. He has been working as a journalist from 1991. He joined *Die Presse* in 2002. Prior to this, he worked at *Kleine Zeitung* and *Der Standard*.

Jacob Frenkel

Chairman of JPMorgan Chase International, member of the Executive Committee of JPMorgan Chase & Co. and the J.P. Morgan International Council. He also serves as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Group of Thirty (G-30). He served as Vice Chairman of American International Group, Inc. (2004-2009) and as Chairman of Merrill Lynch International Inc. (2000-2004). Between 1991 and 2000 he served two terms as the Governor of the Bank of Israel. He was the Economic Counselor and Director of Research at the IMF (1987-1991). He is the author of numerous books and articles in the fields of International Economics and Macro-Economics. He holds a B.A. in economics and political science, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and an M.A. and Ph.D. in economics, University of Chicago.

Louise Fresco

University Professor at the University of Amsterdam since 2006. Since 2011 she is a member of the advisory council of The Hague Institute for Global Justice. She serves as a non-executive director of Unilever and on the supervisory board of Rabobank. She was professor of

plant production systems at Wageningen (1990-1997). She held several leading positions within the FAO of the UN. She writes a column for the leading Dutch daily *NRC Handelsblad*. She has also authored or co-authored eight non-scholarly books. She was granted her doctoral degree with honours from Wageningen University in 1986, where she specialised in tropical agriculture.

Helmut Freudenschuss

Diplomatic Advisor to the Federal President of Austria since February 2011. He served as Africa Director in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (2008-2011), as Ambassador of Austria to South Africa (2004-2008) and as Ambassador of Austria to Lebanon (1999-2004). He also held various positions at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, including Director of the Office for Coordination in the Political Department. He studied law at the Universities of Innsbruck and Salzburg (Master and Doctor of Law) and at the Academy of International Law, The Hague. He holds a M.Sc.(Econ.) from the London School of Economics.

Paal Frisvold

Chairman of the Board, Bellona Europa AISBL. Since 2001, he has been part of the Bellona Energy Team whose main focus is to advocate policies, technological solutions and economic incentives to reverse and stabilise climate change and alleviating poverty. Previously, he worked at the Norwegian Embassy in Beijing, Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Oslo, the OECD Secretariat in Paris. He was elected President of the European Movement of Norway in 2009. He holds a Master degree in International Relations from Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) and a Bachelor Degree in Political Science from The American University of Paris.

Fu Ying

Vice-Ministre des Affaires étrangères depuis 2009. Elle a été fonctionnaire, puis attachée près l'Ambassade de la République populaire de Chine en République socialiste de

Roumanie (1978-1982), Attachée au Département de Traduction et d'Interprétation du MAE (1982-1985), directrice adjointe, puis première secrétaire au département d'Asie du MAE (1990-1992), Directrice générale d'Asie du MAE (2000-2003), Ambassadrice extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire de la République populaire de Chine au Commonwealth d'Australie (2003-2006), puis au Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord (2006-2009). Elle est diplômée de l'université de Kent au Royaume-Uni.

Heinz Gärtner

Professor at the Austrian Institute for International Affairs, Laxenburg/Vienna. He often lectures at the Universities of Harvard, Stanford, Princeton, Columbia, Oxford and other American, European, and Asian universities and research institutes. He is also a frequent commentator on European and Austrian television, radio, and print media, including CNN Europe and the BBC. He acts as a Special Adviser to the Austrian Ministry of Defense. In 2011, he published *Obama and the Bomb: The Vision of a World free of Nuclear Weapons* (Peter Lang publisher). He received the Bruno Kreisky Award for most outstanding Political Books: *Models of European Security* (1998). He holds a Ph.D. in political sciences and communication theory from the University of Salzburg.

Nicolas (de) Gernay

Nicolas de Gernay is the CEO and founder of Alandia, an investment company established with some of the most preeminent French industrial families. After selling his first advisory firm to KPMG, he acted as chairman of Kroll in France. During his career, Nicolas has been involved in a number of cases all over Europe but also in, or for, emerging countries such as India, Malaysia, the Gulf, North Africa, acting on behalf of multinationals, governments or sovereigns. He seats, or seated, at several Advisory Boards such as British Telecom or PWC. He published a book on globalization in 2010: *Mondialisation, un autre regard*.

Thomas Gomart

Deputy Director for strategic development and Director of the Russia/NIS Centre at Ifri. His academic and professional background has been closely related to post-Soviet space. As Lavoisier Fellow at the State Institute for International Relations (University-MGIMO – Moscow), Visiting Fellow at the Institute for Security Studies (European Union – Paris) and Marie Curie Fellow at Department of War Studies (King's College – London), he has acquired a diversified international experience. He is currently editing his next book with A. Dellecker: *Russian Energy Security and Foreign Policy* (2011). He holds a Ph.D in History at Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, and an EMBA at HEC.

Jean-Paul Guevara Avila

Head of the Graduate Program in "Public Policy and International Relations of the European Union", at the Catholic University "San Pablo" of La Paz, Bolivia. Former Director-General of Bilateral Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the Plurinational State of Bolivia, Knowledge of various foreign languages; extended professional experience on international relations related to migration and international cooperation. Professor at various main universities of Bolivia and Mexico. Publication: *Les Migrations boliviennes et la mondialisation*, Editions Syllepse, Paris, 2004.

Abdullah Gül

President of the Republic of Turkey since 2007. He worked as an economist at the Islamic Development Bank in Jeddah (1983-1991). He was elected as Member of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (1991-2007). He also served as a member of the Turkish Delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) and to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. Following the elections in 2002, he became the Prime Minister of the 58th Government of Turkey. He served as the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (2003-2007). He graduated in Economics from the Istanbul University, where he received his doctoral degree in

1983, after his two year academic work in London and Exeter.

Emmanuel Harlé

Executive Chairman of Industries & Finances Partenaires. Former Director and CEO of Morgan Grenfell Investissement, Administrative and Financial Manager of Compagnie Sanara and Deputy Director of Compagnie de Suez. Before that he was Consultant then Project Manager at SORA/IDHR and carried out numerous mission in France, Europe and Africa. He graduated from the Institut d'études politiques in Paris and has a degree in Commercial Law, a PhD in Computer Science and a diploma from the French Institute of Compared Law.

Manuel Hassassian

Ambassador from Palestine to London. He served the Palestinian people with distinction for twenty five years and has been a superb representative at the Ministry of Higher Education, at the Association of Arab Universities, and among other international academic organizations. Among his academic awards and honors, Professor Hassassian was awarded an Honorary Doctorate (Docteur Honoris Causa) by the University of Reims, France, and nominated by the Center of International Development and Conflict Management, University of Maryland, for the Gleitzman Middle East Award. He earned a BA in Political Science from the American University of Beirut, an MA in International Relations from Toledo University, Ohio, U.S.A. and a PhD in Comparative Politics from University of Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A.

Michael Häupl

Mayor and Governor of Vienna since 1994 and Chairman of SPÖ Vienna since 1993. He is member of the Social Democratic Party Committee for the 16th district of Vienna (Ottakring). He was Executive City Councillor for the Environment and Sports of the City of Vienna (1988-1994), Member of the Vienna Provincial Parliament and Vienna City Council (1983-1988), elected chairman of the JG Vienna and deputy chairman of the federal JG organization, co-opted to the executive

committee of SPÖ Vienna (1982). He was a research scientist at the Vienna Museum of Natural History (1975-1983). He holds a PhD in biology from the University of Vienna.

Cullen Hendrix

Assistant Professor of Government at the College of William & Mary and research associate at the Peterson Institute for International Economics, the Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law, and the Centre for the Study of Civil War at the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO). He is the co-creator of the Social Conflict in Africa Database (www.scaddata.org). He received his PhD in Political Science from the University of California, San Diego.

James P. Hoagland

Contributing Editor to *The Washington Post* since January 2010, after serving two decades as Associate Editor and Chief Foreign Correspondent. He has served in a variety of reporting, editing, and opinion-forming roles since joining the newspaper in 1966. He was awarded two Pulitzer prizes and other journalism honors. He began his journalism career as a reporter with the *Rock Hill Evening Herald* in 1960 while still in college. He is the author of a book, *South Africa: Civilizations in Conflict*, published (1972). He graduated with an A.B. in Journalism from the University of South Carolina and he has done graduate work at the University of Aix-en-Provence and Columbia University.

Steve Howard

Founding Secretary General of The Global Foundation, the Australian-based citizens' organization. He has an extensive global professional and personal network from 25 years of involvement in business, civic affairs, government and public policy formation in Australia and around the world. Concurrently, he has acted as a private advisor to a number of global companies and institutions. He also serves as Chair of the Editorial Panel for *Australia Network*, Australia's international television service seen in 44 countries. Steve was awarded

the French Ordre national du Mérite in 2004 for his contribution to France-Australia relations.

Kyung-Wook Hur

Chairman of the OECD Pension Budget and Reserve Fund Management Board. Former Ambassador of Korea to the OECD. Former Vice Minister for Strategy and Finance, Senior Economist for the IMF and Director of the International Financial Institutions Division of the Ministry of Finance and Economy. He holds a MBA from the Stanford Graduate School of Business and graduated from the Graduate School of Business Administration, Seoul National University.

Toomas Hendrik Ilves

Fourth and current President of Estonia. He is a former Diplomat and Journalist, was the leader of the Social Democratic Party (Estonia) in the 1990s and later a member of the European Parliament. He was elected to the post by an electoral college on 23 September 2006 and his term as President began on 9 October 2006. He grew up in the United States and graduated from Leonia High School in Leonia, New Jersey in 1972 as Valedictorian. He received a bachelor's degree in Psychology from Columbia College of Columbia University and a master's degree in the same subject from the University of Pennsylvania.

Bouthayna Iraqui-Houssaïni

Entrepreneur, Member of the Moroccan Parliament, on behalf of the National Rally of Independents (RNI), former president of the AFEM (Moroccan Women Entrepreneurs' Association), Vice President of the Association "Club Entreprendre", member of the school board of the IRFCJS (Royal Institute of Training of Youth and Sports Administrators). She is currently managing the three companies that she set up, Locamed, Orhtoprotech et AKR. She is a founding member of the MENA Arab Network of Businesswomen.

Peter Jankowitsch

Secretary-General of the Franco-Austrian Center for European Economic Convergence. Former Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs, Permanent Representative to the United Nations and to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), President of the Security Council, and Vice President of the Steering Committee of the International Energy Agency. He studied law, political science and

a doctorate in Pharmacy from the University of Paris XI.

Igor S. Ivanov

President of the Russian International Affairs Council since 2011 and Professor at Moscow State Institute for International Relations (MGIMO) since 2007. He served as Minister of Foreign Affairs and as Secretary of the Security Council of the Russian Federation. He holds the diplomatic rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. He represented the USSR and then Russia as Ambassador to Spain. He worked as a researcher at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (MEMO), Academy of Sciences of USSR. He graduated from the Maurice Thorez Moscow Institute of Foreign Languages and he has a Ph.D. in history.

Bertrand Jacquillat

Cofounder and Chairman of the Board of Associés en Finance, University Professor at Sciences Po Paris, Vice President of the Cercle des économistes and board member of Klépierre and Presses Universitaires de France. He was visiting Professor at UC Berkeley (1982), Stanford University Graduate School of Business (1976-1979) and the Hoover Institution (1983-1992). He was also Professor at HEC (1970-1983), Lille University (1979-1982) and Paris Dauphine University (1983-2001). He was a member of the French Council of Economic Advisors (2006-2010). He graduated from HEC and Sciences Po Paris. He holds a MBA, Harvard Business School and a PhD in Financial Economics, Paris Dauphine University.

Peter Jankowitsch

Secretary-General of the Franco-Austrian Center for European Economic Convergence. Former Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs, Permanent Representative to the United Nations and to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), President of the Security Council, and Vice President of the Steering Committee of the International Energy Agency. He studied law, political science and

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modern languages at the University of Vienna and at The Hague Academy of International Law.

Sabine Jansen

Senior lecturer at Conservatoire national des arts et métiers (CNAM), Paris, and Research Fellow at Centre d'histoire de Sciences Po (CHSP), Paris. Vice President of the Committee for Parliamentary and Political History, she is the editor of *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, an online peer-reviewed historical journal. Her recent books *Pierre Cot. Un antifasciste radical* (Fayard, 2002); *De Pierre Mendès France à Charles de Gaulle* (Armand Colin/Assemblée nationale, 2006). She is at present working on the origins and the role of the Institut français des relations internationales (IFRI). She is a Sciences Po alumna and holds the *agregation* and a PhD in Modern History.

Juha Jokela

Programme Director in the European Union research programme at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs. He is a member of the Advisory Board on Human Rights, Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland. He was a Senior Visiting Research Fellow at the European Union Institute for Security Studies, Paris (2009-2010), Advisor at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland (2009), Director of the University of Helsinki Network for European Studies (2008). He graduated from the University of Birmingham (UK), in Politics and International Studies and he holds a PhD, University of Bristol (UK), in Politics.

Labib Kamhawi

Chairman and CEO of several firms, including CESSCO, Chemical Supplies & Services Co. and Delta Energy Services Co. He was former Vice-President of Arab Organization for Human Rights in Jordan and Professor of Political Science at Jordan University. He was also spokesman for the Conference on the Rights of Return for the Palestinian People. He is a member of the Board of Trustees of the Arab Forum and of the Ebal Organisation. He earned

his PhD in Political Science from the University of London.

Jak V. Kamhi

Chairman of Profilo Holding AS. As a leading industrialist in Turkey, he is Member of the Board of the Istanbul Chamber of Industry. He has performed duties as an adviser to the Prime Minister of Turkey for Turkey-EU, and Turkey-US relations, and acts as a Voluntary Ambassador for EU Affairs. Mr. Kamhi is a Founding Member of the Chairman's Club of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Member of the Board of the World Business Council (USA). He was the first and only Turkish industrialist to be selected as a member of the European Round Table (ERT). He has a degree from Yildiz Technical University.

Jean de Kerguiziau de Kervasdoué Professor of Economy and Health Management at the *Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers* and Co-Director of the Pasteur/CNAM School of Public Health. Former Consultant to the OECD, Visiting Professor at Yale University, Under Secretary at the Ministry of Health in charge of French hospitals and Adviser to the Prime Minister. He holds a master in Agronomy from the Institut national agronomique Paris-Grignon, a MBA and a PhD in Socioeconomics from Cornell University.

Oya Ünlü Kızı

Director of Corporate Communications & External Affairs, Koç Holding. She began her professional career in 1992 at the Turkish Prime Ministry Privatization Administration. She joined the World Bank and held the position of portfolio manager for the Middle East and North Africa region. Beginning in 2001, she served as chief advisor to the Ministry of Economy. In 2003, she joined Koç Holding as an advisor to the CEO. She serves notably on the Boards of the Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (IKSV) and of the Corporate Volunteer Association (OSGD). She graduated from the Department of Business Administration at Middle East Technical University, and from George Washington University with

an MBA in International Business.

Charles Kupchan

Professor of International Affairs in the School of Foreign Service and Government Department at Georgetown University. He was Director for European Affairs on the National Security Council during the first Clinton administration and worked in the U.S. Department of State on the Policy Planning Staff. Prior to government service, he was an Assistant Professor of Politics at Princeton University. He received a B.A. from Harvard University and M.Phil. and D.Phil. degrees from Oxford University. He is the author of *No One's World: The West, the Rise of the Rest, and the Coming Global Turn* (forthcoming 2012).

Jean-Pierre Lablanchy

Medical Doctor, registered in Paris, France and in London, England (General Medical Council). He has worked in close collaboration with pharmaceutical firms (Laboratoires pharmaceutiques Debat, Laboratoires Lisapharm) and with the National Agronomic Institut (Paris Grignon). He was personal M.D. for President Abdoulaye Wade (Senegal) from 1988 to 2010. From 1985 to 2010, he was associate professor Medical University Paris XIII (Bobigny). From 2006 to 2008, he was Consultant for France Televisions Foundation (main public TV channels). He worked with Sankhia, opening the first white blood cells banking in the US (bio banking FDA approval / Pr Michel Sadelain NYU). He published *Psychostrategy*, Ed Polytechniques, 2002 and *Fighting fatigue*, M.A. Ed. 2005.

Bruno Lafont

Chairman and CEO of the Lafarge Group since 2007. He joined Lafarge in 1983 where he held various positions in finance and international operations. He is chairing the Energy & Climate Change Working Group of the ERT (European Roundtable of Industrialists). He is also special adviser to the mayor of Chongqing (China), President of the EPE French Association ("Enterprises for Environment") and a member of the Board

of EDF and of ArcelorMittal. Until recently, he was co-chairing the World Business Council for Sustainable Development's (WBCSD) Cement Sustainability Initiative as well as the Energy Efficiency in Buildings (EEB) initiative. He graduated from the Hautes Études Commerciales business school (HEC, Paris) and the École nationale d'administration (ENA, Paris).

Petra Laux

Head of Global Public Affairs at Novartis since 2006. Prior to that, she was Head of EU Public Affairs for the Novartis Group. She began her career with GlaxoWellcome in Hamburg as Head of Healthcare Policy Unit. She later became Director of Healthcare and Public Affairs at SmithKlineBeecham in Munich. Upon the merger of SmithKlineBeecham with GlaxoWellcome to form GlaxoSmithKline (GSK), she led all corporate and EU government affairs across GSK's subsidiaries in the European Union. She joined Novartis in 2004. She holds a Ph.D. in Pharmaceutical Chemistry and a Master in Public Health from Hannover Medical School in Germany.

Christian Lechervy

Deputy Director of the Policy Planning Staff for the French Foreign Office. He was France Ambassador to Turkmenistan (2006-2009), Deputy Director of the South-East Asia section for the Foreign Office (2002-2006), Diplomatic advisor on International Affairs for the Minister of Defence, Sir Alain Richard (1997-2002) and Chief Clerk of the Asia-Pacific section at the Delegation for Strategic Affairs for the Department of Defence (1992-1996). He holds a PhD in Sovietics Studies, a Master's Degree in Econometry and a Master's Degree in International Relations.

Georg Lennkh

Member of the Board of Bruno Kreisky Forum for International Dialogue; of International Law Institute (Washington, Kampala); Chairman of the Board CARE Austria. He was Special Envoy for Africa of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria

(2005-2010). He served as Permanent Representative of Austria to OECD, Paris (1982-1993). In 1978, he entered the Cabinet Office of Federal Chancellor Dr. Bruno Kreisky with responsibility for foreign relations; he was sherpa for the preparation of the first North-South summit in Cancun (1981). He entered the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1965. He studied Law and Political Science in Graz, Bologna (Johns Hopkins) and Chapel Hill (N.C., US).

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 programmes 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.

Jacques Lesourne

French industrialist and economist. President of the association Futuribles, the project FutuRIS, and the Scientific Committee of the Ifri "Energy" program. He has been Head of the Economic Department of Charbonnages de France (1954-1957), CEO of the group Sema (1958-1975), Director of the OECD Interfutures Project (1976-1979), Head of the Department of Economics at the CNAM, Paris, Director of *Le Monde* (1991-1994). He graduated from the École Polytechnique and the École des Mines de Paris.

Jean-David Levitte

Senior Diplomatic Adviser and sherpa of President Nicolas Sarkozy. He joined the Foreign Service in 1970. He was first posted in Hong Kong and Beijing. In 1988, he was designa-

ted to his first position as Ambassador and served as the French Permanent Representative to the United Nations Office in Geneva from 1988 to 1990. He served as Ambassador to the United States, French Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Senior Diplomatic Adviser and sherpa of President Jacques Chirac. He held senior positions in the French Foreign Ministry. He holds a law degree and is a graduate of Sciences-Po (the renowned Institute for Political Science in Paris) and of the National School of Oriental Languages, where he studied Chinese and Indonesian.

Pierre Lévy

French Ambassador to the Czech Republic and former Director of the Policy Planning Staff of the Foreign and European Affairs Ministry of France. Former Secretary General of the Commission of the White Paper on France's Foreign and European Policy, Head of the Service for Common Foreign and Security Policy and Deputy Director of the Cabinet of Pierre Moscovici, Minister for European Affairs. He holds degrees from the École européenne des affaires (ESCP-EAP) and the Institut d'études politiques de Paris. He also graduated from ENA.

André Lévy-Lang

Non-executive Chairman of *Les Echos*, he chairs the Fondation du Risque and the Institut Louis Bachelier. He also sits on the boards of Ifri and the Institut Europlace de Finance. He is an affiliate emeritus professor in Finance at Paris-Dauphine University. He held various positions in the Schlumberger Group and he was CEO of the Paribas Group. He started as a research physicist at the French atomic energy commission (CEA). He graduated from the École Polytechnique and holds a Ph.D. from Stanford University.

Susan Liautaud

Imaginer Consulting Limited's founder, a UK registered charity. She served as Associate Dean for International and Graduate Programs and Lecturer in Law at Stanford University Law School, where she developed

the first course in international non-governmental organisations. She serves as co-Chair of the Doctors Without Borders/Médecins Sans Frontières U.S. Advisory Board. She holds a PhD in Social Policy from the London School of Economics and Political Science; a Juris Doctor from Columbia University Law School; a M.A. in Chinese Studies from University of London School of Oriental and African Studies; and two B.A.s and a M.A. from Stanford University.

Hubert Loiseau des Longchamps

Senior Vice President Public Affairs, Total since 2010. Previously, he was Senior Vice President International Relations, Total (2005-2010). He held various positions in the French Administration and abroad as Financial AttachéÃcopy;. He was Deputy Director, Hydrocarbon Division at the French Ministry of Industry (1990-1994). He joined Elf in 1994 as Manager, Middle East New Ventures Division. Then, he held the position of Vice President Middle East Gas & Power, TotalFinaElf and was appointed Managing Director Total E&P Angola in 2002. He is a former student of the École nationale d'administration. He graduated from the Institut d'Études Politiques, Paris and he holds a Master of Law.

Francis Lorentz

Founding Partner and Chairman of LD&A, (strategy, M&A and corporate finance for IT midcaps) and Chairman of IDATE (Institut de l'audiovisuel et des télécommunications en Europe), a think-tank and consultancy organisation dedicated to telecoms and Internet. He served as Executive Vice-President of Lyonnaise des Eaux (water and energy distribution). He was Chairman and CEO of RATP (Paris public transportation system). He was also an Associate Professor at Paris Dauphine University. He headed the restructuring of the Galeries Lafayette technology services branch, as CEO of e-Laser. He holds an MBA from HEC and is a former student of ENA (École nationale d'administration).

Jean-Hervé Lorenzi

President of the Cercle des Econo-

mistes, Professor at Paris-Dauphine University, Advisor to the Supervisory Board of Compagnie Financière Edmond de Rothschild. He started his career in 1975 as Professor of Economics at the Paris XIII University and the École Normale Supérieure. He was Adviser to the President of Havas Group, Economic Adviser to the French Prime Minister (industry, services, telecommunications), CEO of CEA Industrie. He authored several books and articles and he participates in different radio and television programs. He holds a doctoral degree in Economic Sciences.

Kishore Mahbubani

Dean and Professor in the Practice of Public Policy of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. He previously served for 33 years in the Singapore Foreign Service and was Permanent Secretary of the Foreign Ministry (1993-1998). He was included in the list of Top 50 individuals who would shape the debate on future capitalism, *Financial Times*, 2009, and was named as one of the Top 100 Global Thinkers, *Foreign Policy*, 2010. He is the author of *Can Asians Think?* published in Singapore, Canada, US, Mexico, India and China and his articles have appeared in a wide range of journals and newspapers, including *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *Time*, *Newsweek* and *The New York Times*. He graduated in philosophy from Singapore and Canada.

Joseph Maïla

Director of the Policy Planning Staff, French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs. Former President of the Catholic Institute of Paris, former director of the French Centre of Research for Peace and founder of the French Mediation and Negotiation Training Institute. A specialist in Islamic studies and expert in international mediation, he was consultant for UNESCO in charge of establishing its International Centre for Human Sciences at Byblos. He joined the Policy Planning Staff in 2009 as Head of the "Religions Team". He holds a PhD in Philosophy (1976) and one in Social Sciences (1992). He is a visiting professor at the Center for International Studies

and Research at the University of Montreal, at the University of Lyon and at the University of Tarragona.

Maj. Gen. (Res.) Danny Rothschild

Director of the Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS) and Chairman of the Herzliya Conference Series. Partner in the global security consultancy firm NETACS and Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Afeka School of Engineering. He is a former member of the Advisory Board of the Bank of Israel. He served for more than 30 years in the Israel Defence Forces in a variety of command and staff positions, including Coordinator of Government Activities in the Territories, Chief of the Intelligence Research and Analysis Department of Military Intelligence, Commander of the Liaison Unit in Lebanon and Assistant to the Chief of Staff.

Thierry Malleret

Senior partner at IJ Partners, an investment boutique for ultra-high-net-worth individuals based in Geneva. He was managing partner at Rainbow Insight, an advisory boutique which he founded, providing tailor-made intelligence to investors. He headed the Global Risk Network at the World Economic Forum. He worked as a Chief Economist and Strategist of a major Russian investment bank and as an Economist at the EBRD in London, in think tanks and academia (both in New York and Oxford) and in the Prime Minister's office in Paris. He was educated at the Sorbonne and École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris and at St. Antony's College, Oxford. He holds two MAs (in Economics and History) and a PhD in Economics.

Christophe de Margerie

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Total since May 2010. He joined Total in 1974 where he served in several positions in the Group's Finance Department and Exploration & Production division. He became President of Total Middle East in 1995. In 2000, he was appointed Senior Executive Vice President of the Exploration & Production division of the newly created TotalFinaElf group. In 2002, he became President of the Exploration

& Production division of TotalFinaElf which became Total in 2003. In May 2006, he was appointed a member of the Board of Directors of Total and in 2007, he became Chief Executive Officer of Total, chairing its Executive Committee. He graduated from the École Supérieure de Commerce de Paris, a French business school.

Hervé Mariton

Member of the French Parliament. He is rapporteur spécial (spokesman) for the budget of Transports, Political Adviser of the UMP Party in charge of Defence and Chairman and Founder of the Reform and Modernity Club. He is the author of many parliamentary reports on the budget of transports, the funding of the French railway system, speed camera fines, and local government taxation. He is also Chairman of the French-Russian Friendship Grouping at the Assemblée nationale. He has been Overseas Secretary of State. He is ingénieur en chef du corps des Mines. He graduated from the École Polytechnique and the Institut d'Études Politiques of Paris.

Michael Metzeltin

Full professor for linguistics and didactics of Roman languages at the Institute of Romance Studies at the University of Vienna since 1989. He has given lectures in almost every country in Europe, in Cuba, in Chile and in Peru. He is member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and honorary member of the Romanian Academy of Sciences. He is co-founder and co-editor of the *Romanistisches Kolloquium*, the *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik* and the *Cinderella*-book series. He studied Romance philology at the universities of Basel, Zurich, Salamanca, Coimbra and Padua. Doctorate in 1969 in Ibero-Romance philology, French linguistics and Italian literary studies at the University of Basel.

Jean-Claude Meyer

Vice Chairman of Rothschild Europe. He previously held the positions of General Partner at Rothschild & Cie, Director of the International Department at Lazard Frères & Cie, and Adviser to DATAR (Délégation à l'Amé-

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nagement du Territoire et à l'Action Régionale), a service of the French Prime Minister (1973-1976). He graduated from the *Institut d'études politiques*, Paris, and holds a PhD in Management from Paris-Dauphine University.

Jacques Mistral

Head of Economic Studies at Ifri, he is a member of the Cercle des économistes, President of the Société d'économie politique and he was a member of the Conseil d'Analyse Economique until 2010. He served as the Minister-Financial Counselor 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 Ph.D. in Economics from the University of Paris.

Dominique Moïsi

Founding member of Ifri of which he is now a Senior Adviser. A Visiting Professor at Harvard University he is a regular columnist for *Les Echos*, and Project syndicate. His last book *The Geopolitics of Emotions* was published by Doubleday. His next book *Between silence and Secret* will be published by Flammarion in 2011.

Mansouria Mokhefi

Head of the Maghreb Program at Ifri. She formerly taught Middle Eastern Studies at Vassar College, New York, and International relations at New York University. She served as a member of the Cermom (Centre de Recherches Moyen-Orient Méditerranée) at l'Institut des Langues et Civilisations Orientales where she taught North African History. She graduated from Sciences-Po and from the Sorbonne (Paris IV). She holds a Master's degree from New York University and a Doctorate on The United States and the Algerian War of Independence from Sciences-Po.

Theodore Moran

Marcus Wallenberg Professor of International Business and Finance Georgetown University; non-Resident Senior Fellow, Peterson Insti-

tute for International Economics. He is consultant to the United Nations, to governments in Asia and Latin America, and to the international business field. He served as Senior Economic Advisor to the Policy Planning Staff of the Department of State. He received his PhD from Harvard in 1971.

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 Institute 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, 2010.

Pierre Morel

EU Special Representative for Central Asia and EU Special Representative for the crisis in Georgia. He began his diplomatic career at the Quai d'Orsay in 1971. He served at the French Embassy in Moscow. He also served as Diplomatic Advisor of the President of the French Republic. He was Ambassador to the Russian Federation and was also accredited, while in residence in Moscow, to Georgia, Moldova, Mongolia, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan, and to Kyrgyzstan. He served as Ambassador in the People's Republic of China and then to the Holy See. He is a graduate of the Paris Institute of Political Sciences, of the Paris Faculty of Law at Assas and of the École nationale d'administration.

Hugh M. Morgan

CEO of First Charnock, Australia. He is also a board member of the Reserve Bank of Australia, a member of Lafarge International Advisory Board, as well as Trustee Emeritus of the Asia Society New York, Chairman Emeritus 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.

Tawfik Mouline

Adviser at the Royal Cabinet, he is heading the Royal Institute of Strategic Studies, founded by King Mohammed VI. After having carried out important responsibilities in the ONA group, he joined in 1995 the Ministry of Economy and Finance. He is very active in the association and research field, and is co-author of Morocco's Economic Panorama. He graduated from the École Polytechnique and the École des Mines de Paris.

Amr Moussa

6th Secretary General of the League of Arab States. 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 graduated from Cairo University, LLB Faculty of Law.

Rainer Münz

Head of Basic Research (Erste Group) and Senior Fellow at the Hamburg Institute of International Economics (HWWI). He is an expert on population change, international migration and demographic aging, their economic impact and their implications for retail banking and social security systems. In 1979 he joined the Austrian Academy of Sciences. He was visiting professor at the University of California at Berkeley, Universities of Bamberg, Frankfurt, Klagenfurt, Vienna and Zurich. He has worked as consultant for the European Commission, the OECD and the World Bank. He served as an advisor to the Greek, Dutch and Slovene EU presidencies. He holds a PhD from Vienna University.

Narayana Murthy

Founder-Chairman of Infosys since 1981, a global software consulting company headquartered in Bangalore, India. He is an IT advisor to several Asian countries. He serves

on the boards of HSBC, Ford Foundation and the UN Foundation. He served as a member of the Unilever board (2007-2010). He also serves on the boards of Wharton School; Indian School of Business, Hyderabad; Rhodes Trust, and International Institute of Information Technology, Bangalore. *The Economist* ranked him among the ten most-admired global business leaders in 2005. He is a Fellow of the Indian National Academy of Engineering and a foreign member of the US National Academy of Engineering.

Mayankote Kelath Narayanan

Governor of the State of West Bengal since 2010. He was the Director of the Intelligence Bureau and Chairman of the Joint Intelligence Committee. He headed the Prime Minister's Task Force on Developing an Integrated Capability to address Internal Security Challenges. He served as Senior Advisor and as National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister of India. He was also the Prime Minister's Special Representative for boundary talks with China. He has dealt extensively with a whole range of issues concerning internal, national and global security, including aspects such as Counter-Terrorism, Counter-Intelligence and Strategic Analysis. He holds a Master's Degree in Economics from the University of Madras.

Ewald Nowotny

Governor of the Oesterreichische Nationalbank (OeNB) since 2008. He served as CEO of the Austrian BAWAG P.S.K. Bank für Arbeit und Wirtschaft, Vice President and Member of the Executive Board of the European Investment Bank (EIB) and President of the Governing Board of Österreichische Postsparkasse (P.S.K.). He was an elected Member of the Austrian Parliament. He served as Full Professor at the Vienna University of Economics and Business Administration, where he also held the position of Vice-Rector. He studied law and government sciences at the University of Vienna and economics at the Institute of Advanced Studies in Vienna. He holds a doctorate in law from the University of Vienna.

Eva Nowotny

President of the Austrian UNESCO Commission. She entered the Austrian Foreign Service in 1973. She served as Counselor to the Austrian Mission at the United Nations in New York. Then, she was appointed Foreign Policy Advisor to the Austrian Federal Chancellor. She was the Austrian Ambassador to France (1992-1997) and the Austrian Ambassador to the Court of St. James (1997-1999) and the Austrian Ambassador to the United States of America, with accreditation to the Commonwealth of the Bahamas (2003-2008). She retired from the Foreign Service in October 2008. She studied at the University of Vienna with history as her major subject and German literature as a minor and received her Ph.D. in 1968.

Georgiy Oganov

Adviser to the CEO of Basic Element, Mr. Deripaska, and Member of the Supervisory Board of the company since 2005. He also sits on the Board of Vol'noye Delo, a charity foundation. He was Deputy CEO responsible for International Affairs and Public Relations at Basic Element (2003-2005), Vice President of the M.I.C. Industries (USA) and Co-Chairman of the International Press Center and Club "Moscow". Prior to his career in business, he held several diplomatic positions with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He graduated with a degree in International Relations from Moscow State Institute of International Relations and holds a degree in International Public Diplomacy and Public Relations from the Diplomatic Academy in Moscow.

Dan Oiknine

Chairman, Chamber of Commerce and Industry France India, since 2009. He founded the India Trade Centre in 2007. He worked in the high-tech and internet industry, holding managing positions for technology leaders such as Netapp and Enitron. He started in the luxury goods industry, heading several demanding positions, from Marketing to Business development, within famous brands (Dior, Celine, Lagerfeld, etc.) which he helped develop on the American continent. He holds a

Bachelor's degree in Economics from Sorbonne University and a Master's Degree in Science and Techniques from Dauphine University, Paris.

Stewart M. Patrick

Senior fellow and director of the program on international institutions and global governance at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). Previously he was Research Fellow at the Center for Global Development. He also served on the Secretary of State's policy planning staff (2002-2005) and was research associate at the Center on International Cooperation at New York University, where he also taught U.S. foreign policy (1997-2002). He is the author or co-author of four books and writes the blog "The Internationalist". He graduated from Stanford University with a BA in human biology and received his doctorate in international relations, as well as two masters degrees, in international relations and European history, from Oxford University.

Volker Perthes

German political scientist, specialist of Middle East. Chairman and Director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), in Berlin. From 1992 to 2005, he headed the Middle East and Africa Research Unit at the SWP. He taught at the American University of Beirut and at those of Duisburg, Münster and Munich. He teaches at Humboldt University Berlin.

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 the Banque de Dépôts, Geneva, he has been appointed CEO and non Executive Director of various EFG Group companies. He holds a Ph.D. in Theoretical Physics and a post graduate degree in Industrial and Management Engineering at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich.

William Pfaff

Regular contributor to *The New York Review of Books*, and has also writ-

ten for *The New Yorker* (from 1971 to 1992), *Foreign Affairs* (New York), *Commentaire* (Paris), *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, *Politica Exterior* (Madrid), etc. For a quarter century he wrote a political column for *The International Herald Tribune* in Paris. Author of nine books on American foreign policy, international relations, nationalism, political romanticism and utopianism, etc. The most recent of these books, *The Irony of Manifest Destiny: The Tragedy of American Foreign Policy*, dealing with the present American crisis, was published last summer by Walker & Co. in New York.

Friedbert Pflüger

Director of the European Centre for Energy and Resource Security (EU-CERS), Department of War Studies, King's College London. He has previously served as a press secretary to former German President Richard von Weizsäcker. He was also a member of the German Bundestag (1990-2006) and Chairman of the Bundestag Committee on the Affairs of the European Union (1998-2004). Since September 2009 he is Professor for International Relations at the Department of War Studies, King's College London.

Vijay M. Phadke

Advocate registered with the Supreme Court of India since 1976. In 1986, he opened an office in Paris to advise French and European Companies doing business with India. Phadke Law has vast practical experience in the international disputes settlement & institutional arbitration in the energy, aviation & construction industries and also a background on policy matters as advice has been sought in making Indian Governmental policy decisions on taxation, defence & aviation policies. He graduated from the University of New Delhi, the University of Cambridge and the University of Geneva.

Peter Praet

Member of the Executive Board of the European Central Bank since June 2011. He started his career as Research Assistant in the Department of Applied Economics and Institute for European Studies, Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB). He served as

Economist, International Monetary Fund, Washington D.C. (1978-1980), Professor of economics, ULB (1980-1987), Chief Economist, Générale de Banque, subsequently at Fortis Bank (1987-1999), Chief of Staff of the Belgian Minister of Finance (1999-2000), Executive Director of the Nationale Bank van België/Banque Nationale de Belgique (2000-2011). He holds a PhD in Economics, Université libre de Bruxelles (1980).

Pierre Prieux

President of Alcen, group composed of high technology companies in the fields of defense, energy, medical machines and aeronautics. He started his career as President of Tabur Marine and of Dufour. He served at Matra Group as Senior Vice-President in charge of 4 departments (car electronics, robotics, computer-aided design and watchmaking). He set up and managed a telecommunication operator, Kaptech and an equipment manufacturer, Cirpack. He studied at the École Polytechnique and at the Insead.

Qu Xing

President of China Institute of International Studies (CIIS). Professor at China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU), he teaches mainly on China's Contemporary Diplomacy and History of China-France Relationship. He was Vice President of CFAU and Minister to Chinese Embassy to France. He graduated from Beijing Foreign Studies University (BFSU) in French language and literature, from China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU) in Diplomatic History and from the Institute of Political Studies (IEP Paris) with a doctor degree in politics.

Mireille J. Quirina

Special Adviser to the Management Board of DuPont de Nemours International S.A., Geneva. Former Vice President, Corporate Affairs Europe, Middle East and Africa (EMEA) DuPont de Nemours International S.A. Geneva. A native of Paris, she holds a Master degree from La Sorbonne University, Paris, and an advanced degree (DESS) in International, Comparative and European Law from the Paris Law Faculty, Paris.

Claus J. Raidl

President of *Oesterreichische Nationalbank* since 2008. He was Chairman and CEO of Böhler-Uddeholm AG (1991-2010), Deputy Chairman and Senior Executive Vice President of Voest-Alpine Stahl AG (1998-1992), Deputy Chairman and Senior Executive Vice President of Voest-Alpine AG (1986-1988). He started his career as Senior assistant at the Institute for Applied Social and Economic Research (1970-1971). He writes various articles on current economic affairs and financial issues in economic journals. He holds a master's degree in commerce and a doctoral degree in economics from Vienna University of Economics.

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 Deputy Assistant 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 a 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 Power Secretary of India. Energy expert and international negotiator. He was India Chair of World Energy Council, is currently chairing its global study *Energy for Mega Cities*, and is Scientific Consultant for Energy Technologies, Office of Principal Scientific Advisor to Government of India for developing Advanced Ultra Super Critical Technology. 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.

Mary Robinson

President of the Mary Robinson Foundation, she also serves on the Mo Ibrahim Foundation's board. Former President and founder of Realizing Rights, she was President of Ireland, but also United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Legislator (1969-1989), Barrister (1967-1990) and Chair of the Council of Women World Leaders. She also served on expert European Community and Irish parliamentary committees. She received numerous honours and awards throughout the world including the Presidential Medal of Freedom from President Obama. She is a member of The Elders. She was educated at the Trinity College, King's Inns Dublin and Harvard Law School.

Adam Daniel Rotfeld

Co-Chairman of the Polish-Russian Working Group on Difficult Matters, member of the NATO Group of Experts on new Strategic Concept of Alliance and Commissioner of the Euro-Atlantic Security Initiative Commission. He is former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland and Director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. He is also a member of many other boards and scientific councils in Poland and abroad, and a professor at Warsaw University. He is the co-author (with A. Torkunov) of *White Spots – Black Spots. Difficult Matters in Polish-Russian Relations 1918-2008*, published in 2010.

Kristina Julie Rüter

Research Director with independent Munich-based rating agency oekom research since 2003. From 2009 to 2011, she has been participating in the Global Reporting Initiative Oil and Gas Sector Supplement Working Group. Before joining oekom research, she worked in research projects at the Institute of Environmental Technology of the Technical University Berlin, the Leibniz-Institute of Freshwater Ecology and Inland Fisheries in Berlin and at a state-run water and wastewater company in Recife, Brazil. She holds a university degree (Diplom-Ingenieur) in environmental engineering.



INVITED GUESTS

She also studied at the Technical Universities of Hamburg-Harburg and Berlin and the University of Aveiro, Portugal.

Jin Ryu

Chairman and CEO of Poongsan Group, one of the largest manufacturers of metal products and munitions in the world. He is actively involved in numerous business organizations as Chairman of the International Wrought Copper Council, Chairman of the Korea-Pacific U.S. States Economic Committee, Chairman of the Korea Nonferrous Metal Association, Vice Chairman of the Business and Industry Advisory Committee to the OECD, Vice Chairman of the Korea-U.S. Economic Council. Additionally, he supports a number of philanthropic organizations worldwide. He also serves as a Board Member of America's Promise, the Korea Exchange Bank (KEB) Foundation and the Korea Foundation, and as Chairman of the Pyongsan Scholarship Foundation and the Pearl S. Buck Foundation Korea.

Il SaKong

Chairman of the Presidential Committee for the G20 Summit in the Office of the President. He served as Special Economic Adviser to the President (2008-2009). He also chaired the Presidential Council on National Competitiveness (2008-2009). During his tenure at key posts in the Korean government, he played the leading role in framing and implementing Korea's most successful development strategy and economic policies of the 1980s. He was Special Consultant to the International Monetary Fund (1989-98). He graduated from Seoul National University (1964) and received his MBA (1966) and Ph.D. (1969) from the University of California in Los Angeles.

Tadaksu Sano

Attorney-at-law at Jones Day. He focuses on risk management and regulatory compliance and encompasses a broad range of government regulations. His clients include major Japanese companies. He spent 35 years at the Japan Ministry of International Trade and Industry, where

he worked in the field of international trade policy. He was Chief Executive Assistant to Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama (2009-2010), served in various positions in the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (1969-2004), including Vice Minister of International Affairs and Executive Assistant to Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa (1993-1994). He graduated from Kyoto University (LL.B.).

Kevin Sara

Chairman and CEO of Nur Energie and Vice-President of the Tunisian British Chamber of Commerce. After working as a management consultant at McKinsey & Co., he co-founded the European Telecom and Media Investment Banking Practice at the Investment Bank Salomon Brothers (now Citigroup). Later, at the Japanese Investment Bank Nomura International, Kevin invested in European and US emerging technology companies. While working on his PhD in Energy Policy at Imperial College, Kevin co-founded Hazel Capital, a clean-tech investment management company. Kevin obtained a B.A. in Physics from Vassar College (New York) and a MBA from the École Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées (Paris).

Louis Schweitzer

Chairman of the board of AstraZeneca PLC and AB Volvo; he serves on the boards of BNP-Paribas, L'Oréal, and Veolia Environnement. Louis Schweitzer is also Chairman of the Supervisory Board of the French newspaper *Le Monde* and serves on the board of a number of companies and not-for-profit institutions. Formerly, he was President of HALDE, the French high authority to fight discriminations and promote equality after being Chairman and CEO of Renault.

Narcís Serra

President of CIDOB, President of IBEI and Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. He is also Vice-President of Telefónica Chile, Councillor of Telecomunicaciones de São Paulo S/A –TELESP, Councillor of Telefónica Internacional, S.A.U and Councillor of Gas Natural S.A. He served as

President of the Caixa d'Estalvis de Catalunya savings bank, Deputy for Barcelona in the Spanish Congress, Vice-President of the Spanish Government, Minister of Defence, Mayor of Barcelona, Catalan Minister of Town and Country Planning and Public Works. He holds a B.A. in Economics from the University of Barcelona and a Ph.D. in Economics.

Jean-Michel Severin

CEO, Investisseurs et Partenaires (I&P), member of the Académie des Technologies, General Inspector of Finance, French Ministry of Finance. He served as Director in charge of international development at the Ministry of Cooperation and Development, Vice-President of the World Bank for Asia, CEO of France's International Development Agency (AFD) (2001-2010). In October 2007 he launched the blog "Ideas4development" alongside Josette Sheeran, Donald Kaberuka, Kemal Dervis, Pascal Lamy, Abdou Diouf and Supachai Panitchpakdi, in which the authors share their visions, doubts and hopes for international development. He graduated from the École Supérieure de Commerce de Paris, the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris and the École nationale d'administration.

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 (1998-2006). At present, President of the National Science and Art Foundation. Professor of modern literature at the University of Bucharest, PhD in Philological Sciences. Between 1970 and 1973 professor at Sorbonne University.

Reviewer. He was published about 30 books on the Romanian and European literature. We quote **Fictiunea jurnalului intim I-III** (*The fiction of the intim diary I-III*), **Genurile biograficului-II** (*Bbiographical genre I-II*), **Tânărul Eugen Ionescu** (*The young Eugène Ionescu*), **Mircea Eliade un spirit al amplitudinii** (*Mircea Eliade A spirit of Amplitude*), **Întoarcerea autorului** (*sau Contre, Sainte-Proust*).

Thierry Soret

Policy advisor, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Prior to joining the Office of Development Studies (ODS), he was the General Delegate of the European Think Tank Confrontations-Europe working on institutional and democratic reforms of the European Union. Previously, he was a Policy Advisor in charge of theoretical studies on international relations and globalization within the French socialist party and several NGOs. He was admitted at the National School of Administration (ENA), Paris. He holds a Master Degree in Political Science and International Relations from 'Sciences Po' Paris, and a degree in Philosophy (licence) from the Paris XII University.

Walter Stadler

Member of the Atlantic Council of the United States. As a career officer in the United States Foreign Service for 35 years, Ambassador Stadler was assigned to the United Kingdom, Germany, South Africa, Ethiopia, Sweden and Benin. He served as Advisor to the US Secretary of Defense, European Advisor to the US Mission to the United Nations, Vice President of National Defense University in Washington, DC, and as an advisor to the leaders of the Baltic Republics on developing their post-Cold War policies. He was President and CEO of the National Defense University Foundation (2008-2010). A graduate of Fordham University in Classics, he pursued graduate studies at Columbia University and also studied at the Sorbonne and the University of Perugia in Italy. He is interested in political-military affairs as well as development issues such as the

provision of clean water and micro-enterprise capacity building.

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General Secretary of the Study Committee for Franco-German Relations (Cerfa) at Ifri. Expertise: Germany and European integration, history of European construction, European security and defense policy, institutional debate. Lecturer in European Studies at the Institut d'Études Politiques in Paris and at the University Paris-III (Sorbonne-Nouvelle).

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Herbert Stepic

CEO of Raiffeisen Bank International since 2010. He joined Genossenschaftliche Zentralbank AG (now Raiffeisen Zentralbank Österreich AG, RZB) in 1973 and established the Foreign Trade Promotion Department. In 1987, he became Member of the Board of RZB and was appointed Deputy Chairman in 1995. He was CEO of Raiffeisen International Bank-Holding AG (2001-2010). He holds a master's degree in business administration (1968) and a doctorate in Economics and Commerce (1972), Vienna University of Economics and Business Administration.

Serge Sur

Professor of Public Law, Faculty of Law, University of Paris II Panthéon-Assas. He directs the Master's in Research & International Relations Pro-

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Hannes Swoboda

Vice-Chairman of the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament, member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, of the Delegation to the EU-Kazakhstan, EU-Kyrgyzstan and EU-Uzbekistan Parliamentary Cooperation Committees, and for relations with Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Mongolia, of the Delegation for relations with the United States and of the Delegation to the Euronest Parliamentary Assembly. He is a Member of the European Parliament since 1996, Vice-Chairman, PSE Group, European Parliament and PSE Group parliamentary manager. He was Vice-President, Interparliamentary delegation for relations with South-East Europe (1997-2004). He studied law and economics.

Riad Tabet

President of Batiliban-France, Franco-Arab Consortium for development, CEO of Berit International Holding SA, board member of the executive committee of the Franco-Arab Chamber of Commerce, Paris, board member and founding member of the Lebanese American Chamber of Commerce, Beyrouth. He was Advisor to the Lebanese President for the French-speaking world (1986-1988) and Advisor to the Minister of Finance for the private sector (1999-2001). He is the author of numerous books and studies on economic development, environment and land-use planning. He graduated from the Institut d'Urbanisme, Paris-Sorbonne University.

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 a PhD

Anne-Claire Taittinger

Member of the board of Carrefour,

Club Méditerranée and Planet Finance & Financité and President of Le Riffay. After four years devoted to urban planning and public housing development programmes in several cities in France on behalf of the Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations (a major French State financial operator), she joined, in 1979, the business world, participating in the management, development and executive direction of her family's business group. Until January, 2006, she was CEO of Groupe Taittinger and Groupe du Louvre. She also served as CEO and then Chairman of Baccarat. She graduated from the Institut d'Études Politiques, Paris, from HEC (MBA) and Paris 5 University, post graduate degree in sociology, city planning and urban development.

York Chor Tan

Ambassador of the Republic of Singapore to the French Republic and Portugal. He was the Permanent Representative of Singapore to the United Nations in Geneva (2007-2010) and the Permanent Representative of Singapore to the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna. He joined the Singapore Civil Service in 1985 and worked in the Ministry of Defence and in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He served as First Secretary in the Singapore Embassy in Paris, as Minister-Counsellor and Deputy Permanent Representative in the Singapore Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York. He graduated with a Diplôme d'Ingénieur de l'École Nationale Supérieure de Chimie de Strasbourg, France.

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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 a PhD

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Yashwant Thorat

CEO of Rajiv Gandhi Charitable Trust. He has more than 35 years of experience in senior public-bank and microfinance positions. Former Executive Director of the Reserve Bank of India where he worked for over three decades, culminating as an Executive Director and including more than 10 years dedicated to cooperatives, rural credit and microfinance. More recently, he has been Managing Director and later Chairman of India's National Bank of Rural and Agricultural Development (NABARD, 2004-2007), Chairman of the Expert Groups on Credit Deposit Ratio and Investment Credit, and Chairman of the Micro Finance Development and Equity Fund. He holds a Ph.D. in Economics from Shivaji University, Kolhapur.

Anatoly V. Torkunov

Russian diplomat, expert on Russian foreign policy. Rector of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO-University). Member of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chairman of the Russian UN Association, and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. In 2008 he was elected Full Member, Academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences. He is a Professor at MGIMO. He served at Soviet Embassies in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America. He holds an MA and two doctoral degrees in Political Science from MGIMO-University.

His Royal Highness Prince Turki Al Faisal

His Royal Highness Prince Turki Al-Faisal served as the Ambassador of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the United States of America from September 13th, 2005 until February 2nd, 2007. His Royal Highness is involved in a number of cultural and social activities. He is one of the founders of the King Faisal Foundation and is the Chairman of the King Faisal Center for Research and

Islamic Studies in Riyadh. He is a member of the Board of Trustees of the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at Georgetown, the Oxford Center for Islamic Studies, and the King Faisal Foundation. He graduated from The Lawrenceville School in Lawrenceville, New Jersey. He subsequently pursued an undergraduate degree at Georgetown University in Washington, DC.

Hubert Védrine

Founder of Hubert Védrine Conseil, a consulting firm. He formerly served as Diplomatic Advisor to François Mitterrand, Spokesman and Secretary-General at the Elysée presidential palace before joining the Council of State in 1995 and as Minister of Foreign Affairs (1997-2002). He graduated from the École nationale d'administration and his major books are: *Les Mondes de François Mitterrand* (François Mitterrand's Worlds), Fayard, 1996, *Mitterrand, un dessein, un destin* (Mitterrand, a Design, a Destiny), Gallimard, 2005, and *History Strikes Back*, Brookings Institution Press, 2008. He and Pascal Boniface co-authored *Atlas du monde global* (2008) and *Atlas des crises et des conflits* (2009).

Serge Villepelet

President of PricewaterhouseCoopers France, a member firm of the worldwide network of PricewaterhouseCoopers International (PWC). He joined Coopers & Lybrand in 1979 and was admitted to the partnership in 1989 on qualifying as Statutory Auditor. During his 30 years with PWC, he has held a number of other senior positions in management and governance within the firm in France, in Europe and at the international level as a member of PWC's International Board. In 2007, he set up the PricewaterhouseCoopers France Foundation for culture and solidarity. In 2010, he published *Le patron qui aime les littéraires* (éd. Lethielleux/DDB). He graduated from the École Supérieure de Sciences Économiques et Commerciales (ESSEC).

François Wat

Senior Partner, Co-Head of Global Equity Advisory, Rothschild Paris

since 2008. Before joining Rothschild, he was a Managing Director at Deutsche Bank, Chairman of Equity Capital Market, Asia Pacific, based in Hong Kong. He joined Deutsche in 1995 as the Head of French Equities in Paris. He became Head of European Equity Sales in 1998, and Head of European Equity in 2000. Prior to joining Deutsche Bank, he was a Managing Director and Head of French Equities for S.G. Warburg Securities in Paris. He also served as a Director at Lazard Frères & Cie in Paris. He received a Master's degree in Law from the University of Paris and is also a graduate of the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris.

Bruno Weymuller

Director of Déinove and Kvaerner ASA, and member of the board of directors at Coe-Rexecode. He has been Advisor to the CEO and Executive Vice President at Total (2000-2008) in charge of Strategy and Risk Assessment. After joining Elf Aquitaine Group in 1981 he has held various management positions in the upstream division, and has been Chief Financial Officer (1994-2000). He began his career at the Ministry for Industry (1972-1978), then he joined the Prime Minister Raymond Barre's cabinet (1978-1981). He graduated from the École Polytechnique, and the École des Mines in Paris. He holds a Master of Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Michael Yeoh

Founder and Chief Executive Officer of the Asian Strategy and Leadership Institute (ASLI), a leading independent Think Tank in Malaysia and ASEAN. He is also Founder and Chairman of the World Chinese Economic Forum and the ASEAN Leadership Forum. He was Organising Chairman of the Asia Economic Summit, the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) Business Forum and the World Islamic Economic Forum. He is also Secretary-General of the Malaysia China Business Council and the ASEAN Business Forum. He studied at Monash University and the Aresty Institute of Wharton School and was conferred this year





an Honorary Doctorate in Laws by the University of Nottingham.

Thierry de Montbrial

Igor Yurgens

Chairman of the Management Board of the Institute of Contemporary Development, Vice President of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs and a member of the Presidential Council for the Development of the Information Society in Russia. He graduated from the Economics Department of Moscow State University. He is a professor of the Higher School of Economics and author of numerous articles and monographs. He is also the recipient of the Order of Honor of the Russian Federation.

Lionel Zinsou

CEO of the Private Equity firm PAI since 2009. He started his career as a lecturer in economics at Paris University and was a member of the Department of Industry's Minister's Office and the Prime Minister's Office. In 1986, he joined Danone where he held various positions including Corporate Development Director and then CEO of the grocery division. In 1997, he joined the Rothschild Bank as General Partner; he was Head of the Consumer Products Group, Head of Middle East and Africa. He graduated from École Normale Supérieure, Sciences Po, the London School of Economics and La Sorbonne in history and economics. He is a "professeur agrégé de sciences économiques et sociales".

Marie-Cécile Zinsou

Marie-Cécile Zinsou was born in 1982; she is the President of the Zinsou Foundation that she founded in June 2005 in Benin. The Zinsou Foundation aims to promote contemporary Art in Africa and leads cultural, educational and social actions as well as a microfinance program. So far the foundation has hosted 24 exhibitions and has received 3,000,000 visitors.

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 companies and 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* - renamed *Direction de la prospective* in 2009) at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was its first director (1973-1979).

He has authored sixteen books, several of them translated in various languages. He is a Commandeur of the Légion d'honneur and a Grand Officer of the National Order of Merit and has been awarded many other state honors by the French and foreign governments. He holds nine *honoris causa* doctorates.

Thierry de Montbrial 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
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Opening speech
Thierry de Montbrial

Ladies and gentlemen, I am delighted to be opening this 4th *World Policy Conference* and I would like to begin by expressing my thanks to His Excellency Herr Heinz Fischer, President of the Republic of Austria. I would like to say how grateful I am that when I came to see you a few months ago, you agreed to welcome us here to the magnificent city of Vienna, and to this magnificent Hofburg. I would also like to express my warmest and sincerest thanks to President Abdullah Gül, President of the Republic of Turkey. President Gül had agreed to attend the first conference in Evian, three years ago, but unfortunately a serious incident affecting his country forced him to return home on the day of the conference itself. Mr President, I thank you and I am delighted, at the same time, to announce that the 5th *World Policy Conference* will take place next year in Istanbul. The applause I hear from the audience is an excellent indication of how pleased we all are at this decision.

I would also like to thank all the leading figures who are here with us today – I won't mention them all – President Ilves, President of the Republic of Estonia, who also took part in the first of these conferences, and His Holiness Patriarch Bartholomew I, who also does us the great honour of being here with us. I welcome Prince Turki Al-Faisal, another friend of this conference, who is attending for the second time. I thank Mr Il Sakong, who is here as the personal representative of the President of the Republic of Korea, and Mr Peter Praet, whom I shall introduce in a moment and who is here to replace Mario Draghi, who is needed all day today at the European Council. You will appreciate that he is dealing with vital issues for the future of the European Union, a topic we will be returning to on several occasions during this conference. I welcome President Ahtisaari, former President of the Republic of Finland and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, who will also be with us throughout the conference.

I would like to say a few words about the substance of this conference. The subject matter of the *World Policy Conference* is global governance. In my judgment, there is no subject as important as this one, not only for our immediate circumstances, but also for many years, if not decades, ahead. I would like to stress three points.

The first point is that globalisation means more and more interdependence, which leads to more and more complexity. With complexity comes uncertainty. The characteristic of complexity is that very small causes can have immense repercussions all over the system. These repercussions are fundamentally unpredictable. This year, this has been borne out in the case of the so-called Arab Spring, which we will discuss in depth later on this afternoon. It starts with a poor man who commits suicide in the centre of Tunisia, and it ends up with the global destabilisation of a whole critical region. As of today, we do not know what the ultimate consequences of this destabilisation will be.

To take another example, in the economic realm, when the bubble burst, it was something fundamentally unpredictable as far as the particular circumstances are concerned. When bubbles burst, it can lead to situations such as the present one, which affects the whole European Union. If the European Union were to start to dismantle, that could be a major factor of destabilisation for the whole world. This problem of complexity is a major one. By the way, economists should now be much more humble than they used to be because not so long ago, most economists, Nobel Prize winners and so on, thought that they had resolved the basic problems of economic policy. This is not the case.

My second point is that because of this growing uncertainty, governance is essential. Without governance, our highly interdependent system is likely to explode. The current governance organisation is extremely weak. G8 and G20 are weak organisations. Not only are they weak, but they are relatively poor, both in terms of efficiency and legitimacy. This is what we have to work on. We know that the balance of power all over the world has shifted in the direction of the emerging countries. By the way, I would rather talk about BRITS than BRICS. The T stands for Turkey. I think Turkey is too often neglected when we talk about the emerging powers. I say this because we are going to listen to President Gül in a few minutes. I think Turkey today is a major country, not only in the Middle East at large, but in the world. At the same time, it is also true that the diminishing leadership of the West has so far not been replaced, and certainly not by a country like China. China does not have a history or experience of world matters or leadership at a global level, and I think China is much more concentrated on its own affairs and development at the moment. This leaves a huge leadership gap and I think this is part of our problem of global governance.

How we shape more sustainable global governance is key, and paradoxically today we can say that the experience of the European Union is one that can be discussed as a role model possibly for the whole world. I say that on the very day when there is extremely high uncertainty because of the outcome of the European Council meeting.

My third and last point is to stress the importance of values. This is a fundamental subject. The world is not homogeneous. We have different cultures, different religions or religious traditions and we have different kinds of experiences. I think this should be seen as a source of wealth, not as a source of difficulty. At the same time, we are not accustomed to working in a cooperative way with countries with highly different values, while no country is pretending to prevail on the others. There is a great deal to be learned from that viewpoint.

I will conclude by expressing a wish. There is the famous Universal Declaration of Human Rights. I dare to say here that, in my judgment, this declaration of human rights is not fully universal. It is not universal because the cultures and traditions of non-Western countries were not taken into account when it was drafted.

At some point, I wish we could draft a declaration of universal values. It seems to me that in all major traditions, including religious traditions, it should not be so difficult to identify really common values, such as human dignity, or perhaps even something like consent. People should not be forced to act in a way that they do not accept for themselves. Maybe at some stage, the *World Policy Conference* could possibly be instrumental in initiating the drafting of such a declaration on universal values that looks beyond human rights. That might probably be the best condition for developing a new sustainable global governance system.

It is now my pleasure and honour to invite President Heinz Fischer to give his introductory speech, after which I will call President Gül. Thank you very much for your attention.

Opening speech
Heinz Fischer

Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Let me begin by thanking you all for coming to Vienna and for attending this important conference. Special thanks are due to Professor de Montbrial, President and Founder of the World Policy Conference, not only for his opening remarks but also for the idea to hold this fourth session of the World Policy conference in Vienna, a traditional venue for international meetings.

In the next couple of days you will discuss and examine various aspects of global governance.

I welcome this because today, nothing can be addressed any more in an isolated way. Our global agenda is, however, not only international but also interdisciplinary and encompassing all levels of governance.

In my view there are two core challenges on our Global Agenda: One is related to the needed development of our institutional framework and of the decision-making and implementation processes at all levels. The other deals with the new societal dimension of our response.

Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen!

We have all become aware that the traditional Westphalian system of sovereign states has begun to be partially replaced by new patterns of interstate and non-state interaction and information flows. Sovereign state rights have become relativized with a growing spectrum of decision-making transferred to international structures and trans-national processes. Related to this “withering away” of the states’ spectrum of responsibilities is the emergence of non-state actors who increasingly shape our patterns of interaction, objectives for joint action and their implementation.

Governments still have to carry the burden of political public responsibility. But if we look at our Global Agenda we will notice, that other institutions have assumed an increasingly significant role in the definition of our global affairs. The emergence of new actors and partners has been the profound change in global policy processes.

While ever since the Congress of Vienna multilateral diplomacy used to play the key role in global affairs, we do have today processes which are somehow rather comparable with politics at the national level - starting with “issue identification”, then “issue articulation” leading to decision-making.

And the different partners in Global Governance assume different roles in these processes of global politics. It is interesting to note that today many issues are identified by civil society and by academic institutions. Once a problem has been raised with a broad commitment to its significance, our global elders, congregated in Global Commissions or Panels and supported by academia, are called to articulate the issues we face and the policy options available. The Global Reports presented to the international community then form the basis for international decision-making on specific issues.

Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Civil society today plays a very important role as bearer of values and of certain visions of which issues are to be addressed by the international community. Civil society institutions also provide us with assessment and judgements on specific problems and issues. Academia in turn has become the indispensable provider of knowledge and understanding of our increasingly complex and inter-related agenda. The private sector has understood the fundamental infrastructural significance of international issues and is today a partner in the pursuit of global issues. Parliamentarians are the fundamental bridge between the Global Agenda and national politics and its priorities.

The question is: How can we realize a coordinated and complementary process of Global Governance with so many different actors, interests, visions and capacities? Global Governance cannot be achieved with command and obedience.

Institutionally, some creative modes of interaction and consultations have evolved. One example is the United Nations Security Council inviting non-governmental organisations for informal consultations on issues on which they can provide especially qualified information and opinions to the Security Council such as on the role of women in armed conflicts.

Yet the challenge is in the political implementation processes at the various levels and with regard to the different sectors of governance - peace and security, economic and social development, environmental sustainability, climate change etc.

Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Modern industrial management has provided us with a useful model for addressing the inherently fragmented spectrum of profoundly different responsibilities, capacities and institutional settings. I am referring to the concept of “management by objectives” which evolved for company structures where a large number of different actors share the same objectives and contribute to their achievement with different normative frameworks and operational responsibilities. The fundamental element of “management by objectives” are the shared objectives. And this fits very well with the limited operational capacities of our international system.

An important soft power element of the United Nations are the common values, principles and objectives of international peace and security, human rights, equity in economic and social development and with regard to the need for a sustainable development and use of our natural and environmental resources endowment. Just let us remember the resolution of the General Assembly containing the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

Today the tools available to the international community are very much in line with the concept of management by objectives, using the convening of international conferences and summit meetings to approve the articulation of global objectives.

Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen!

An Austrian idea to empower the United Nations Secretary General to coordinate the multiple reports prepared by the various organisational entities of the United Nations System with different time frames, substantive and geographic coverage and to integrate their data and analysis into a “State of the World Report” of the Secretary General



has regrettably not yet been adopted. Such a report would provide the international community with a coherent framework for the decentralized implementation of our global action by the different interstate, national governmental and non-state partners in global affairs.

At the same time the central object of our global policies has undergone a profound re-orientation, from state-focussed policies to citizen-focussed approaches to global affairs. The human being has in fact become the core object of our agenda. This new focus is reflected in the central role that human rights, human development and human security have assumed in our agenda.

This new focus of our Global Agenda is also to be understood as reflecting another dimension of our challenges. The citizen has become an important defining element for economic and social development, environmental sustainability and for peace and security. The citizen is not only primary victim but also actor and perpetrator in the defining of our societal quality.

In fact, most societies are living today a process of societal disintegration. Growing inequality is accompanied by processes of societal exclusion and humiliation leading to civil wars, intra-societal violence, organized crime and economic insecurity.

Concrete experience in the different regions of the world, in particular also in post-conflict areas, has put attention to the needed processes of “dignity building” through learning and understanding of one’s own and the other’s human dignity as assured by our system of human rights.

Human rights cities are something relatively simple communities where the municipality in partnership with civil society, the private sector and academia, agree to assure that through processes of education, learning and socialisation, everyone in the community should understand and live his or her dignity as granted by human rights.

Excellencies,

Ladies and gentlemen,

In the beginning of my talk I was referring to the increasing role of non-state actors in global governance. Today, it seems to be widely accepted that in the financial area the influence of private actors has gone much too far. The shift of regulatory competences from state authorities to private networks with their self-defined sets of rules and forms of self-regulation is one of the major causes of the financial crisis. Private institutions have become important economic policy authorities.

And unregulated financial markets have weakened the power of parliaments. They drastically jeopardize the primacy of politics. Governance by private sources of authority has undermined traditional nation-state based mechanisms of democratic accountability.

Reinstating the primacy of politics is one of the major challenges – we cannot afford to waste this opportunity. By the end of 2008 the G-20 started with an ambitious initiative to re-regulate financial markets. Thousands of pages of legislative texts were drafted. But it seems that the rules of the game have remained largely unchanged. Powerful private interests have blocked major reform. Parts of the civil society are responding with anger and with a sense of helplessness. In parallel, as a consequence of the crisis, we are observing a break of the social bond and a process of declining solidarity.

Let me finally say a few words on Europe. Since its very beginning, the European Union has experienced episodes of setbacks and of major progress where the European project

was driven forward. To give an example, the break-up of the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) in the early 90s of the last century was a major impetus for the creation of a single currency.

In recent months we have seen last minute compromises on the minimum necessary to tame markets – at least temporarily. But I do believe that, finally, the European ideal has so much power that the crisis in Europe will set in motion a fundamental overhaul of the European governance arrangements. It is my hope that more Europe and not less will be the response.

Opening speech Abdullah Gül

President Fischer,

President Ilves,

Mr Montbrial,

Distinguished Guests,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me a great pleasure to be among you today in this magnificent setting. I still cherish the fond memories of my official visit to Vienna last May, as the guest of President Fischer. Each time I visit Vienna; I cannot help, but be impressed by the splendor and the beauty of this historical city.

We are gathered here mainly to discuss the new challenges and opportunities ahead of us. We may still not agree on what to call the last 20 years, but, I believe that we are witnessing the early days of a new world order.

In that sense, this location has an inspiring significance. Almost two hundred years ago, in 1815 at the end of the Napoleonic wars, leading powers gathered in Vienna to discuss how to establish a new European order. As we all know, eventually a new balance of international system emerged and a rather long period of relative stability followed suit.

So many things have changed since then, but, one big question remains the same.

I am referring to the dilemma of finding a balance between freedom and security. The makers of the new order of that time opted for laying grounds for a stable system at the expense of freedoms.

Nevertheless, the system proved to be incapable of holding back the will of the people and eventually fell apart.

In those days, the balance of the international system was being discussed primarily on the basis of territory.

Today, the sweeping impact of globalization is causing a paradigmatic shift in our understanding of the world at large. Unquestionably, globalization is much more than a mere economic state of affairs.

In the political sense too, territories are no longer a sacred shield of national sovereignty. Even, the most consolidated democracies are not immune to the process of global exposure and accountability.

Furthermore, the tectonic shifts in the global political and economic system render global governance structures anachronistic.

With new players, rising powers and shifting balances, old rules are breaking down or becoming irrelevant.

This is why there is pressing need to re-evaluate the functioning of the global system.

At a Chatham House conference last year, I argued that the current international system was at the state of a three dimensional “imperfect equilibrium” in the political, economic and socio-democratic domains.



Since then, along with the ecological deficit, all the said discrepancies have drastically hit the international system.

To give a couple of examples; we had the Arab Spring; sovereign debt crisis in Europe; alarming tension between Iran and some other countries; renewed terrorist attacks in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan; a tragic famine in Somalia; and finally, the nuclear contamination in Japan.

All these factors have the potential to push the international system from a state of “imperfect equilibrium” into a “perfect imbalance”. Therefore, we have to be extremely vigilant on the global governance of these issues.

Let me start elaborating my views about the deficits in the international political order.

Most of current international political-security structures were shaped in the time of Cold War. These structures are under increased pressure to transform themselves in accordance with the changing global dynamics.

It is also an agreed fact that no single power can cope with these challenges alone.

There is a need for truly effective multilateralism with the participation of the emerging powers.

In this respect, the United Nations, as the flagship of the international system and global governance, certainly needs a comprehensive reform. In this regard, the reform of the UN Security Council is imperative.

Unfortunately, the United Nations has so far failed to adapt itself to the changing realities of our time.

I have to say that the most common perception of the UN today, is that of an international structure which serves the interests of the leading powers.

Having placed the focus on the UN as such, however, we should not ignore the relevance, efficiency, accountability and legitimacy of the other international institutions too.

Distinguished Participants,

The second deficit I would like to talk about is in the global economic sphere.

Four years after the outbreak of the global financial crisis, the world economy has entered into a dangerous phase once again.

Factors such as the sovereign debt crisis in Europe and weak economic data of the US have caused concerns over another global recession.

It is becoming clearer that the impact of the current crisis would remain longer than previously thought.

Many European countries are struggling with enormous debt levels and budget deficits above the Maastricht Criteria.

I believe that the European Union’s negligence to the implementation of its own economic criteria paved the way to the current difficult situation.

Moreover, the lack of political will and ineptness to take courageous actions in dealing with these problems further aggravated the situation in the euro zone countries.

Those failed economies may bring down the whole EU with them. In fact, the very unity of the Union is at stake because of the split between the euro zone members and



the other EU members.

Ongoing economic problems in Europe threaten the global economy as a whole, since the level of economic interdependence among the continents is very high, in terms of foreign trade, international finance and investments.

Consequently, the perception of a looming global crisis has adversely affected the prospects of the consumers, producers and investors all across the world.

In my opinion, the world economy is in a state of a “balance of economic terror” that may turn into a full-fledged global depression.

Therefore, unless and until we bring the global economic system to a new and sustainable equilibrium, we might have to live with symmetrical economic shocks at both global and regional levels.

To this end, the new global economic order must redress these imbalances and create a new framework where developed and developing economies can deal with these challenges in a true spirit of partnership.

There is no doubt that with its balanced membership of both advanced and emerging economies, the G-20 may play a leading role in governing the world economy.

Distinguished Guests,

If we want a sustainable international system, we must also think about devising new cooperation schemes to lift billions of people out of poverty.

We should remind ourselves that development and security are directly linked and mutually reinforcing.

No one can sleep safely in this world as long as we have more than a billion people living less than a Dollar a day.

As Turkey, we consider such an engagement with the least developed countries a priority.

In this regard, last May we hosted the Fourth United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries (LDC).

We have then intensified our efforts to address development problems of the LDC’s as stipulated by the Istanbul Action Plan.

In line with this commitment and with the contribution of Turkish NGOs, our overall development assistance has now reached around two billion Dollars annually.

Coming back to my earlier point, there is no doubt that the best remedy to the elimination of poverty is to provide a functioning system of international free trade.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The world is certainly going through a historic transition. The way we are going to deal with the unfolding events of today, will make a vital impact on the lives of many generations to come.

From Africa to Asia, Europe to the Middle East, the order of the past is changing. Of course, the most important change of the new strategic climate is the Arab awakening.

For me, the Arab awakening was a process long overdue, and is irreversible now. It is simply the normalization of history in this part of the world.

After all, the Southern Mediterranean is a region that has been the cradle of many civilizations.

In that sense, who can deny the importance of the Great Library of Alexandria, which was the single greatest archive of knowledge of the ancient world?

It should also be noted that the region was home to many great philosophers like Farabi and Ibn Khaldun. Their influence in sociology, political science, and education has been felt over generations.

Therefore, one can argue that there has always been the necessary historical and intellectual accumulation in the region for the ideal of a pluralistic democracy.

What is happening now, on the basis of genuine homegrown dynamics, represents a correction of history and the course of human civilization.

Nevertheless, it is still too early to make a safe prediction as to what will happen in each country engulfed by the winds of change.

There will be some setbacks along the way. Each country will find its own balance based on its specific conditions.

However, we believe that we now have a golden opportunity to end the decades-long misery of the region. We hope that the people’s genuine aspirations for a life in dignity will be materialized.

We cannot overlook the daunting economic and social requirements of hardship lying ahead.

When the revolutionary fervor ends, the new leaders will find themselves faced with the enormous challenge of creating economic opportunities for everyone.

We, as the international community, should decisively assist the new democracies of the region. Thereby, we can create a virtuous cycle in which economic growth and democratic consolidation are reinforcing each other.

Turkish experience proves that traditional and spiritual values can be in perfect harmony with the contemporary standards of life and modernity.

It is no surprise that the emerging democracies in the MENA region are examining Turkish democratic experience and the institutional set-up. Turkey is a source of inspiration for them.

Particularly our approach to religious freedom and secularism, and the way we have turned those notions into an ultimate assurance of democratic pluralism and harmony between the state and the society is highly relevant.

It sets an example for those countries in the region struggling to find the right balance between faith and politics.

Distinguished Participants,

The growing pessimism due to economic crisis in today’s Europe is reshaping its political life. There are growing manifestations of intolerance and discrimination in most European countries.

There is a rise in electoral support for political parties which portray immigration as the main cause of insecurity, unemployment, crime, poverty and social problems.



As a result, we are extremely concerned about the rise of xenophobic and Islamophobic tendencies. The horrific terror act committed in Norway last July, was a chilling reminder that the threat of far right extremism should not be underestimated.

Unfortunately, there are dramatic signs of complacency, especially when the European collective conscious fails to accept the terror coming from its core.

We all know that terror in itself is an insane act. Nevertheless, if we do not punish the perpetrators on the grounds of their so-called insanity, fighting terrorism will become an impossible job.

Most recently we were shocked once again, this time by the news of the cruel murders committed by the neo-Nazis in Germany, between 2000 and 2006. We were particularly saddened by the fact that 8 out of the 10 victims were of Turkish origin.

There is a real sense of concern among the immigrant communities not only in Germany but across the entire Europe.

In this regard, I commend President Wulff for his efforts to unearth the truth surrounding those attacks and to heal the wounds of the families of the victims.

I hope President Wulff’s political stand vis a vis the threats posed by the extreme right movements will set an example for all mainstream political figures and parties in Europe.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I should admit that so far I have depicted a rather gloomy picture of the world affairs. Of course, we have ample reasons to be worried.

However, there is no room for pessimism. Last week, I visited Kyrgyzstan to attend the Presidential handover ceremony in Bishkek.

Although unnoticed, this successful and peaceful democratic transition, realized in only 18 months at the heart of Asia, is commendable.

Therefore, I believe, Kyrgyzstan deserves a helping hand from those who promote democratic transition around the world.

The ongoing economic crisis should not overshadow the strategic imperative for supporting democracy, peace and stability in the world.

History is full of lessons proving the costs of inaction.

As Mark Twain said, “*History does not repeat itself, but it does rhyme*”.

I believe that the decisions and actions we take now will be instrumental in defining the outcome of the changing global dynamics.

I hope the ideas coming out of this important conference will make a humble contribution to such a positive outcome.

Thank you.

Dinner speech, Friday, December 9
Herbert Stepic

Dear Mr Thierry de Montbrial,

Dear Excellencies,
Dear ladies & Gentlemen,

It is a great honour for me to speak today here in front of such a distinguished group of people.

Dear Monsieur de Montbrial, I have read your message on your website as a preparation for this event, in which you articulate your hope that this conference plays a modest but significant role in averting the misfortune of inter alia the break-up of the European Union, a collapse of the Euro-Atlantic couple, a fragmented world with (more or less) pure national interests resulting in wars, social unrest, etc.

You state that we have to find back to ways of global governance which end with «win-win» situations in opposition to «lose-lose» situations, which seem to be the prevailing risk nowadays.

I absolutely agree that we must find «win-win» situations. Especially in Europe, where a further acceleration of the crisis would have a major impact on the entire world.

Ladies & Gentlemen, as I am an European banker, I will concentrate on European governance and European macroeconomic issues, as they are strongly interrelated.

The future of the Euro

The future of the Euro is one of the major concerns we are currently confronted with when talking to clients, international investors, etc.

Most of the people know that I am a banker. When I am at home I am often asked by family and friends:

- Will the Euro last?
- What shall I do with my money?
- Do I have to invest into Gold?
- Should we buy land?

I usually end the conversation, as I cannot convince them about anything: look my friends, leave it on the saving account and wait for better times.

Undoubtedly there are major economic and political risks we are currently facing in the Eurozone, which lead to fear and great uncertainty in the markets.

This fear is fuelled by media reports and analysts glooming about the end of the EUR currency.

But what is really going on currently?

The current struggle is not about keeping or abandoning the Euro-project, but about avoiding the painful economic fallout of sovereign bankruptcies.

While the question is how to avoid default of some weaker members, the Eurozone as a common currency area is in total even relatively strong:

- The Eurozone in aggregate has a comparatively low public debt level of (2011) 88% of GDP. This compares favourably to the USA (100%) or Japan (233.1%).
- The budget deficit is even more constructive, standing at 4.1 % (2011) of GDP in the Eurozone, vs. 9.3% in the US and 10.3% in Japan.
- Nor has the Eurozone a need for extensive external financing: The current account of the Eurozone (-0.8% of GDP in 2011) compares favourably with the sizable net external funding needs (current account deficits) prevailing in the UK (-2.5%) and the US (-3.1 %).

In average the fundamentals of the Euro are quite good, if I compare it with other currencies.

So when my friends ask me, will the Euro retain its value? I ask them against what? We have a very weak USD and I would also not like to invest into the JPY.

Unfortunately this average fundamental strength of the Eurozone in aggregate does not rule out financing problems of individual countries (and in the case of Greece even debt restructuring). Therefore the issue can be argued as follows:

1. A default of a Eurozone member does not automatically endanger the Euro per se or its value:

- a. Single countries cannot «print» their way out of the crisis and devalue the Euro
- b. Should a default of one or more Eurozone countries happen, something that I am convinced can and will be avoided, with the exception of Greece, the fall-out would affect the financial system (having to cope with substantial capital losses) and the real economy (suffering a deep and drawn-out recession), but not the price stability of the currency. In such a scenario the risk of deflation would be higher, like in Japan in the 90s.

2. A break up of the Eurozone is very unlikely as the costs of an exit are exorbitantly high

- a. Due to the export dependency of its members.
- b. And much more importantly: After 12 years of integrating financial markets, the break-up of the currency would lead to a massive devaluation of weak currencies, banking runs, recession and missing refinancing options. Most banks in these countries would need to be restructured, leading to enormous capital losses also in core Europe, in Germany and France. Many French and German banks would need to be nationalized, which would lead to a deep and protracted recession.

A break up of the Eurozone is a classic «lose-lose» situation and the financial and economic costs of a break-up, as well as the default of a major EUR country, are so high for EVERYBODY, that it will be avoided.

The means to avoid it are difficult to agree on, as countries which are stability focused, are eager that a «safety net» for EUR countries does not set an incentive to continue piling up its high debt.

So, we need fundamental reforms. That is undisputed.

But what kind of reforms are needed? Reforms leading to more or less integration?

As explained before, less integration, namely the break up of the Euro is a very painful exercise and would send us most probably 20 years back in our development. Therefore we need more integration. This means a coordinated economic and fiscal policy, the elimination of tax heavens and the implementation of certain mechanisms which may

trigger the «shift of authorities» from local governments to Brussels. Otherwise a common currency cannot work.

However, there are a lot of different possibilities on how such a fiscal union can be structured (degree of centralisation, trigger mechanisms, trigger thresholds, members of fiscal Union for all EU members or all Eurozone members):

According to the results of the negotiations last night, the entire Eurozone will establish a «fiscal union», which will be based on contracts separate from the EU. All other EU members, except from the UK, are willing to join the fiscal union and will consult with their parliaments and will be involved in the negotiations.

That is not a perfect result, but for the Euro it is a good step into the right direction. The fiscal union is a precondition for the creation of Eurobonds, which most probably will be implemented at a later stage.

The separate contract shall be negotiated until March, which is a tight timeline, as the mechanisms of abandoning of «sovereignty rights» to a «ruling European institution» has to be agreed.

Equally controversial is the requested household consolidation. Simple and radical cost cutting is definitely also not the «cure to the disease» and answer to the current challenges. I will come back to this topic a little later again.

All this needs time! The contracts have to pass local governments at times where local governments have not held the European flag high. So we need time to change the system when financial markets do not allow for long change processes. They will continue to put indebted countries into the lime light of negative reporting and rating agencies will do the rest.

So we need time and interim measures!

3. Bond purchases of the ECB will remain a vital pillar to provide countries like Italy and Spain with the time to consolidate their budgets and undergo reforms

- a. I am absolutely confident, that all the countries besides Greece will be able to restructure in such a way that they will be able to come out of the crisis, as long as they can refinance themselves at acceptable rates.
- b. Money which is not coming out of the EFSF, will need to come from ECB.

You will ask me then of course. Do these bond purchases endanger the purchasing power and the stability of the EUR? In theory yes. But what is happening at the moment?

- a. The European banking system is cutting back lending under the pressure of new regulation - I will come back to that a little later - and credit demand shrinks given the unfolding recession.
- b. Therefore less money than before is coming into the real economy and ECB bond purchases will help to fight deflation, which is a bigger risk than inflation at the moment.

Ladies & Gentlemen, let me shortly summarise on what I have said so far:

- a. A break up of the Eurozone or the bankruptcy of a large Eurozone member is extremely costly for everybody and therefore very unlikely.
- b. We have the means to fight the crisis, we just have to use them. Consequently I have little doubt that politicians will continue to go for a «win-win» situation of stronger

integration and solidarity.

So far so good! BUT:

All reforms requested singularly concentrate on cost savings! But Europe needs both! Europe needs budget consolidation, mainly via structural reforms, as well as growth .

We need to create jobs and provide future oriented programs, as social unrest is the biggest threat in case of rising unemployment and ever enlarging social differences.

This also means that any EU governance reform, such as the proposed fiscal union, has to take cyclical into account and avoid procyclical measures.

And this is what I do not see so far.

EBA regulation in the context of growth

In the context of growth, I want to seriously oppose the new regulation of the European Banking Authority, which has been published on 27th of October, that all systemic relevant banks have to show a Core Tier 1 Capital Ratio of 9% by the 30th of June 2012, regardless whether they are exposed to peripheral countries, and consequently write offs, or not.

Do not understand me wrong. I am absolutely in favour of stabilizing the financial system and reduce the inherent risk to the global economy. But this needs to be a process over a certain period of time. That does not work from one day after the other.

Therefore, new «global» Banking regulations, namely Basel 3, have been developed after the Lehman crisis and they have foreseen a bundle of measures including a gradual step up of Core Tier 1 capital over a longer period.

According to the new EBA regulation banks have to fulfill Basel 3 targets of 2019, within a period of 8 months.

Ladies & Gentlemen, higher capital ratios in the middle of a debt crisis are absolutely counterproductive as banks will be finally forced to reduce lending.

And this is what will happen:

Morgan Stanley estimates that the European Banking Market will deleverage by EUR 1,5-2,5 trillion over the next 18 months.

This will have a serious long term effect on the economic development of Europe.

The crisis will not be solved by increased capital requirements on short notice, as the core of the problem is the mistrust of the markets in the solvency of public debt. And the key problem is liquidity and only second to that capital.

Central & Eastern Europe

As someone who is heavily engaged in CEE, let me make a few remarks about CEE.

In the context of this new EBA regulation, some international media commentators have written about deleveraging effects which will be especially negative for Central and Eastern Europe, which then will be a great risk for the stability of Austria due to the engagements of Austrian banks in CEE. Let me also try to clarify the issue here.

Of course, Eastern Europe, just like Western Europe will be also negatively affected by the crisis.

But, Ladies & Gentlemen, Central & Eastern European countries are much better prepared for a crisis scenario than 2008/09: They have used their time diligently and prolonged public debt maturities.

CEE is much less dependent on external financing, there is a reversed trend in external

debt to GDP and there is very high labour productivity. These countries are very competitive, and have a well educated workforce.

Central and Eastern European markets are less indebted with the exception of Hungary with less than 50% of the average indebtedness of EU countries. Looking at Central and Eastern Europe one sees the inherent conversion process of where Europe is heading. If you are still living as a young man of 26 years with your parents and your grandparents in an apartment of 65 square meters you really want to have your own fiat. And this is the inherent motor of conversion. You want to have it. You want to see it. You want to make it. And they have the brain to do it.

Therefore the «conversion-process» will continue:

CEE was and will remain the growth motor of Europe, as it is a market with more than 300 m customers, who will fast catch up with Western Europe. The GDP per capita of the Eurozone (EUR 28,755) is more than 3,5x higher than of CEE (EUR 7,879). This difference shows the convergence potential between the two regions. Due to this catching up process Eastern Europe will show a positive real GDP growth differential of approximately 2 percentage points on a sustainable basis to the Eurozone.

Ladies and Gentlemen, besides the very necessary consolidation process we need to focus on strategic growth programs. This will only be possible through solidarity. Otherwise we will have enormous social unrest. We are talking about a redistribution of wealth.

Pan-European solidarity and in a second step, increased European integration is the only way to avoid a «lose-lose» situation and I would even say to reach a «win-win» situation out of the current crisis for all involved parties.

Thank you!

Gala dinner's speech Martti Ahtisaari

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The range of topics we have covered today and yesterday is breathtaking. To add a new subject or two to that long list— at this hour — would probably be self-defeating. Therefore, I am not going to raise new substantive issues. What I intend to do is to share with you some thoughts that have — in recent times — given me a lot to think about. The background to these thoughts is not only in the atmosphere of a pending financial and political crisis we all have been worrying about, although that is certainly one factor. Let me tell you what I have in my mind.

Our newspapers and television talk shows are full of news about protests of various kinds. Those on real or imaginary barricades are showing their disappointment. Their expectations have not been met. Their hopes have been frustrated. They are angry. Even back home in Finland, where demonstrations are rare and small and very rarely disturb the public order, we have seen a tent camp in front of the House of Parliament.

Some address their discontent to the politicians, others to the business leaders. In both cases the tune is: we have been misled, we have been deceived. Do these various protesting groups from the “*let's occupy the Wall Street*” to the *Arab Spring* have something in common? Perhaps they do.

The protestors all seem to think that those in power have not heard their voices, that the political leadership is not responsive to the needs of the citizens. It is true, of course, that these angry citizens have conflicting, and sometimes mutually excluding hopes. There is no way to keep everyone happy. Nevertheless, these angry groups have similar objections to the present state of affairs. What they really seem to think is that those in power have behaved irresponsibly, or that the leaders have been unreasonable. Bankers have been irresponsible in extending credit to those who are unlikely to be able to service their debts. Politicians have been irresponsible by promising more than their governments can deliver. Consumers have taken more debt than they can cope with — and that, too, is irresponsible. The political atmosphere seems to be poisoned with broken promises and unfulfilled expectations.

Not everywhere, though. At least not to the same degree. There are number of countries where there seems to be a better relationship between the political class and the citizens, as a whole. In these countries inequality is not so extreme that it would generate a culture of discontent and protests.

What do I mean by inequality? What I have in mind is equality or inequality in income. There are, of course, a number of ways to express differences in income. But for the sake of brevity I have consulted statistics that divide various social groups, so that we start by assessing the income of the twenty per cent with the highest income in any given society. What is their share of the GNP of the nation concerned? Then we assess the share of the GNP that goes to the twenty per cent with the lowest income. This is a simplistic method, not a very academic or accurate one, but reliable enough to give us general idea

of the relationship between these two groups.

If the difference in income between these two groups is very high, that is a sign of economic inequality. Conversely, smaller the difference greater the economic equality.

What are the conclusions that we may draw from this information? Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett have illustrated these questions in their book “*The Spirit Level. Why Equality is Better for Everyone.*” This book was first published a couple of years ago. The authors discuss consequences of inequality and base their observations on statistics drawn from respectable sources. They list nine different categories of social phenomena and compare these indicators to indicators of income inequality. It would take too much time to go through all these nine categories. Therefore I have decided to pick three of the nine namely level of trust; life expectancy and infant mortality and social mobility.

Testing the level of trust in various societies was made in a simple manner so that the results from various countries would be comparable to the greatest degree possible. “Most people can be trusted” was claimed. In countries with high degree of income inequality, the level of trust was quite low. Conversely, in countries with smaller differences in income, in other words in countries that are more equal in these terms, the level of trust was much higher.

Simply, great differences in equality mean great differences in public trust. The authors of the book I quote have tried to establish a causal relationship between inequality and trust. Does trust increase equality or is it the other way around? They come to the conclusion that equality generates trust. This conclusion is based on a good deal of social research.

How about life expectancy and infant mortality? Here again, the results are very much in line with the observations described above. Low levels of inequality go hand in hand with positive outlook of life expectancy, and with a low rate of infant mortality. This relationship is obvious.

What then, about social mobility? In some countries the dogma of equal opportunity is an article of faith. If equal opportunity means that not only are all human beings born equal, but that they also have the same possibility to success in life, then we believe in fairytales. Social mobility goes hand in hand with income equality. More equal the societies are in terms of income, more likely is high social mobility.

These three cases are, as I said earlier, a sample from a list of nine categories. The others — ranging from educational performance to degree of violent behavior— have all similar relations to income inequality. In short, equality is good for social wellbeing.

The question that arises naturally is: how about the incentives if the degree of income equality is high? Is it not a well-known fact that substantial differences in compensation increases productivity? I would not challenge this, in the light of the facts that I know. The question however is: how much is enough to constitute an incentive? This no doubt varies substantially from country to country.

The established practices that differ between the systems of taxation in each country play a major role. It would be artificial to quote figures or percentages. So let us see how real life looks like in a number of countries.

I will begin with the region I know best — the Scandinavia. By way of giving you some background I would like first to describe, in a few words, what makes Scandinavia a true region, not only in geographic terms, but also culturally, socially and politically.

This region shares a lot of common history. For the last 500 years that history has been peaceful as far as the Scandinavian countries' mutual relationships are concerned. What is less known in the rest of the world is that in terms of European integration, the Scandinavians have been forerunners. A common labor market was created already in 1954. Our Schengen or passport union dates back from 1957. Close cultural cooperation is based on a treaty from 1972. I could go on, but these samples should already show that integration has been, and indeed is, the watchword for the region. It has been possible because Scandinavian societies share common values, not only in theory but also in practice. These societies are in many respect similar although by no means identical. They all, from Denmark to Iceland, from Norway to Finland and Sweden are countries where income inequalities are minor.

Does this mean that in terms of productivity they perform worse than societies where income differences are substantial in order to encourage productivity? Not at all. Scandinavian productivity has been good enough to make good life affordable. High taxes, yes, indeed, quite high. But well spent in education, infrastructure, social services and health. In short, if we go back to the three indicators of well-being, trust, life expectancy and social mobility we see a uniform pattern. All five countries score well, clearly above the average among the OECD countries.

If we were to look at some of the other indicators I mentioned earlier, such as educational performance or violence, again the results show that Scandinavian countries do well. Number of violent crime is low although the prison population is very low, by international comparison. In terms of education the scores in the OECD sponsored PISA-studies show excellent results.

Are the Scandinavians successful, measured with the yardsticks I have used, because their societies have aimed at reducing of income equality? I think so. There may be very many factors, conditioned by culture and tradition that have contributed to the Scandinavian or Nordic system. These factors may have their roots in religion, political life, and history. Whatever the roots are, their present day impact is a reality.

Am I trying to tell you, that we have opened gates to paradise in the cold and dark North? Most certainly not. We too have our malcontents, and all of them are not professional dissenters. We know that we are going to face serious social and economic problems with an aging society. Present systems for public pensions are already very much stressed. The need for expanding the public health services is obvious. The problem is not only the availability of services. We also need to retrain the medical staff to cope with the needs of an aging population. A triple A -credit rating may be impressive, but it is no guarantee for future star performance.

In the course of the last decade or two, we have seen vivid debates in the developed parts of the world about how to build a social model that is just and equitable, but at the same time productive and competitive. As far as productivity and competitiveness are concerned, the challenge comes mainly from Asia. In an incredibly short period of time,



societies that so recently were in the periphery in terms of economic development have become the engines of growth. Their social models are, in many countries, still vastly different from ours, certainly different from the Scandinavian model.

The crucial question is, can we maintain our model in this global competition? Is it more than we can afford or is it rather a source of strength? My own answer is simple. No social model can be everlasting in a world that is in the midst of rapid change and social turmoil. The challenge is to find a balance and better balance than today, between security and performance.

In my country the issues now debated are not very different from those in other European countries. Issues such as what would be the proper age for retirement are hotly debated. Fortunately our public health services are such that more people than ever can maintain their capacity to work in a productive way for longer than before. The retirement age can be higher than today to secure the availability of labor in a society where birth rate is less than what is needed for reproduction. What would constitute a proper balance between services produced by the public sector, and what should be the role of outsourcing, is another bone of contention.

Slowly but surely more and more people become conscious of the severity of these problems. With that they are frustrated and feel insecure of facing a future that is not as promising as they had expected. This is an atmosphere where political populists and charlatans thrive. In most European countries, and in particular in those where the economic and social situations are stressed, the populists have become a force that cannot be ignored. They offer simple solutions to complex problems. They offer quick fixes to all sorts of issues, without bearing the responsibility for their advice.

It seems to me that during the last few years, in too many countries the very values that our political and social systems are built on have been challenged. Not in a violent way, as was the case during the first half of the past century. But nevertheless in a way that may make rational solutions to the problems of our time exceedingly difficult. If people feel that undeserved privileges and unreasonable distribution of wealth is the norm, their anger may be difficult to meet. Here I would like to stress the words: undeserved privileges.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We here tonight are all people with privileges. Otherwise we would not be here today. This is why it is our duty to work to deserve our privileges. Tomorrow is our third working day here in Vienna. It gives us good opportunity to mobilize our intellectual resources and our imagination to seek solutions to the innumerable problems that need our attention.

Thank you for your attention.





Syria's civil war is bigger than Syria itself

Jim Hoagland, *Washington Post*,
December 15, 2011

VIENNA, Austria – It is the Arab Earthquake. Not “spring,” not “wave of reform,” not even “awakening” can describe the systemic upheaval that has engulfed Syria, where other Arab nations actively press for the overthrow of the regime headed by Bashar al-Assad. Let us call an earthquake an earthquake.

Assad's government “has become a killing machine,” says Turki bin Faisal of Saudi Arabia, one of the kingdom's most senior princes, a former chief of intelligence, ex-ambassador to Washington and a man not given to bombast. “The killing has to stop. ... This kind of leadership is unacceptable. Change in Syria is now inevitable.”

Turki made these remarks at the World Policy Conference, a gathering of officials and experts organized last weekend in the Austrian capital by IFRI, a leading French think tank.

Syria's burgeoning civil war involves forces and stakes that reach far beyond that country. Unlike the upheaval that ousted entrenched leaders in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and (it seems) Yemen, the outcome in Syria will shift the balance of power in a larger civil war within Islam that has raged for three decades. The Syrian aftermath will be more momentous and even more uncertain than its recent predecessors, Arab leaders have suddenly understood.

Sickened by the slaughter and feeling personally betrayed by Assad, the Sunni-dominated countries in and near the Arabian Peninsula have another motive in their determined push for regime change in Damascus. Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and others in the Arab League have reached the point of no return in their larger struggle with the revolutionary Shiite regime in Iran, Syria's most important foreign ally.

“Iran is a paper tiger, but it has steel claws,” Turki added. The Saudi prince was referring not only to Syria but also to the heavily armed Hezbollah militia in Lebanon and the Palestinian movement Hamas, which have aligned themselves with the radical Shiites who seized power in Tehran in 1979 and set out to export their revolution throughout the Muslim world.

They as well as Damascus are now the targets of a Sunni counterrevolution that has reached critical mass as Iran continues to be accused of working on a nuclear weapon and as U.S. troops withdraw from Iraq, a Shiite-majority nation that will increasingly be subject to Iranian influence and ambition.

Russia, too, appears to invest larger meaning in the Syrian conflict. “Vladimir Putin scores the Libya result as a win for the West and thus a defeat for Russia,” says a European ambassador who monitors intelligence reporting on the Kremlin. “He is determined that Syria will not make this a trend, and Russia will oppose collective action against Assad wherever it can.”

Putin's return to a zero-sum calculus reminiscent of the Cold War has cast a heavy shadow over secret, informal talks among the United States, Britain and France and those with the leading Sunni countries on hastening Assad's downfall. So out of deference to Russian sensitivities, these talks have steered clear of any discussion of the kind of coordinated NATO intervention that occurred in Libya. But diplomatic sources report that there is an active exchange of intelligence and tentative discussion of some form of joint operations, as well as an intensifying common effort to help Syria's emerging opposition forces become more organized and effective.

Speaking a day after Turki at the Vienna meeting, Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak echoed the prince's prediction about the Assad regime: “It is doomed. ... It is going to disappear, in a few weeks.”

I doubt that Assad pays much attention to this gathering consensus. Certainly his father, Hafez, whom I interviewed three times, would have dismissed it and continued the bloodletting until his opponents were eliminated. Hafez Assad believed that his Alawite clan would be committing suicide if it yielded power to the country's Sunni majority.

But he possessed survival skills that few other humans, including his son, command. And he lived in a different time. Hearing a Saudi prince and an Israeli defense minister give essentially the same analysis in a public gathering of an Arab dictator's looming demise is a new experience for me. When I pressed him on why the previously spineless Arab League has taken the lead in applying international condemnation and punishment to one of its members, Barak's answer contained rays of hope, currently a rare commodity in the Middle East:

“In the Arab world today you cannot just kill 4,000 people and pretend it did not happen or that people will forget it. People will know it and will not accept it.”

Imagine that.



A Pyrrhic Victory for Germany in Europe

William Pfaff, *Tribune Media Services*,
December 13, 2011

VIENNA, Austria – The great economic crisis has given birth to a smaller and tighter monetary union in Europe, under the influence of a Germany undergoing a certain estrangement from its European partners. This amounts to a possibly dangerous wager on what the European Union will ultimately become, which not all may like.

In Vienna last weekend, the fourth annual World Policy Conference, sponsored by the French Institute of Foreign Relations (IFRI) as a vehicle of European communication and cooperation with the so-called BRIC nations and other states in the developing world, found its attention riveted on Brussels and the eurozone states of the European Union. A French official who was part of the nearly all-night discussion in Brussels flew to Vienna to brief the gathering there, where decidedly mixed feelings were expressed about this successful German imposition of its own economic norms on an EU in distress.

Germany, as we all know, is a problem – especially a disproportionately powerful united Germany. NATO was formed to keep Germany down, and only after that to keep the Russians out and Americans in. Keeping Germany down meant finding a way to contain and integrate it into a Western Europe to which it had never in the past fully belonged. Its Christian knights of the Holy Roman Empire, and its trader-merchants, were off exploring the Baltic East, converting Pagans, and establishing free Hanseatic cities.

The concern in 1945 was that Germany could eventually reclaim the European domination first achieved under Bismarck, who created a united and imperial Germany in 1871. It lost that domination by defeat in the First World War, and its devastation was achieved by the Soviet army and British and American fire-bombing of Germany's cities – the consequence of Hitler's war to give Germans “living space” (Lebensraum) and racial triumph by conquering Eastern Europe and subjugating its “inferior” Slavic peoples.

Western and Eastern Europeans wanted no such third German effort to dominate the continent. Stalin created his rampart of states under Russian control, separating Occupied Germany from Russia. NATO was the American-led answer, a defense alliance that eventually turned into an American quasi-occupation of Western Europe, which still continues, although eroding.

The Europeans searched for a permanent rather than temporary solution to Germany. They found it in the idea, promulgated by the French banker Jean Monnet, formally proposed to German's Chancellor Konrad Adenauer by the French Government, was the integration of Germany into what was meant to be an unbreakable political association, sealed by joint control of Western Europe's resources and the industrial capacities essential to war.

This was the Coal and Steel Community created by the Treaty of Paris in 1951, in which France and Germany were joined by the Benelux states and Italy. When Monnet presented the proposal to Adenauer, the latter replied: “I have waited twenty five years for a move like this. Germany knows that its fate is bound up with that of Western Europe as a whole.”

Those who were active in European and American foreign relations during the early postwar years find the Brussels agreements a triumph of that solidarity. As Jean Dominique Giuliani of the Robert Schuman Foundation put it, the outcome was the expression of “a political determination to break with the spiral of doubt, indecision and division.” For those who have seen EU expansion in membership, powers, and authority as essential to Europe's peaceful future, this has been a critical event, coming at a moment when the EU seemed to face breakup at worst and a crippling failure at best.

For those, on the other hand, who have felt unease at the scope of ambition found among the Eurocrat establishment in Brussels, believing expansion of the EU and its powers to be the essential goal, this seems a possible step too far.

A series of meeting among leaders and government officials, lacking a mandate to go as far as they have now committed their states to go in advancing the integration of Europe, recalls the unhappy period before ratification of the current Lisbon Treaty, which was initially rejected by both the Netherlands and France. The Brussels agreements again include constitutional revisions in the individual states.

A few weeks ago George Papandreou of Greece proposed calling a referendum on these matters to clarify his popular mandate and was told by the French and German governments that this could not be tolerated. When Ireland staged its referendum on the Lisbon Treaty, the people said “no.” Brussels and nearly all the EU governments ordered the Irish to go back and think again, and produce an “acceptable” outcome.

The Brussels agreements impose a lasting program of economic austerity on EU citizens that reflects the conventional monetarist doctrines of recent decades, the ones that led to the current crisis. Keynesianism is still under intellectual ban. The creation of growth and popular well being in nations is subordinated to notions of national discipline and sacrifice, reassuring to Germans. The unprivileged citizenry are expected to provide the sacrifices.

Britain of course has chosen otherwise, since the City rejects “statist” Europe. Whether this is a good choice or not, it was the inevitable one. As Jonathan Powell has written in the *Financial Times*, Britain has sought a leading role in Europe while rejecting European involvement in its own affairs ever since the battle of Waterloo.



HUFFINGTON POST
United-States • 12/12/2011

Optimism for the Euro and Europe: The Win-Win Situation
(...) Last weekend I attended a fascinating conference, and surely one of the most uplifting, where our common future is concerned. It was here in Vienna that I heard a banker say those words, «redistribution of wealth» and actually mean it. It was a very practical, sane kind of conference, less rushed and more in-depth than many other conferences of its kind. The topics ranged from the Arab Spring, to the future of alternative energy, global governance and the environment, and corporate responsibility, but began with the economy, the Eurozone and the future of the Euro as a currency. (...)

BLOOMBERG BUSINESSWEEK
United-States • 12/09/2011

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

LAVANGUARDIA.COM
Spain • 12/28/2011

Dos trimestres de contracción
(...) Esa es una de las claves del ciclo que se inicia en España, en un escenario mundial que — según la reciente World Policy Conference — tiene que adaptarse a la emergencia de los poderes emergentes y con un giro global hacia Asia, porque en Occidente habita sólo un doce por ciento de la población del planeta. Pero no se sabe cual será el nuevo orden resultante. (...)

LEFIGARO.FR
France • 12/09/2011

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

JEUNE AFRIQUE
France • 12/12/2011

« Nous ne voulons plus vivre sous des dictatures et l'ensemble du Moyen-Orient doit changer », a lancé Amr Moussa, lors de la World policy conference à Vienne (Autriche), qui s'est tenue du 9 au 11 décembre. Et l'ancien secrétaire général de la Ligue arabe, candidat déclaré à la prochaine présidentielle égyptienne, d'ajouter : « Les changements toucheront à des degrés divers tous les pays. »

THE ECONOMIST
United-Kingdom • 12/12/2011

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

TVN24
Poland • 12/12/2011

Izrael: Upadek Asada to byłoby błogosławieństwo
Upadek prezydenta Syrii Baszara el-Asada będzie «błogosławieństwem dla Bliskiego Wschodu» - powiedział minister obrony Izraela Ehud Barak. Poruszył też problem Iranu i choć wezwał do zastosowania sankcji wobec Teheranu, to nie wspominał nic o możliwości ataku na ten kraj. Szef izraelskiego resortu obrony wypowiadał się w Wiedniu na zakończenie trzydniowej dorocznej konferencji na temat polityki światowej (World Policy Conference - WPC), na którą przybyli politycy, by omówić szereg najbardziej palących problemów. (...)

NEWS.RU.CO.II
Russia • 12/11/2011

Эхуд Барак: падение режима Асада – благословение для Ближнего Востока
Министр обороны Израиля Эхуд Барак заявил в ходе выступления на международной конференции в Вене (World Policy Conference), что падение режима Башара Асада, которое произойдет, по его подсчетам, в ближайшие несколько недель, станет «благословением для всего Ближнего Востока». Об этом сообщают в воскресенье, 11 декабря, зарубежные новостные издания и, в частности, немецкое информационное агентство DPA. (...)

KURIER
Austria • 12/11/2011

Chinas Vize-Außenministerin über Krise
Fu Ying spricht im Interview über Europas Schuldenkrise, das Verhältnis zur EU und die Entwicklung ihres Landes. China ist derzeit die einzige Lokomotive der Weltwirtschaft, Exportweltmeister und in Krisenzeiten gefragter Geldgeber und Investor. Die für Europa zuständige Vize-Außenministerin Fu Ying nahm am Wochenende an der World Policy Conference in der Hofburg teil. Der KURIER traf die Karriere-Diplomatin in Wien zum Interview. (...)

CHOSUN BIZ, 연지연,
South Korea • 12/8/2011

한국무역협회는 사공일 회장이 9일부터 11일간 오스트리아 빈에서 열리는 제4차 세계정 책 회의에 대통령 특사 자격으로 참석한다고 8일 밝혔다. (...) 세계정 책회의는 프랑스 국제관계연구소가 주관하는 심포지엄으로 글로벌 거버넌스에 관한 핵심 국제 정책토론의 장으로 부상하고 있다. (...)

新华网 刘钢
China • 12/12/2011

正在维也纳出席第四届世界政策大会的中国外交部副部长傅莹10日指出，中国是国际社会支持欧洲克服危机的积极参与者，同时也希望欧方为中欧扩大互利合作，特别是为吸引中国等发展中国家的投资创造良好氛围。 (...)

CUMHURİYET
Turkey • 12/09/2011

Gül'den Hırvatistan yorumu
Cumhurbaşkanı Abdullah Gül, Dördüncü Dünya Siyaset Konferansı'na katıldığı Viyana'da, bir gazetecinin Türkiye ile aynı tarihte müzakerelere başlayan Hırvatistan'ın AB üyeliğine kabul edilmesini nasıl değerlendirdiğine ilişkin sorusunu yanıtlarken, büyük ülkelerin AB ile müzakerelerinin her zaman sancılı olduğunu belirtti. (...)

REPUBLIKA.CO.ID
Indonesia • 12/12/2011

Ehud Barak Berbagi Strategi Lumpuhkan Iran: Serang Perdagangan dan Bank Sentralnya!
Israel mengajak sekutunya untuk tak hanya beretorika tapi memberikan sanksi yang 'melumpuhkan' terhadap Iran. Hal ini dikemukakan Menteri Pertahanan Israel Ehud Barak saat menghadiri sidang pleno pada Konferensi Kebijakan Dunia di istana bersejarah Hofburg di Wina. (...)

AMEN.GR
Greece • 12/11/2011

Βαρουσήμαντη ομιλία του Προκαθημένου της Ορθοδοξίας στη Διεθνή Διάσκεψη «World Policy Conference» Τελευταία Ενημέρωση
Για τη διακονία του Πρώτου Θρόνου της Ορθοδοξίας δια μέσω των αιώνων και ιδιαίτερος στον σύγχρονο κόσμο αναφέρθηκε ο Οικουμενικός Πατριάρχης Βαρθολομαίος, στην ομιλία του, το απόγευμα του Σαββάτου, ενώπιον της ολομέλειας της Δ' Διεθνούς Διασκέψεως «World Policy Conference» που πραγματοποιείται στο Παλάτι Hofburg, στην Βιέννη. (...)

EGYPT BULLETIN
Egypt • 12/09/2011

After Arab Spring, Israel should change too: Arab leader
This year's Arab Spring uprisings should affect the whole region, including Israel, Amr Moussa, the former secretary general of the Arab League and a candidate for the Egyptian presidency, said Friday. «We are seeing a historic and serious change,» Moussa said at the World Policy Conference in Austria's capital. «Israel should change too.» (...)

HAARETZ.COM
Israel • 12/12/2011

Ehud Barak in Vienna: Assad's downfall will be 'blessing for the Middle East'
Syrian President Bashar Assad's regime could come crashing down within a few weeks, Defense Minister Ehud Barak said yesterday at the World Policy Conference in Vienna. «The falling down of this family is a blessing for the Middle East,» Barak said during a question-and-answer session at the conference. (...)

L'ORIENT LE JOUR
Lebanon • 12/09/2011

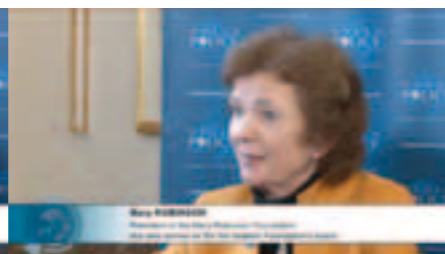
Après le «printemps arabe», Israël doit «aussi changer» (Amr Moussa)
Lex-secrétaire général de la Ligue arabe Amr Moussa, qui affiche ses ambitions pour la présidence en Egypte, a estimé vendredi à Vienne qu'à la suite du «printemps arabe», le changement devait toucher tous les pays de la région, y compris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





“ The euro zone crisis is also affecting all of us as we are interdependent. Don't forget that we are members of the European customs union, so if the German economy, the French economy, the Italian economy and the Greek economy are doing well, we will also do well. Therefore, we hope that all the other states will take decisive decisions and will all come out of this crisis.

Abdullah Gül



“ I don't believe that the Arab Spring or the Iranian nuclear power are the consequences of our inability to solve the conflict with the Palestinians, but this conflict is very often used as an excuse to go to the extreme, to mobilize popular sentiments against other players in the internal arena, which is quite disturbing (...)

Ehud Barak



“ Living in harmony, getting the good will of society is extremely important if a corporation wants to be a long-term player. That's why I believe corporate social responsibility, which is an instrument for getting the good will of society, is becoming extremely important.

Narayana Murthy



“ If countries that go to war use the internet and disrupt those communication channels, they also disrupt the average person's phone service (...). So people are starting to have serious discussions about how we make sure that the functioning of the internet is not disrupted by government activity.

Scott Charney



“ The Middle East of today is not at all the Middle East of yesterday. And therefore, they have to rethink. This is an opportunity for all to get together and build a better future for our region and they know the conditions for that. The Palestinian question will have to be resolved.

Amr Moussa



“ I'm an optimist. I think the Arab Spring will lead to a more democratic and open system, which is already the case in many countries including Morocco. It will mean more representation of the people. So, I'm an optimist.

Mostafa Terrab



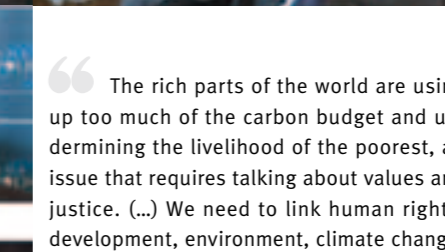
“ In the universal declaration of values, I think there are values that fit all cultures, all religious traditions. (...) What I have in mind is a kind of universal charter of values, which all governments, when they work together for global governance purposes, would have in the back of their minds.

Thierry de Montbrial



“ We've suffered a lot in history from being suppressed and from foreign intervention. So we don't want to do the same as what we suffered from others. Thus, I think the belief in non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries is very strong. It is widely shared by the public; it is the people's feeling. But we are very active participants in international affairs, as long as there is a consensus. (...) We want to be involved in a constructive and positive way.

Fu Ying

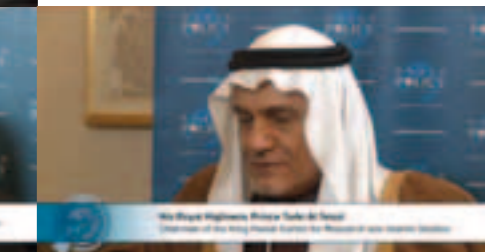


“ The rich parts of the world are using up too much of the carbon budget and undermining the livelihood of the poorest, an issue that requires talking about values and justice. (...) We need to link human rights, development, environment, climate change, ecosystems and how we treat our world.

Mary Robinson

“ The EU is a very successful example of regional cooperation. But after many decades, it has become a Christian club, as it cannot admit a single non-Christian society into the European Union. By contrast, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has Christians, Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, Confucians, Taoists, and Communists among its members.

Kishore Mahbubani



“ If Israel were to accept the Arab peace initiative and sign a peace treaty with the Arab world, it will not only gain recognition and normal relations with 22 Arab countries, but also with 56 Muslim countries that make up the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation. Once that happens, they don't need to have weapons of mass destruction any more.

Prince Turki Al Faisal



PARTNERS & ORGANIZATION

Global Governance
FOR THE ENERGY AND MINING SECTORS
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A large wall display featuring logos of various organizations and media partners. The logos are arranged in several rows. The top row includes logos for UN Women, UN Women's Global Leadership Initiative, UN Women's Digital Empowerment Leadership Initiative, and UN Women's Gender Equality and Women's Economic Empowerment Initiative. The second row features logos for EADS, OCP, TOTAL, and RENAI. The third row includes logos for UN Women's Digital Empowerment Leadership Initiative, UN Women's Gender Equality and Women's Economic Empowerment Initiative, UN Women's Digital Empowerment Leadership Initiative, UN Women's Gender Equality and Women's Economic Empowerment Initiative, and UN Women's Gender Equality and Women's Economic Empowerment Initiative. The fourth row includes logos for UN Women's Digital Empowerment Leadership Initiative, UN Women's Gender Equality and Women's Economic Empowerment Initiative, UN Women's Digital Empowerment Leadership Initiative, UN Women's Gender Equality and Women's Economic Empowerment Initiative, and UN Women's Gender Equality and Women's Economic Empowerment Initiative. The fifth row includes logos for EL PAIS, EL PAIS, EL PAIS, EL PAIS, and EL PAIS. The sixth row includes logos for EL PAIS, EL PAIS, EL PAIS, EL PAIS, and EL PAIS. The seventh row includes logos for EL PAIS, EL PAIS, EL PAIS, EL PAIS, and EL PAIS. The eighth row includes logos for EL PAIS, EL PAIS, EL PAIS, EL PAIS, and EL PAIS. The ninth row includes logos for EL PAIS, EL PAIS, EL PAIS, EL PAIS, and EL PAIS. The tenth row includes logos for EL PAIS, EL PAIS, EL PAIS, EL PAIS, and EL PAIS.



**Bloomberg Businessweek**

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The Chosun Ilbo is recognized as the most influential daily newspaper in Korea. Its circulation is 2 million per day. It publishes 48~64 pages everyday. Maintaining the No.1 position in newspaper subscriptions and readership for the past decade, it is the most preferred newspaper among opinion leaders. The Chosun Ilbo is also Korea's first private and national newspaper. Established on March 5, 1920, it was suspended four times during the Japanese colonial period. It overcame these ordeals and strengthened the groundwork for a centennial history.



CNBC, First in Business Worldwide, is the leading global broadcaster of live business and financial news and information, reporting directly from the major financial markets around the globe, with three regional networks in Asia, EMEA and the US. In EMEA, CNBC is the only real-time, pan-regional business and financial news network dedicated to CEOs, senior corporate executives, the financial services industry and EMEA investors. The channel is available in more than 130 million homes, 1,400 banks and financial institutions and leading hotels across Europe, the Middle East and Africa. Additionally, CNBC.com gives you access to live streams of all three CNBC regional networks and to the world's most comprehensive archive of business news videos ever assembled.

EL PAÍS

El País is the leading newspaper in Spanish language. It was born on May 4, 1976, established by a wide group of professionals, intellectuals, journalists and politicians, and it quickly became the most influential and best-selling newspaper in Spain. It currently has an audited circulation of over 400,000 copies and a daily readership of over two million. El País is the global newspaper in Spanish and has its own editions in several European and Latin American capitals. El País has adapted to the new times and is committed to new technologies. Its website, www.elpais.com has increased considerably the number of its users.



France 24 is a leading 24/7 international news channel, broadcast in French, English and Arabic. Covering international current events from a French perspective, France 24 values diversity of opinion, debate and confrontation of viewpoints. France 24 programming provides the keys to understanding ever more complex events through in-depth analysis, with a news bulletin every half hour, magazines, reports and debates. Broadcast throughout the world, France 24 is available on cable, satellite, IPTV, mobile phones and on france24.com. France 24 is watched by 30 million viewers every week.

JEUNE AFRIQUE

Distributed in more than 80 countries and read weekly by nearly 800,000 people, Jeune Afrique offers objective coverage of African and international news, as well as thought-provoking analysis of the continent's political and economic challenges. Jeune Afrique is edited by the Groupe Jeune Afrique. As the African continent's leading specialized media company, it registers total sales of 25 million Euros, with 130 contributors across 15 countries.

NOVARTIS

Novartis provides innovative healthcare solutions that address the evolving needs of patients and societies. Headquartered in Basel, Switzerland, Novartis offers a diversified portfolio to best meet these needs: innovative medicines, eye care, cost-saving generic pharmaceuticals, preventive vaccines and diagnostic tools, over-the-counter and animal health products. Novartis is the only global company with leading positions in these areas. In 2010, the Group's continuing operations achieved net sales of USD 50.6 billion, while approximately USD 9.1 billion (USD 8.1 billion excluding impairment and amortization charges) was invested in R&D throughout the Group. Novartis Group companies employ approximately 121,000 full-time equivalent associates and operate in more than 140 countries around the world.

POONGSAN

Founded in 1968, and now Korea's largest manufacturer of fabricated copper and copper alloy products, Poongsan Corporation plays a crucial role in a wide range of industrial sectors, from heavy industry to high-tech areas such as electronics and semiconductors. The product line includes a broad spectrum of copper and copper alloy products such as sheets, strips, pipes, tubes, rods, bars, wires, precision forging products, and ammunition for military and sporting use. Poongsan also enjoys the distinction of being the world's number one supplier of coin blanks. Governments around the world entrust the company with the task of providing the highest quality coin blanks to be used in minting their coins. Poongsan operates one brass mill, two defense plants, and six domestic affiliates in Korea. In addition, Poongsan has eight overseas subsidiaries with the largest of which is PMX Industries, Inc. in the USA.



The Renault-Nissan Alliance is a strategic partnership between Paris-based Renault and Yokohama, Japan-based Nissan, which together sell one in 10 cars worldwide. The companies, which have been strategic partners since 1999, have 350,000 employees and five major brands: Renault, Nissan, Renault Samsung Motors, Dacia and Infiniti. They sold 7.28 million cars in 2010, making the Alliance the world's third largest automotive group. Since its founding 12 years ago, the cross-cultural Alliance has expanded significantly, particularly into emerging markets. The Alliance is the auto industry's leading champion of sustainable transportation and the only one to have mass-market, affordable zero-emission vehicles for mainstream consumers.

Raiffeisen Bank International

Raiffeisen Bank International AG (RBI) regards both Austria and Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) as its home market. In CEE, RBI operates an extensive network of financial service providers in 17 markets. RBI is the only Austrian bank with a presence in both the world's financial centres and in Asia, the group's further geographical area of focus. In total, around 60,000 employees service about 13.5 million customers through around 3,000 business outlets.



GDF SUEZ, global player in energy and the environment, develops its businesses around a model based on responsible growth to take up today's major energy and environmental challenges: meeting energy needs, ensuring the security of supply, fighting against climate change and maximizing the use of resources.



The OCP Group is a global leader in the production and export of phosphate rock, phosphate-based fertilizers and related products. These products are an important component of global food security and agricultural productivity, as they provide essential nutrients to food crops and help rebuild healthy soils. A Moroccan state-owned company with global reach, OCP serves a network of over 130 customers on 5 continents, and through them supports farmers in all corners of the planet.

Founded in 1920, OCP has evolved from its roots as a phosphate mining company to become a diversified producer and supplier of a broad range of products adapted to different markets and needs.

OCP proudly plays an important role in the economic development and global competitiveness of Morocco. It is the largest company in the country, providing over 18,000 direct jobs and 40,000 indirect jobs across Morocco. OCP represents approximately 3.5% of Moroccan GDP and accounts for one quarter of Moroccan exports. At the same time, OCP is a substantial contributor to the success of Morocco's own agricultural sector, which accounts for 15% of the country's GDP in a country where 40% of the population is rural. OCP is a major supporter of Morocco's national agricultural development plan, the «Plan Maroc Vert».

To responsibly enable as many people as possible to access energy in a world of constantly growing demand.

This is the mission that Total has set itself.

Our vision is to be an Energy Company that is a leading international oil company and a global operator in gas, petrochemicals and, tomorrow, biomass and solar energy.

Our Strategy:

To realize our vision, we are leveraging our integrated business model, which enables us to capture all of the synergies in our business base.

Together, our commitments to ethical practices, safety and corporate social responsibility form a shared foundation for our four strategic objectives:

- Drive profitable, sustainable growth in our exploration and production operations.
- Develop competitive, top-tier refining and petrochemical platforms.
- Respond to customer needs by delivering innovative solutions, particularly in terms of energy efficiency.
- Focus on solar energy and biomass to secure the energy future.



UC RUSAL is the world's largest producer of aluminium, accounting for approximately 10% of global production of aluminium and alumina. RUSAL employs about 76,000 people in 19 countries, across 5 continents. RUSAL markets and sells its products primarily in the European, Asian and North American markets. RUSAL's ordinary shares are listed on Hong Kong Stock Exchange and global depositary shares representing RUSAL's ordinary shares are listed on the professional compartment of Euronext Paris.



Sanofi is a diversified global healthcare leader, focused on patient's needs. Group strategy is based on three key principles in order to deliver long-term sustainable growth: increasing innovation in R&D, seizing external growth opportunities, adapting to future challenges and opportunities. Sanofi has core strengths in the field of healthcare with its growth platforms: emerging markets, human vaccines, consumer healthcare, diabetes, innovative products and animal health. Through the acquisition of Genzyme, Sanofi has reinforced its footprint in biotechnology and rare diseases. Key figures: Approx. 110,000 employees in 100 countries; Euros 30.4 billion 2010 net sales.



Lafarge is the world leader in building materials, with top-ranking positions in all of its businesses: Cement, Aggregates & Concrete and Gypsum. With 76,000 employees in 78 countries, Lafarge posted sales of Euros 16.2 billion in 2010. Lafarge was ranked 6th in the "Carbon Disclosure Project" and entered the global "Dow Jones Sustainability Index" in 2010 in recognition of its sustainable development actions. With the world's leading building materials research facility, Lafarge places innovation at the heart of its priorities, working for sustainable construction and architectural creativity.



EADS is a global leader in aerospace, defence and related services. In 2010, the Group - comprising Airbus, Astrium, Cassidian and Eurocopter - generated revenues of € 45.8 billion and employed a workforce of nearly 122,000.



Opened in Cotonou in June 2005, the Fondation Zinsou is Benin's first private foundation. It is dedicated to culture and African contemporary art. The promotion of African artistic heritage, education, development and the reduction of poverty are at the heart of the Fondation Zinsou's mission.



The International Latsis Foundation, a nonprofit institution of public interest, which was founded in 1975, established the Latsis Prizes in Switzerland in 1983. Annually, it awards four Latsis University Prizes, a National Latsis Prize and a European Latsis Prize. The principal purpose of the Latsis Prizes is to recognize and reward scientific and technological work of particular excellence undertaken in Switzerland and Europe. The International Latsis Foundation is associated with the John S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation which is principally active in Greece in the fields of scientific research, education, environmental protection and social welfare.



Institut français des relations internationales

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 2011, for the fifth consecutive year, Ifri is ranked by the University of Pennsylvania as one of most influential think tanks in the world.

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 Brussels, 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.

W P C

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