



WORLD
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CONFERENCE
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WORLD POLICY CONFERENCE

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Foreword



The *World Policy Conference*, Year VIII

In hindsight, it seems increasingly likely that, after two decades of illusions, confusion and blunders following the fall of the Soviet Union and the “bipolar system”, historians will consider 2008 the start of the 21st century. The return of the spectre of the Great Depression made 2008 a turning point in economic history. The same year, the Georgian crisis recalled that the collapse of an empire inevitably ushers in a series of crises, the most dramatic of which is currently unfolding in Ukraine’s separatist provinces. The very badly named “Arab spring” of 2010-2011 dealt a decisive blow to Western ideologues who, like American neoconservatives, still believed that toppling

authoritarian regimes or dictatorships was all it would take for democracy to thrive. In late spring 2014, the sudden emergence of a self-proclaimed “Islamist state” took the planet’s leaders by surprise. Terrorism associated with political Islamism is dramatically on the rise. Every country is a potential target. The blatant contradiction of international law—between the principle of self-determination or the right of peoples to dispose of themselves on the one hand and the inviolability of borders on the other—has been thrust into a glaring spotlight everywhere. International law itself remains what it has always been for the most powerful states : one factor among many in their foreign policy. In some emerging countries, such as Brazil and India, economic growth is coming up against challenges recalling the heavy burden of structural factors in the development of peoples or nations and, therefore, the overlapping of the proper times attached to each category of phenomena. Truly radical breaks in human affairs are few and far between. The period when it was possible to believe in the imminent dawn of a globalisation fulfilling the neo-Hegelian dream of the end of History is over.

This is the alarming historical context in which the World Policy Conference (WPC) takes place. The first WPC was held in Evian from 6 to 8 October 2008, just after Lehmann Brothers collapsed and as the Georgian crisis was unfolding. The seventh WPC, which is the focus of this work, took place in Seoul from 8 to 10 December 2014. I launched this initiative with the conviction that no issue was more important for the planet’s future than its governance. But the more you look at it, the more the question of global governance seems complex. On the one hand, technology has spawned an endless variety of forms of communication creating the illusion of a homogenous global village. On the other, there is the weight of history and the collective unconscious. The essence of human communication does not boil down to instantaneous exchanges of binary signals. The philosophy of language tells us that verbal exchanges between physical persons are extremely subtle. So what about the relationships between peoples and nations! In every case, misunderstanding is the rule, understanding a miraculous exception whose survival requires mutual respect and, on each side, a lasting desire to deepen relationships. In Europe, that explains, for example, the recurring questions on the nature of the Franco-German relationship at every level of both societies. How can the future and stability of a truly open world

be imagined when we see how difficult communication and deep understanding are, even between two countries so strongly committed to reconciliation? The misunderstanding of naïve globalisation comes from underestimating this basic truth and, all the more so, its consequences.

In the same line of thinking, there is, in particular, inadequate knowledge about the “grand strategies”, implicit but quite real, of certain political units. These “grand strategies”, which are very long term by nature, differ from the well-crafted strategies about which the theory of action talks, in that they often remain hidden—paradoxically, even to their protagonists—behind a founding ideological structure of a sort of faith or belief. Their incompletely revealed existence engenders ulterior motives, suspicion, anxiety and conspiracy fantasies. As in the other areas of life, transparency in international relations is mostly a myth. The technical ease of superficial communication nurtures reason less than emotions and passions, thereby fostering less stability than instability in the international system.

By setting the goal of helping to improve global governance, the WPC focuses on a limited and yet already very ambitious issue : how to maintain a reasonably open international system and deepen it over the long term. In this spirit, every year we bring together a limited number of leading figures from the five continents, representatives of circles familiar with the world of political, economic, academic and media think tanks. They consider it worthwhile to get to know each other and work together far away from utopias such as the end of History or at the opposite end the Islamist revolution. They believe that reason is more likely than emotions or passions to promote peaceful, and therefore open and tolerant, coexistence between cultures and civilisations. For us, the clash of civilisations is far from inevitable. It can only result from a mismanaged interpenetration between peoples, often starting with good intentions. This requires sequencing phenomena and understanding the time scales proper to each of them. Successful governance requires untangling all these threads. An immense task lies before those who are constructively preoccupied with this question, which goes well beyond an “institutional erector set”.

The purpose of the WPC is to foster hope, without which it would be meaningless. I hasten to add that although it addresses global issues, its soul is fully European. In terms of “flow”, Europe’s share will obviously continue to dwindle in the 21st century. But in terms of “stock“, in other words of material or cultural heritage, Europe, whatever its exact geographical boundaries, will continue to play a preeminent role. And if the “grand strategy” concept can mean anything as far as Europe is concerned, it can only be around the idea of integration. Nearly 60 years after the Treaties of Rome, the European Union’s present woes (especially in the euro zone) illustrate the magnitude of the challenge of successful globalisation, even on the scale of a region. The main issues are a truly shared management of economic interdependence and a balanced organisation of collective security, such that war can no longer be the way to settle major conflicts of interest. To succeed, unfortunately it is not enough to invoke the virtues ascribed to formal conceptions of the market economy and democracy.

Thierry de Montbrial
Founder and chairman of the WPC
15 March 2015

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PROGRAMME

Monday, December 8

09:15 – 10:00 OPENING SESSION

Thierry de Montbrial, Founder and chairman of the WPC
Park Geun-Hye, President of the Republic of Korea

10:00 – 11:30 PLENARY SESSION 1 :
“Security governance in East Asia and in Europe”

Moderator:
Thierry de Montbrial, Founder and chairman of the WPC

Speakers:
Richard Haass, President of the Council on Foreign Relations
Han Sung-Joo, former Republic of Korea’s Minister of Foreign Affairs
Jean-David Levitte, Distinguished Fellow, Brookings Institution
Igor V. Morgulov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation
Shotaro Oshima, Chairman, Institute for international Economic Studies (IIES) and Visiting Professor, Graduate School of Public Policy, University of Tokyo

11:30 – 13:00 PLENARY SESSION 2 :
“Prospects for the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia”

Moderator:
Choi Young-Jin, Professor at Yonsei University Graduate School of International Studies, former Ambassador to the US, former Head of the UN Mission in Côte d’Ivoire.

Speakers:
Thomas Bagger, Head of Policy Planning, German Federal Foreign Office
Ju Chul-Ki, Senior Secretary for Foreign Affairs and National Security, Office of the President of the Republic of Korea
Thierry Mariani, French Member of Parliament for French Citizens Abroad (Asia, Russia, and Oceania)
Marcus Noland, Executive Vice President and Director of Studies, Peterson Institute for International Economics
Anatoly Torkunov, Rector of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations

13:15 – 14:45 LUNCH DEBATE
with Lee Hong-Koo, former Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea

15:00 – 16:30 PLENARY SESSION 3 :
“Inequalities and globalization”

Moderator:
Susan Liautaud, Visiting Scholar at the Stanford Center on Philanthropy and Civil Society, Founder of Susan Liautaud & Associates Limited (SLA)

Speakers:
Mari Kiviniemi, Deputy Secretary General of OECD; former Prime Minister of Finland
Richard Cooper, Professor of International Economics at Harvard University
Jean Pisani-Ferry, General Commissioner for Strategy, Office of the Prime Minister, France
Rhee Changyong, Director, Asia and Pacific Department, IMF
Il Sakong, Chairman of the Institute for Global Economics, Former Finance Minister of Korea

16:30 – 17:15 PLENARY SESSION 4 :
with H.R.H. Prince Turki Al Faisal, Chairman of the King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies (KFCRIS)

17:15 – 17:45 COFFEE BREAK

17:45 – 19:15 PLENARY SESSION 5 :
“Africa in a global context”

Moderator:
Marie-Roger Biloa, CEO, Africa International Media Group

Speakers:
Youssef Amrani, Chargé de mission, Royal Cabinet, Morocco
Lynda Chalker, Founder and Chairman of Africa Matters Ltd; Former UK Minister for Overseas Development and Africa
Nathalie Delapalme, Executive Director, Research and Policy, Mo Ibrahim Foundation
Elisabeth Guigou, President of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the French National Assembly
Wu Jianmin, Executive Vice Chairman of China Institute for Innovation and Development Strategy

20:00 DINNER DEBATE
with Yun Byung-se, Republic of Korea’s Minister of Foreign Affairs

Tuesday, December 9

08:30 – 11:30 PARALLEL WORKSHOPS
The state of the world economy and finance

Chair:
Jean-Claude Trichet, former President of the ECB

Speakers:
Marek Belka, President of the National Bank of Poland
Daniel Dăianu, Member of the Romanian Academy; former Minister of Finance of Romania
Bozidar Djelic, Partner, Lazard; Former Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia
Jeffrey Frieden, Professor of government at Harvard University
Jun Gwang-Woo, former Chairman of Korean Financial Services Commission (FSC)
Yutaka Aso, President, Aso Group

Energy, climate change and environment

Chair:
Richard Cooper, Professor of International Economics at Harvard University

Speakers:
Christian Bréchet, President of the Institut Pasteur
Luigi Colantuoni, Group Representative of Total in Japan and South Korea
Laurent Fabius, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France
Vuk Jeremić, former President of the UN General Assembly; former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia
Lee Seung-Hoon, Professor emeritus of the Seoul University, former Co-Chairman of Green Growth Committee of the Korean government
Tatsuo Masuda, Professor at Nagoya University of Commerce and Business Graduate School, Japan
Bertrand de la Noue, General Representative of Total in China
William Ramsay, Senior Advisor of the Center for Energy, Ifri; former Deputy Executive Director, International Energy Agency (IEA)
Anil Razdan, Former Power Secretary of India
Sverre Vedal, Professor, University of Washington (UW) School of Public Health; Chinese Research Academy of Environmental Sciences (CRAES)



PROGRAMME

Agroindustry in Africa and Asia

Speakers:
Jean-Yves Carfantan, Senior Consultant, AgroBrasConsult
Philippe Chalmin, Professor, Paris-Dauphine University
Krishan Jindal, CEO, NABARD Consultancy Services Pvt. Ltd.
Suresh Kumar, Chief Editor of Africaindia.org; Former Head and Director of the Department of African Studies, University of Delhi
Khalid Meksem, President of the University Mohammed VI
Rod A. Wing, Professor, University of Arizona

11:30 – 11:45 COFFEE BREAK

11:45 – 13:15 PLENARY SESSION 6 :
“The geopolitics and geo-economics of Eurasia”

Moderator:
Fen Osler Hampson, Director of CIGI’s Global Security & Politics program; Co-director of the Global Commission on Internet Governance; Chancellor’s professor at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada

Speakers:
Dong, Manyuan, Vice President, China Institute of International Studies (CIIS)
Michel Foucher, Chair of applied Geopolitics at College of World Studies; Former French Ambassador to Latvia; Former Director of the policy planning staff of the French Foreign Ministry
Alexander Panov, Member of the Advisory Board of the Security Council of the Russian Federation
Justin Vaïsse, Director of the policy planning staff, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Yu Myung-Hwan, Chairman of Sejong University; former Republic of Korea’s Minister of Foreign Affairs

13:30 – 15:30 LUNCH DEBATE :
“What about American leadership?”

Speakers:
Richard Haass, President of the Council on Foreign Relations
Joseph Nye, University Distinguished Service Professor, Center for Public Leadership, Harvard Kennedy School

15:30- 17:00 PLENARY SESSION 7 :
“Trade and politics”

Moderator:
Patrick Messerlin, Professor of Economics and Director of the Groupe d’Économie Mondiale (GEM) at Sciences Po Paris

Speakers:
Bark Taeho, Professor at Seoul National University, Former Minister for Trade, Korea
Alejandro Jara, Senior Counsel, King & Spalding; Former Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Chile, WTO
Pascal Lamy, Honorary President of Notre Europe, former Director-General of the WTO
John Manley, President and CEO, Canadian Council of Chief Executives

17:00 – 18:30 PLENARY SESSION 8 :
“Middle East in a global context”

Moderator:
Dominique Moïsi, Special Advisor at Ifri

Speakers:
Rival Al-Assad, Chairman of the Iman Foundation

Sergei Karaganov, Honorary Chairman of the Presidium of the non-governmental Council on Foreign and Defense Policy of Russia
Miguel Angel Moratinos, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain
Meir Sheetrit, Member of the Knesset, former Minister of Internal Affairs of Israel
Hubert Védrine, Former French Minister of Foreign Affairs

19:15 COCKTAIL

20:00 GALA DINNER

Wednesday, December 10

09:00 – 10:00 REPORTS FROM PARALLEL WORKSHOPS

10:00 – 11:30 PLENARY SESSION 9 :
“The economic and political consequences of the revolution of Big Data”

Moderator:
Nicolas Barré, Managing Director, Les Echos

Speakers:
Chang Dae Whan, Chairman of Maekyung Media Group, Republic of Korea
Joseph Nye, University Distinguished Service Professor, Center for Public Leadership, Harvard Kennedy School
Ben Scott, Senior Advisor, Open Technology Institute at the New America Foundation; Program Director, European Digital Agenda, Stiftung Neue Verantwortung
Luc-François Salvador, Executive Chairman for Asia-Pacific, Capgemini Group

11:30 – 12:00 COFFEE BREAK

12:00- 13:00 PLENARY SESSION 10 :
“The US and Asia in the 21st century”

with Robert M. Gates, Former Secretary of Defense of the United States
Jin Roy Ryu, Chairman & CEO, Poongsan Group, Republic of Korea

13:15 – 14:45 LUNCH DEBATE

with Mehmet Ceylan, Deputy Minister of Development of Turkey

15:00 – 17:00 PLENARY SESSION 11 :
“General debate”

Moderator:
Dominique Moïsi, Special Advisor at Ifri

Speakers:
Jeffrey Frieden, Professor of government at Harvard University
Liu Chen, Professor, China’s Foreign Studies University in Beijing
Mohamed Laichoubi, Former Minister of Labor and Social protection of Algeria
Kunihiko Miyake, Research Director, The Canon Institute for Global Studies, Japan
Tobby Simon, Founder and Chairman, Synergia Foundation, India
Carlos Pérez Verdía, Head of the Private Office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico
Michael Yeoh, Founder and CEO of Asian Strategy & Leadership Institute of Malaysia

17:00 CLOSING SESSION



OPENING SESSION

GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

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Thierry de Montbrial

Founder and chairman of the WPC



We aim to contribute to improving all aspects of local and regional governance, with a view to promoting a world that is more open, more prosperous, fairer and more respectful of the diversity of States and nations. We believe that collective security and Balance of Power are complementary goods and that, although the greatest powers hold special responsibilities for a world order to exist, such an order, in the in the XXIst century, should not look like a division of the planet into spheres of influence. To that end, regional organizations should be strengthened within the United Nations framework. They should emphasize the role of Middle powers, such as Korea, which are both eager to dedicate resources to the international system's structural stability, above and beyond their immediate interests, and capable of doing so.[...]The absence of a regional security system in East Asia puts stability at stake in this part of the world. Nonetheless, the diplomatic effort toward closer relations currently emerging between Japan and China must be hailed. [...] In the Middle East, where our civilization is challenged by barbarian forces, there is a glimmer of hope that an agreement will be reached with Teheran on nuclear arms, which would then pave the way for broader cooperation in a region that has become even more chaotic since the sudden advent of the so-called "Islamic State". [...] Terrorism is also rearing its ugly head in Africa, where the havoc wrecked by the Ebola virus offers a reminder that human health and the climate are central factors in global governance.

* Full version page 96



Park Geun-hye

President of the Republic of Korea



Our complex and interconnected world of today is intricately intertwined, rather like a spider's web. These are times when events happening in faraway countries – places from which we had been insulated in the past – can have enormous impacts on our own lives. [...] Korea is mindful of how various global issues – not only security-related issues such as nuclear non-proliferation, nuclear safety, terrorism, and cybersecurity but also climate change, development, and human rights challenges – have a direct and material bearing on people's lives. [...] I believe that building a framework of trust and cooperation on the Korean Peninsula and in East Asia will be crucial for a more peaceful and secure future for our world. [...] The extremely fraught state of East Asia today is often likened to that of Europe at the end of the 19th century. Some say the region is witnessing a "return of geopolitics." I firmly believe that the key to opening a true "Asian Century" lies in transforming the dynamics of mistrust and conflict into one of trust and cooperation. At the heart of East Asia's problems lurks a trust deficit. Restoring trust is therefore the first order of business if we are to unravel the complex problems that East Asia faces today. [...] When the Trust-building Process on the Korean Peninsula, Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative, and Eurasia Initiative move forward successfully and in sync with one another, a corridor of trust and peace will open on the Korean Peninsula, which, as a bridge between ocean and land, will eventually unleash a new engine of growth for the international community.

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PLENARY
SESSIONS

GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

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GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

WORLD POLICY CONFERENCE

7th

MODERATOR :
Thierry de Montbrial
Founder and chairman
of the WPC

Security governance in East Asia and in Europe

SESSION 1 • MONDAY, DECEMBER 8 • 10:00 – 11:30



Jean-David Levitte
Distinguished Fellow, Brookings Institution



Richard Haass
President of the Council on Foreign Relations

Europe and East Asia have had very different experiences over the decades. To start with Europe, we were divided in Europe, with the Iron Curtain. However, we did not have war. [...] For us, this was a kind of miracle. The second miracle was the construction of the European Union, which was based on the recognition of the bitter past. Beyond this recognition, we were in a position where we could build a better future for our countries, based on the reconciliation between Germany and France. [...] If we look at East Asia, it is a totally different picture. There were wars, starting with the war in Korea, the wars in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. The legacy of the past is still there and it is a bitter past, and this has an impact on the present. The legacy of the Cold War is also still there in another form, between Japan and Russia over a number of islands, between China and Taiwan and, of course, with the division of the Korean Peninsula. [...] It is difficult to solve problems in the same way in the two regions. For obvious reasons, China is so important, big and powerful that it is difficult to build organisations. [...] In my view, the US, both in Europe and Asia, has to play the role of balancing power, like the UK did in the 19th century in Europe.

Asia is a much more complex geography than Europe with much less institutionalism and it is much more about territorial and other kinds of disputes [...] there is the divided Korean peninsula, which is an anomaly. [...] We can continue to throw diplomats at the challenge of de-nuclearising North Korea but, again, I am not wildly optimistic about that. I believe that we need to attack the fundamentals of the divided peninsula. [...] We need to think creatively about institutions in this part of the world and, again, this is not about taking what worked in Europe and thinking that it can be simply applied in Asia. It needs to be adapted and some of it needs to be re-thought. [...] I would agree that neither of these regions, neither Asia nor Europe, is self-organising, and I hope that this does not sound arrogant, each of them needs the United States. The United States has every reason to be involved because it has powerful interests in both. I therefore do not think that the task, intellectually or for diplomacy, is to devise post-American systems but to evolve systems in both regions that continue to include the United States. The goal should be to make sure that Europe does not become interesting again and that Asia does not become all too interesting as we move forward.



Security governance in East Asia and in Europe



Han Sung-joo
Former Republic of Korea's Minister of Foreign Affairs



Igor V. Morgulov
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation



Shotaro Oshima
Chairman, Institute for International Economic Studies (IIES)
and Visiting Professor, Graduate School of Public Policy,
University of Tokyo

In Asia, what can be considered pre-21st century geopolitics did not disappear even after the demise of the Cold War. In Europe, if geopolitics was receding for a while, it seems to be returning with a vengeance in a way that is more naked than in Asia. With its rebalancing policy, the US appeared to be placing more weight on its Asia policy and presence, but it now finds itself with problems elsewhere around the globe from which it cannot easily pivot away. The US is overly sensitive to whether a country is becoming pro-China or pro-US. China wants to find ways to cooperate with the US but is also in a hurry to bring changes to the status quo. China also cannot resist the temptation to flex its muscles and exhibit a big-power attitude. The problem and dilemma for Japan is that it is pursuing a more activist security policy without accompanying success in reconciling and building trust and confidence with its neighbours. Korea would like to see more attention and effort given by both China and the US to limiting and ultimately removing North Korea's nuclear weapons capabilities. Asia has had an alliance system led by the US. The US and its allies claim that the alliances are for balance, while China suspects that they are for containment. For the time being, the one thing that keeps any of the serious inter-state conflicts from flaring up into something more dangerous is the realisation by leaders that they are all interdependent in economic and security matters.

In the time of a fundamental transformation of the system of international relations the world faces growing number of conflicts and challenges. Unipolarity is past history. No country can claim global leadership and impose its own vision on others. Russia is situated in both Europe and Asia and feels the need to strengthen the mechanism for global security particularly strongly. Ukraine is a tragic example of a short-sighted policy of geopolitical engineering. Russia advocates political settlement in this country through an all-encompassing national dialogue. Russia's policy in the Asia-Pacific region aims at building a security architecture which would meet the interests of all countries of the region. Russia is determined to continue this work on the basis of a broad dialogue with a view to establish a common security instrument in the Asia-Pacific region. As a major objective for the future, we see the conclusion of a respective legally binding document.

One of the most important elements in East Asia is obviously the rise of China, and it is creating certain instabilities in the region. Japan as an ally of the United States welcome the American rebalancing to Asia and we are trying to contribute to increased security in the area by doing our bit, such as strengthening our capabilities and changing the interpretation of the constitution so that we can take certain measures in collective self-defense. We are therefore trying to contribute to this whole process. [...] It is important to note the modus operandi of Russia in Ukraine and its ramifications in East Asia. [...] How a nation conducts itself in the international arena, such as not respecting international law or not promoting economic governance based on law, will have an impact on how it tries to resolve the issue of economic reform. I see this in China. [...] There is still, of course, a considerable gap between the pursuit of domestic governance based on the rule of law with Chinese characteristics and the reining in of the dangerous challenges to the freedom of navigation and the territorial integrity of neighbours. However, it seems obvious that if such disruptive actions continue in its neighbourhood, risk-averse capital will not be available to help the needed economic reforms in China.



Prospects for the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia



Thomas Bagger
Head of Policy Planning, German Federal Foreign Office



Ju Chul-Ki
Senior Secretary for Foreign Affairs and National Security,
Office of the President of the Republic of Korea

I think the German/Korean relationship is far broader than the rather superficial similarity of having a history of division, but it is quite interesting that we come back to this issue of division and unification on the Korean Peninsula, first, because the President has made it a strong hallmark of her policy initiatives, but, secondly, also because there is a new dynamic in this intractable issue, namely in the attitudes of China, [...] Actually, the differences between the Korean and the German experience are rather striking, [...] why is it useful to even look at the European and the German experience, as we have tried to do? The answer is pretty straightforward: The key question of how to build among the nations of the region the proper framework for peaceful political and social change is the same challenge that we were facing in Europe and for which we have tried to find our own solutions. [...] if you think about it, if you reflect about the history of Ostpolitik in Germany and Europe, it took place over decades. It was very controversial in the beginning and also domestically controversial, but in the end it became part of the continuity of German foreign policy. I think this policy continuity and looking at it as a long-term strategy is absolutely critical.

Success in denuclearizing North Korea will offer a test-bed for spurring progress in achieving broader non-proliferation goals around the world. [...] Unification can be the silver bullet to resolving many of the key challenges that plague the Korean Peninsula such as the nuclear issue, human rights abuses, and North Korea's social economic challenges. A unification preparation committee has already been launched with a view to paving the way to unification. [...] Northeast Asia lies at the intersection of the three largest economies in the world, and has benefited tremendously from globalization. Yet, historical and territorial tensions stand in the way of Northeast Asia's ability to unleash its full potential. A regional mechanism has the potential to mitigate geopolitical tensions and rivalries in the region. [...] Next year will mark seventy years since the Korean Peninsula was divided. And as the 70th anniversary of the end of a war that has shaken every corner of our world approaches, we see how every region continues to be beset with its own set of challenges. This is not cause for despondence, but for renewed determination to learn from the past and do more to improve our world. Only then will we be able to tell our children that the world is more peaceful, safer, better, and cleaner than it was some 70 years ago. This is what we seek to achieve here on the Korean Peninsula. And we count on your continued support along this journey.



Prospects for the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia



Thierry Mariani

French Member of Parliament for French Citizens Abroad
(Asia, Russia, and Oceania)



Marcus Noland

Executive Vice President and Director of Studies, Peterson
Institute for International Economics



Anatoly Torkunov

Rector of the Moscow State Institute of International
Relations)

The economic dynamism of Northeast Asia, except, of course, North Korea, has enabled them to carry weight on the international stage. South Korea is an example. [...] This performance stems from a number of economic choices and societal realities, including massive investment in education, an open, export-driven economy and a high level of savings and, therefore, investment. [...] One challenge facing this interdependent area in the coming years will be to ensure its stability despite strong persistent tension. [...] Korean geopolitics is at the core of Northeast Asia's challenges. Of course, disagreements in Northeast Asia, including territorial and historical disputes, must be managed and settled peacefully. [...] It seems to me that, despite the difficulties of the first attempts, the six-party talks and multilateral negotiations remain indispensable. [...] North Korea's transformation and integration into the international community, if it comes about, will obviously be gradual. [...] The return of a Cold War climate would not be helpful to bringing North and South closer together. [...]

A permanent division of the peninsula is clearly a possibility, but when people think about unification, it basically boils down to three scenarios. The first one is one side conquers the other one militarily. The second one is that the peninsula experiences a peaceful, gradual consensual unification that is measured in decades, and that is the official position of the two governments. The third possibility is the one that is usually talked about the most, which is an abrupt German-style collapse of the North and its absorption by the South. [...] The consensus among the experts at least is towards that abrupt unification scenario. With respect to that scenario, establishment of civil order is essential, [...] the key determinant of which of these scenarios eventuates is the capacity of the North Korean leadership, and the rest of the world, and that means all of us, can influence incentives at the margin. In this respect, the key issue for us, and especially for South Korea, is how we frame engagement. [...] The goal of engagement should be to encourage the evolution of the North Korean state in desirable directions, encouraging less threatening and bellicose behaviour externally, less repressive practices internally, while encouraging the rehabilitation of the North Korean economy as a hedge against possible collapse.

The current reality is much more complicated than in the Cold War era. Now, we can witness a complicated interplay of controversial national interests, both of big and smaller powers, each playing its own part in this geopolitical plane. [...] The Korean Peninsula remains the hub of bilateral, regional and global problems. The essence of inter-Korean relations remains unchanged. The goals of the Korean War remain unfulfilled for both parties and each believes that only complete victory over its enemy and its capitulation can put an end to it. [...] The pretext of prior de-nuclearisation and meaningful steps puts, in my view, a cap on any practical steps to cordially improve relations. [...] The USA remains the principal actor in the Korean Peninsula region and Washington currently prefers the policy of containment of North Korea, while keeping a strong political and military grip on South Korea. [...] For Russia, stability and the prevention of a conflict on its eastern frontier, which could lead to changes in the geopolitical situation, is a priority in its Korean policy. [...] Russian/North Korean relations play a very important role in strengthening its position in Northeast Asia. [...] I believe the agenda of the diplomatic process should be comprehensive and not be concentrated solely on the North Korean nuclear problem, but should comprehensively address security issues, including normalisation of relations between all the parties. A new security system in and around the Korean Peninsula should take into account the legitimate interest of all parties.



Inequalities and globalization



Mari Kiviniemi
Deputy Secretary General of OECD; former Prime Minister of Finland



Rhee Changyong
Director, Asia and Pacific Department, IMF

MODERATOR :
Susan Liautaud
Visiting Scholar at the Stanford Center on Philanthropy and Civil Society, Founder of Susan Liautaud & Associates Limited (SLA)

The need to tackle inequalities has been at the top of the OECD agenda for a long time. [...] Some of the most vulnerable groups such as youth and the poor continue to fall far behind everywhere. [...] The gap between rich and poor has widened further since the crisis. [...] There were large gaps between people from different socio-economic backgrounds in health, education, strength of social connections, political engagement and sense of personal security. [...] Inequality is not only bad socially, ethically and on a human level, it is also bad economically. [...] It limits the ability of young people from poor socio-economic backgrounds to invest in human capital and skills. It lowers their social mobility and hampers skills development [...] Globalisation itself does not directly influence inequality. Skill-biased technological changes, changes in employment patterns and working conditions and weaker redistribution via tax and benefits systems are actually the main culprits. [...] Investing in education and in human capital is fundamental. [...] Governments should look at some other public policies. Governments should promote employment opportunities, and this is why a broader economic recovery is crucial.

In absolute terms, Asia is still better than other emerging countries in Latin America and Africa. [...] In the last 20 years, Asia has led global economic growth, but with a very rapid increase in inequality. [...] Globalisation has now introduced a new trend where, under global competition, the best human capital will capture most of the benefit. [...] The education gap is a big issue. [...] In order to address spatial inequalities, infrastructure investment from public or international organisations may focus more on the connectivity of the centre to the more remote areas. [...] From now on, we probably have to introduce policies that favour employment. I do not mean giving subsidies for employment, but that there may be some distortions which favour capital over labour, and those can be reversed. [...] We have to be very careful when we talk about inequalities. It is not about inequality in general; it is more about inequality in opportunities, and excessive inequality is quite detrimental to growth. However, in lower-income countries, there are still inequalities as a natural consequence of economic development. [...] A transfer policy is much more effective than a tax policy. [...] When you talk about how to address inequalities, the other objective is fiscal sustainability. [...] It is very important to think about taxation together with expenditure.



Inequalities and globalization



Richard Cooper
Professor of International Economics at Harvard University



Il Sakong
Chairman of the Institute for Global Economics, former Finance Minister of Korea



Jean Pisani-Ferry
General Commissioner for Strategy, Office of the Prime Minister, France

I want to make five points. The first is measurement of poverty. [...] The Gini coefficient is a very clever coefficient, but it is a single number, and inequality is typically much more complicated than can be captured in a single number. [...] My second point: inequality could be rising in every country and yet declining globally. [...] My third point: Inequality is a much more complicated phenomenon than poverty is and we should keep them separate analytically. My fourth point: Whenever there is a large change in the policy regime in favour of greater growth, an increase in inequality is all but inevitable. [...] Individuals are differently positioned to take advantage of the new opportunities that are now available, which were not available before. [...] Whenever you have a great move toward a more market-oriented system, inequality will go up. [...] My final point goes to our values. Some people believe that inequality per se is a bad thing. I think that there are some perfectly legitimate reasons for inequality, and there are some quite illegitimate reasons for growth in inequality. [...] For inequality; I want to know the reasons and to frame policy, not around inequality per se, but around the illegitimate sources of inequality.

Income and wealth inequality have been rising throughout the world during the last three decades or so, particularly in the advanced economies. [...] Some underlying forces contribute to worsening income inequality. First, the market-based economic system itself has an inherent tendency to bring about income inequality. [...] The other factor is globalisation, together with an ever-deepening knowledge-based economy. This reinforces the systemic inequality force. [...] Globalisation is not the cause of rising inequality. [...] Regarding the education sector, it is a well-known fact that Korean households spend much more money on getting private tutoring for their children as compared to other OECD countries. [...] Kids with richer parents will tend to get better access to better tutoring. Improving public education is a critically important policy. Another point I want to bring your attention to is Korea's labour-market structure. Currently, the proportion of temporary and part-time workers as compared to permanent employees has been increasing rather rapidly. [...] The current labor market structure which overprotects permanent workers is an important factor.

Globalisation could bring a reduction in global inequality. At the same time, governments had the means to address the domestic consequences of globalisation and the distribution of income. [...] Regarding the consequences of globalisation for inequality within countries, several mistakes were made. We greatly under-estimated the correlation between globalisation and tolerance to inequality. [...] The issue of tax avoidance has been under-estimated for a very long time. [...] The ability of the tax system to redistribute wealth and income has been greatly diminished. [...] We have under-estimated the correlation between globalisation and the type of technical progress. [...] Let me turn to Europe. The WTO and the IMF are increasingly concerned about inequality. Paradoxically, the EU, which is a political institution with a mandate in the treaties of improving the whole of society, has proved relatively indifferent to these issues of inequality. [...] Why is it so? EU was to deal with issues of inequalities across countries and across regions, but not for individuals. The EU has been extraordinarily weak on taxation matters.



MODERATOR :
Thierry de Montbrial
Founder and chairman of
the WPC



H.R.H. Prince Turki Al Faisal
Chairman of the King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies
(KFCRIS)

Governance in Libya, Yemen, Tunisia, Egypt and Syria is in such a tenuous condition, and the perfect conditions for terrorist cells to take root [...] This is something that will continue to happen as long as we do not treat the illnesses and continue to treat the symptom. The main disease in that area is the failing states. [...] If you look at the belt that includes Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Iran, there is a very strong connection between Iranian intervention in these countries and insecurity and instability. [...] If Iran were to end its interference in these countries, there would be nothing to hold us back from cooperating with them. [...] the Arab world has presented to Israel what I would consider to be a very fair and equitable solution. This consists of two states, with the borders agreed in 1967 and the return of refugees through negotiation. [...] Unless and until any Israeli Government in power in Israel can accept this deal, the Arabs will continue not to trust Israeli intentions, [...] Turkey is an important player in our part of the world, historically, culturally and even in terms of family ties. [...] Turkey should be very helpful in bringing stability and peace to the area. [...] Egypt has been known as a country, as an identity, as a border, as a geographical and geostrategic location, and its contributions to humanity are countless, so I am not pessimistic about Egypt. [...] Jihadism is an issue for all of us, and it is not just the Arabian Peninsula that produces jihadists. We have seen that epidemic spreading worldwide, from Europe, America, China, Russia, and even from Japan. [...] The Kingdom is willing to undertake whatever is necessary because, looking at the victims of these people who act in the name of jihad, Saudi Arabia is a victim, and to think that Saudi money goes to these jihadists in order to come back and made Saudi Arabia a victim is beyond my comprehension.



Africa in a global context



MODERATOR :
Marie-Roger Biloa
CEO, Africa International Media Group



Wu Jianmin,
Executive Vice Chairman of China Institute for Innovation and Development Strategy



Lynda Chalker
Founder and Chairman of Africa Matters Ltd; former UK Minister for Overseas Development and Africa

The rise of Africa is good news for everybody, and it does not occur in isolation; it is part of a changing world. [...] Afro-Asian solidarity is playing an important role in Africa's rise. [...] Asia is rising, and it has been rising in five waves. The first wave was Japan after the Second World War. The second was in the early 1960s, where four Asian tigers started to rise - Hong-Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and Korea. The third wave was in the 1970s, when ASEAN countries followed suit. The fourth wave was in 1978, when China followed suit. The fifth wave was in 1991, when India started its economic reform. [...] Last year, of 10 fastest-growing countries in the world, seven were African countries. Asia is rising, and Africa is rising; let us help each other. Asian countries have been very active in Africa's rise, and in the 21st century, Afro-Asian solidarity will play a very important role.[...] China-Africa cooperation is on the eve of major development.[...] The Chinese and African economies are highly complementary; we need each other. China-Africa cooperation is not exclusive but inclusive. Africa needs everybody.

The Asian flows were 6.7% in FDI in 1995 to 1999, but looking at 2000 to 2008, it had gone up to 15.2%, so Asian investment flows into Africa have gone up and up, and even further since 2008. This growing involvement by Asia in Africa is, to me, very worthwhile, because it is investment in terms of a number of different things, particularly the smaller items such as rural roads, without which agricultural produce would never reach its market. It is investment in housing, because there is a huge movement of people from the countryside to the cities. [...] There is also an increasing demand for technology, and use of mobile phones in Africa for transferring money has just shown what can be done to change the way in which they work. However, there is a huge need for training, particularly technical training. Without the training the African countries will not learn anything like as much and not be as efficient.[...] India is working very hard on pushing their technology and their ability to train people. We are beginning to see a real combination of experience being shared from Asia into Africa, and with third countries too.



Africa in a global context



Nathalie Delapalme
Executive Director, Research and Policy, Mo Ibrahim Foundation



Youssef Amrani
Chargé de mission, Royal Cabinet, Morocco



Elisabeth Guigou,
President of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the French National Assembly

Ibrahim Index is an annual assessment of the state of governance in all 54 African countries [...] What does our most recent Index tell us about the state of governance in Africa? Looking at the global score for governance at continental level, it still continues to progress [...] But the category, safety, has not shown very satisfactory results from the beginning. Even if we see a lessening of regional conflicts and border tensions, we see two types of tensions, the first being transversal, with the rise of terrorism and transversal criminality such as drugs, fake medicines and cybercrime, which needs to be watched carefully, and the second being domestic tensions, which arise due to increasing inequality and jobless growth, which leaves the young people of Africa hungry and angry. [...] There is no doubt about the narrative of the African rising, but I still think that the economy is not the only measurement; we should be careful not to be overly optimistic, but should take into account these early warning signs of insecurity, domestic unrest, inequality and jobless growth. We should also be aware that we should probably stop talking about Africa as a whole, because it is 54 different countries that are still a long way from integration.

Be it in terms of its vital forces, its resources or its potential, Africa is a large continent. Nevertheless, it is faced with many security, political, demographic, migration, environmental and health challenges to which it must successfully rise in order to achieve sustainable human development and ensure inclusive growth and progress for all. Africa must take its future in its own hands, overcome the barriers to its socio-economic development and create jobs for its youth, who are the continent's real driving force. To achieve this objective, Morocco feels it is necessary to re-engineer African economies, develop fruitful, mutually beneficial cooperation partnerships.

Europe must become more aware that its security depends on what happens in the Sahel. [...] I think we need a new European strategy with regard to the countries in Africa and south of the Mediterranean. [...] The main problems are underdevelopment and the lack of jobs for young people. [...] It seems to me that Africans and Europeans, because we're the nearest neighbours, still have a way to go to close the gap between Africa's phenomenal development potential and its actual development, which is still insufficient. [...] In my view, Africa has two challenges to meet. The first is governance : Security of investments, rule of law worthy of the name, education and healthcare systems that can foster human development. It's essential to focus more resources on education. The second challenge is intraregional cooperation in Africa. [...] I am arguing for Europeans and Africans to forge a real equal-to-equal partnership based on the emerging concept of coproduction. [...] The countries south of the Mediterranean must be considered a pivot between Europe and sub-Saharan Africa. I believe that we in Europe need to rethink our policy regarding our neighbours and development. [...] we must rethink our neighbourhood and consider new paths to development based on an equal-to-equal partnership and the vertical Europe-Mediterranean-African axis.



The geopolitics and geo-economics of Eurasia



MODERATOR :
Fen Osler Hampson
Director of CIGI's Global Security & Politics program; Co-director of the Global Commission on Internet Governance; Chancellor's professor at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada



Michel Foucher
Chair of applied Geopolitics at College of World Studies; former French Ambassador to Latvia; former Director of the policy planning staff of the French Foreign Ministry



Dong, Manyuan
Vice President, China Institute of International Studies (CIIS)

A word about instituted Eurasia. This is an economic union project under Russian leadership that took effect in January 2015. The idea is that there's a force field between the two poles of the Eurasian landmass that must be organised around a centre independent of power, less prosperous, less populated, but with plentiful resources, and that must be put on the same level as the United States and China. [...] The reference for the Eurasian economic union is the European Union. It's cut-and-paste in formal and institutional terms. The project obviously has its limits [...] There's another Eurasia, a major Eurasia, a bigger Eurasia in the continental sense, a Eurasian region, a "one belt-one road". [...] I will conclude with this: Eurasia as trans-Eurasia, in other words an area of passage, a transit area. [...] The logistical dimension is important in these vast Eurasian stretches. If I had to decide, I'd say the future will be structured by geo-economics, in other words by investments to build infrastructure in this area that will open it up to the world. That's what will have geopolitical effects.

The Ukrainian crisis is very bad news for the international community with its multiple negative effects on many stakeholders, countries and outside powers that have political, economic and cultural interactions with Ukraine. [...] The international community should come together to push through a political solution [...] Economic and social development remains a fundamental option of Eurasian countries. Countries must engage in economic cooperation with neighbouring. [...] President Xi Jinping proposed a cooperation initiative through the Silk Road economic belt cooperation initiative. It brings about new opportunities for economic cooperation on the Eurasian continent and has been welcomed by the majority of countries that lie alongside the continent.



The geopolitics and geo-economics of Eurasia



Alexander Panov,
Member of the Advisory Board of the Security Council of the Russian Federation



Justin Vaïsse
Director of the policy planning staff, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs



Yu Myung-Hwan
Chairman of Sejong University; former Republic of Korea's Minister of Foreign Affairs

There are a number of projects in which Moscow, Seoul and Pyongyang are already involved in, particularly those in the transport and energy sectors. [...] Russia has already taken certain practical steps aimed at renovating the railway system and developing port facilities in North Korea. The results of that are visible. [...] If both Koreas can reach agreement, this plan could be carried through quite quickly and will help create an atmosphere of trust between the two Korean states. For the Eurasian initiative to succeed, the Korean Peninsula must first of all dismantle the wall of distrust. [...] In conclusion, we not only now have declarations of intentions but already some concrete plans and arrangements for the creation step by step of a united economic Eurasia. This is not an easy process and there are many obstacles in the way, which are not only economic but are also political. I would repeat that under the circumstances perhaps the most practical approach will be what I would call 'the integration of integrations'.

The first thing to keep in mind is that "Eurasia" is not part of Europe's vocabulary. [...] Eurasia is not part of our geopolitical practice or grammar, either. [...] I think this is a fundamental point [...] If we talk about Central Asia in particular, what matters in the European vision is to let the countries choose for themselves, [...] the groups they want to join. The OSCE is a good example of regional organisation [...] The third point involves what the European Union does in Central Asia. The first thing is its support for stability. [...] The second thing [...] is cooperation, especially trade and cooperation agreements. [...] If the European Union and the Eurasian Union discussed common economic projects and trade, we'd see that as something very positive, because it would add to South Korea or China's efforts to develop the region. And perhaps economic and geo-economic realities will eventually prevail.

South Korea's Eurasia Initiative is still at a very nascent stage, [...] and is trying to implement the Eurasia Initiative with forward-looking and creative thoughts. [...] Firstly, there was an idea to increase connectivity between Europe and Asia by means of upgrading physical connections such as multiple transportation networks, [...] Secondly, South Korea has been committed to developing close and cooperative relations with each and every Central Asian country. [...] Thirdly, there is a very important missing link that has to be re-established in order to complete connectivity between Europe and East Asia. This missing link is the northern part of the Korean Peninsula – North Korea – that has made South Korea a virtual island of the Eurasian continent. [...] The issue of the Korean Peninsula is inextricably related to peace and prosperity in North Asia as a whole [...] the unification of the Korean Peninsula will only be possible when it does not undermine the strategic interest of the surrounding big powers. [...] The North East Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative (NEPCI) is aimed at transforming the tension of the region into harmony and trust. NEPCI is a multilateral cooperation mechanism for starting a dialogue amongst nations in the region.



MODERATOR :

Patrick Messerlin

Professor of Economics and Director of the Groupe d'Économie Mondiale (GEM) at Sciences Po Paris



John Manley

President and CEO, Canadian Council of Chief Executives

The world is increasingly complex, and our political economies are all engaged in dealing with a myriad of very deep and difficult issues, [...] Deepening income inequality, persistent jobless growth brought on by technological progress and automation, lack of leadership, rising geostrategic competition among key actors, the weakening of representative democracy, rising pollution in the developing world, increasing frequency of severe weather events, intensifying nationalism, increasing water stress, and health as a critical concern in the economy. [...] Politics drives the responses to all of these mega-problems, and it is in this context that trade negotiations are carried on. [...] Politics is indeed alive and well in trade, but it has more or less got us to where we are today [...] Regionalism is here to stay, so our hope is that regional agreements [...] Bring out the greatest possible ambition in their members, and in this way they can spur others to keep up and become building blocks rather than stumbling blocks to greater global integration. [...] Regional agreements need to continue to inspire global trade rules, or at the very least extend special rules to developing nations.

Trade and politics



Alejandro Jara

Senior Counsel, King & Spalding; former Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Chile, WTO

1. The trade agenda is increasingly intrusive and touches upon very sensitive domestic political issues in many countries. Trade policy is more difficult to define and apply.
2. Internationally more problems because :
 - a. Greater protectionism brings about more political friction
 - b. Countries manage friction and problems through recourse to WTO's dispute settlement, but there is increasing slippage in terms of compliance with rulings
 - c. The manner in which China was treated upon accession does not encourage trust or more cooperative attitude.
 - d. The trade concerns of many countries, usually weaker and poorer, i.e. traditional issues of agricultural and fisheries subsidies, lie unattended.
 - e. Lack of a shared vision of the trading system and political leadership to promote progress.



Bark Taeho

Professor at Seoul National University, former Minister for Trade, Korea

China now takes a very cautious approach to trade liberalisation. Nevertheless, it would be very important to have continuous communication with Chinese leaders and persuade them to participate in the multilateral efforts to achieve a more open world trading environment. The current consensus-based decision making mechanism of the WTO faces serious limitations. We have to discuss honestly how to save the Doha Round with all options open. In Korea, the important factor in determining domestic political resistance seems to be the level of market opening. Therefore, market liberalisation through the multilateral trade negotiations faced relatively less resistance compared to those through bilateral FTA negotiations. Also Korea has so far given a lot of compensations to losing industries. Now it is time to analyse the effects of the various compensations and inform the general public and NGOs of these results.



Pascal Lamy

Honorary President of Notre Europe, former Director-General of the WTO

The relationship between trade and politics, whether domestic or international, is fundamentally changing as we are transitioning from an old world of trade into a new one, and we are somewhere in between these two worlds [...] The new world of trade is a world where production is transnational, and where obstacles to trade stem not from measures to protect the producer but from measures to protect the consumer, or, more precisely, from differences in measures to protect the consumer. [...] What changes enormously is the way to level the playing field. Levelling the playing field is one thing if it is about protection, but it is another if it is about precaution [...] The name of the game is getting rid of what constitutes an obstacle to trade, which is discrepancies in the way precaution levels are set, and sometimes, even more importantly, discrepancies in the way precaution levels are implemented [...] This is where the politics of levelling the playing field also changes a lot - it changes domestic politics and it changes international politics. [...] The way you name things matters in politics [...] The narrative was wrong, which is why TTIP negotiation in bad shape, and this is one of the reasons why, even more than in the past, it is a question of transparency.



WORLD POLICY CONFERENCE

7th EDITION • 2014 • SEOUL



MODERATOR :
Dominique Moïsi
Special Advisor at Ifri



Hubert Védrine
former French Minister of Foreign Affairs



Ribal Al-Assad
Chairman of the Iman Foundation

1. Turmoil and problems have been rocking the Middle East for 50, 70, even over 100 years!
2. The context is one of a tremendous, long confrontation in Islam between fundamentalists, if not jihadists, and the others; and between Sunnis and Shiites.
3. Can the destruction of the previous order create something?
4. There are many major questions : an agreement between the United States and Iran? Elections in Israel? The return of Russia?
5. The outside "powers" are relatively powerless. It is increasingly difficult for democracies to have foreign policies when they are conditioned by domestic policies.
6. there is a real risk of escalation, of things getting out of hand, of not being completely under anybody's control.
7. And then there's the Sunni-Shiite issue! Dare we dream that one day the Middle East will have the equivalent of the Treaty of Westphalia in Europe with Shiite and Sunni?

It has not taken us by surprise; our organisation has said for the past three and a half years that if we continue allowing our allies in the region to promote sectarian hatred and sectarian divide, this is what will happen.[...] We saw the rise of the Islamic State as ISIS in 2006, but it came to Syria because there was a certain atmosphere that allowed it to prosper, [...] Our biggest problem in the region, as Vice-President Biden said recently, was our allies. [...] Today there is a coalition; they are running around trying to find a solution to ISIS, and it will be very difficult because, first of all, we are not after a brand name. The Islamic State is just a brand. We are after the underlying ideology, which is the ideology of those Islamist extremists who believe in killing all those who do not share their perverted ideology. [...] People are able to see that on one side we are promoting democracy and freedom in one country, and on the other side we are forgetting about other countries who are supposed to be our allies. We have to fight for democracy and freedom everywhere if we are in favour of it.

Middle East in a global context



Middle East in a global context



Meir Sheetrit
Member of the Knesset, former Minister of Internal Affairs of Israel



Sergei Karaganov
Honorary Chairman of the Presidium of the non-governmental Council on Foreign and Defense Policy of Russia

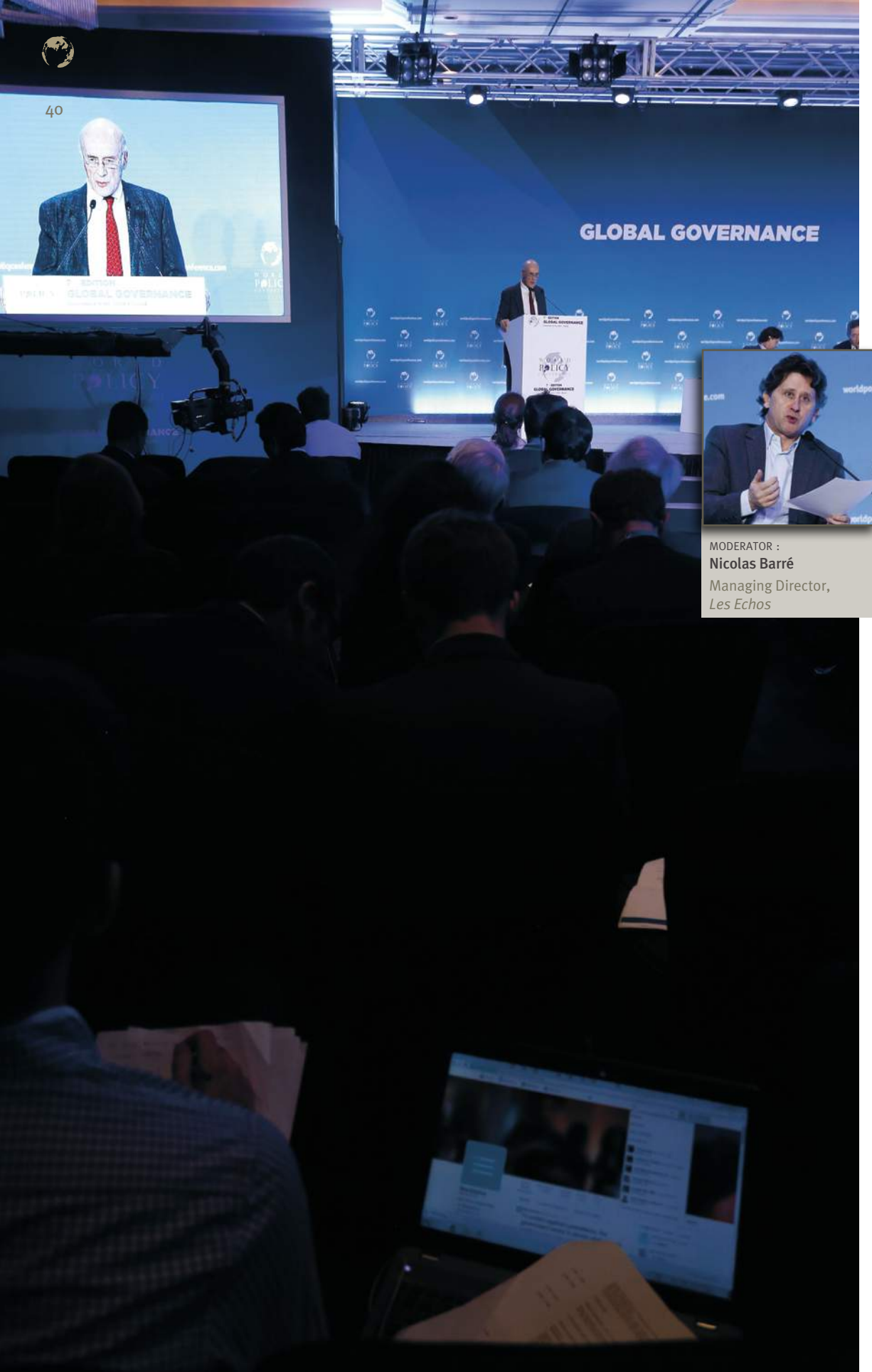


Miguel Angel Moratinos
former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain

Many countries at last understood that Israel was standing alone in fighting terror, and now we are fighting together against radical Islam. [...] This situation could be a very good opportunity to have arrangements or peace with all those Arab states if we did not have the problem which is the main obstacle, the Palestinian Authority and the Palestinian state. [...] I believe that we have no other choice but to come to a solution and to establish a Palestinian state alongside Israel. In this situation we have no other alternative. I personally believe that the only way to do it is through the Arab Initiative [...] I believe that this conversation should be between us and the Arab world. It should be done on a personal level. We have to understand the Arab culture, and we have to do it with respect. [...] During the last negotiations under John Kerry, we were not talking to each other. How you can make peace with someone you do not meet. Netanyahu never met Abu Mazen during the whole process. [...] It is my belief that Israel should negotiate by itself, and invite the US, Russia and Europe to participate in and support the process.

I must say that, looking at the policy of my country and that of most Western countries towards that area during all these years, we have to acknowledge that, contributed immensely to the deterioration of the situation. [...] This area is going through a difficult transitional process, which implies at this juncture deterioration, and we have to deal with this with open eyes. What could we do? We should not interfere, be it with democracy or with the rule of law, or with anything; let the people of this huge area decide for themselves and develop. [...] Stop exporting democracy or socialism or whatever, and, by the way, stop ostracising Israel. It is the only beacon of stability there, and we see more and more ostracising of Israel. The other beacon of stability in that area we should not undermine is, of course, Iran; it is the most civilised and the most sophisticated country in the area. Instead, for almost 30 years we have been undermining Iran, which, by the way, could have been an island of stability in the area.

There are two concepts that have to be applied to the Middle East, complexity and uncertainty. [...] I think the Middle East deserves all this time, because it is the quintessence of the new challenging world, where all traditional security concerns, traditional military intervention, energy and trade converge in the new challenges of today's world, which are global terrorism, food security, water scarcity, and culture division. But what to do. I think we should have a strategy. We have to do something, not to interfere, but we have to do something in order to make a better future for the region and for all of us. Therefore, I have two main proposals. The number one priority is the Israeli-Palestinian issue. [...] The second priority is about Iran. I am not saying that negotiations on the nuclear issue should not continue, but to focus only on the nuclear issue will give Iran the capacity, as is happening, to expand their influence and their role in the whole region. [...] The best guarantee for the future of Israel is to have full diplomatic relations with the whole Arab world.



MODERATOR :
Nicolas Barré
Managing Director,
Les Echos



Chang Dae-Whan
Chairman of Maekyung Media Group, Republic of Korea

Also, now that we are entering the world of IoT, Internet of Things, our everyday lives will change. The Internet of Things is a new, emerging power. [...] 'It is going to be a mobile-only era, mobile-only time and Asia will lead the world into this particular era'. [...] Therefore, I would say that the data explosion from Asia is happening now and a data storm is coming to Asia. [...] Mobile One Asia will unite Asia, create prosperity and enable active communication.[...] However, only 1% of Asia is connected by big data and 99% of Asia is still not connected. This means that there is a big potential market in the future in this area [...] We need to promote more local professionals. [...] Again, it is education. I learned that education is important, especially in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. We call them STEM fields. I think this will be the most essential and practical approach to narrow the gaps in education, the economy, and the big data industry in Asia. [...] Companies must be data driven.

The economic and political consequences of the revolution of Big Data



Luc-François Salvador
Executive Chairman for Asia-Pacific, Capgemini Group

Big data is about big and 90% of present data has been created in the last two years. Big data is not that new, but things are happening because we added new techniques of storage and access to information into it. The current game of GAFA is bringing major changes to our lives and business models. 47% of the world workforce will be impacted or is undergoing transformation due to the analytics and the big data wave. We see a battle for the clients and citizens as today clients are demanding more and more tailored services. We see a disruption of the value chain as we are going from a world of vertical to a world of ecosystem. US and China are on the fight. One regret is that Europe is weakened by a non-coordinated policy approach. The role and the importance of data protection as part of international relations is one of the raised questions. We should see the impact of the big data revolution from different aspects and in different areas, touching all domains of our private, professional lives as well as citizens'.



Ben Scott
Senior Advisor, Open Technology Institute at the New America Foundation;

[...] What can be done? What we have to do is to restore trust. We have to convince people that the Internet offers more benefits than risks. Not just today, but tomorrow and in 15 years and to do that we need to establish legitimacy at least for democratic governments and their conduct online. It is not that people want to remove power from the Internet altogether; that would be neither wise nor desirable. People want to know that power is being applied on the Internet in a legitimate way. That there are rules controlling what can be done and what cannot be done and there is some transparency in how those rules are applied. This is a modernisation of privacy and security policy which I believe Western governments should lead together through an agenda based on common interests and not on retaliation or economic protectionism. [...]



Joseph Nye
University Distinguished Service Professor, Center for Public Leadership, Harvard Kennedy School

When you have the capacity of computing power doubling every 18 months, the ability to analyse data has outgrown our social mores and norms and laws, which set limits on this in the past. In that sense, we are struggling to understand how to deal with it. [...] What is really interesting about big data is it reverses what we think of as the normal scientific method. We now have computing power so great that we can fall back on poor induction. You just look at a whole mass of things and you see the patterns that come out. [...] There was a great deal of anxiety of citizens in democracies about surveillance permitted by big data. [...] There is a trade-off between security and liberty. [...] It was not that the NSA was a rogue agency, it just had this enormous new capacity and the procedures for limiting it and controlling it had not been updated.[...] if you set up a procedure in which you said, for countries which protect civil liberties of their own citizens, and incidentally some European countries do not, they do not do it very well, but when they do, you might say, we should think about national treatment or equal treatment as we do under trade law. [...] What we should not turn to is what I would call the new fad of data sovereignty.



AL GOVERNANCE

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MODERATOR :
Jin Roy Ryu
Chairman & CEO,
Poongsan Group,
Republic of Korea



Robert M. Gates
former Secretary of Defense of the United States

People talk a lot about the emergence of China, when I think it is more accurate and provides greater historical context to talk about the re-emergence of China.[...] Their own self-interest is in becoming a responsible stakeholder. [...] they were a great empire for a couple of millennia, then they had a couple of bad centuries, but they are coming back from that and I think they expect to be treated as a world power. They expect respect and the question is how much deference they expect. [...] I do not think the Chinese have any intention of trying to match the United States in terms of global military power[...] I think they do intend to challenge us, our predominance militarily in the Pacific region. A recent report that came out indicated that by 2020 the United States will have 67 submarines and surface ships, warships, in the Pacific area, budget permitting, a key caveat. The Chinese will have 350. Therefore, even if you grant that ours may be technologically more advanced for the most part, at a certain point numbers actually do begin to matter. [...] we do have to recognise China's interests and its own expectations and its own view of itself. That does not mean we have to defer to that, but we at least better keep it in mind as we formulate our own policies.



The US and Asia in the 21st century



MODERATOR :
Dominique Moïsi
Special Advisor at Ifri

General debate



Mohamed Laichoubi
former Minister of Labor and Social protection of Algeria



Jeffrey Frieden
Professor of government at Harvard University



Liu Chen
Professor, China's Foreign Studies University in Beijing

World wars and anti-colonial struggles hastened the collapse of colonial empires and ushered in a new approach to international relations. After the fall of the Berlin Wall the dynamics hastening the emergence of new demographic and technological powers such as China, India, South Korea and Brazil gathered speed. Hierarchies were shaken up and the number of countries with nuclear weapons increased. This not only affected economic, social or climate issues, but seems to have called the whole international order into question. There is an imbalance between development and poverty in the emerging countries. Development models are contested in the developed ones. Austerity policies have resulted in serious cracks in society. All of this has changed the shape of international relations. The end of the Cold War did not lead to the redefinition of the system it influenced, which is cracking under the pressure of new realities. The reorganisation of the world and the emergence of new players have made it clear that new instruments are necessary. Defining a new multilateralism has become an absolute necessity. That is a major ethical debate. Democracy must also penetrate and became a key force in international relations and in the definition of new instruments of international governance.

Global governance is only really justified if there are global public goods that cannot be supplied by national governments. [...] Despite the national self-absorption of many of our governments, I think that in the context of the crisis there have in fact been some striking examples of successful international cooperation and even, perhaps, the beginnings of some global governance. [...] The most striking of these to me has been the extraordinary degree of cooperation among national monetary and financial authorities in the aftermath of September/October 2008 on monetary policy and financial regulation. [...] I would suggest that we should be sceptical of the excessive invocation of global governance as a cure for what ails us and a solution to intractable international problems. I suggest that we should be realistic about the ability of national governments to overcome the national self-absorption that is natural in a crisis like this and embark on major new international initiatives. However, I would be guardedly optimistic, as there have in fact been some notable and important successes in both national policies and international cooperation.

Given that China's role in future is positively throbbing with debate, it is important for world to deepen understanding of the determination, mission and vision of China Goes Global through mapping out this over three-decade process. Above all, China Goes Global is not a decision easily made. It has been argued and doubted inside China. The voices of Opening up or Going global sometimes had to quiet, in particular when economic reform met difficulties and challenges. For instance, in 1998 when the Price Reform was confronting many serious problems in China, the term, "Opening up" did not appear in the communique of the Third Plenary Session of NPC of that year. Thanks to the overall positive economic and political effects of the Reform and Opening up, the smoke has cleared in the state-market battle in China and there is an increased tendency toward connecting China with World. China now is seeking to how better to present the good intention and efforts for the world to see.



Kunihiro Miyake
Research Director, The Canon Institute for Global Studies,
Japan

The most important element is the rise of nationalism on the planet. Nationalism is back and I think that we should focus on how to control it.[...] the Cold War froze and contained the unhealthy and potentially violent nationalisms in Europe and elsewhere. Japan is not a young nation anymore. We want to age gracefully. It is already seven years ago, but we are now a status quo power and we do not want to change the status quo. We are happy with the status quo. Unfortunately, there may be some elements either in the East or the West, most notably former empires – and empires strike back in our part of the world and in the European part of the world. My point is, therefore, how should we deal with the rise of nationalism? [...] The EU, possibly NATO, the US, Japan and perhaps a number of South-East Asia countries, all these like-minded countries have to work together and discuss the means of controlling nationalism. [...] With democracy and universal values, we can control nationalism, which is potentially unhealthy, violent and dangerous.

General debate



Toby Simon
Founder and Chairman, Synergia Foundation, India

In a globalized world, strategic issue that affect South Asia would have systemic impacts in other parts of the world. South Asia has a very diverse population. It also has a strong religious foot prints of Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam. Need to develop trust politics and increase the level of trade in the South Asian region. Regional stability in Afghanistan, Persian Gulf and Middle East region is critical from a global security perspective. Having a better handle on the root cause of deviant behavior especially of the youth, as in Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia can provide further global stability. Due to the increasing number of Internet users in India and China, the center of gravity of cyberspace and Internet is moving to Asia. The Sino-Indo relations goes beyond the current border issues. Damming of rivers by China, including the Brahmaputra River, could adversely affect the supply of fresh water in South Asia. Global warming and rising waters, caused by climate change is a major threat. Another consequence of global warming is the spread of diseases and emergence of multi-resistant strains.



Carlos Pérez Verdía
Head of the Private Office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs
of Mexico

I will take the advantage here to talk about Latin America and use three of the conference themes to do so. Starting with global security, in Latin America we have no significant religious, ethnical or cultural rivalries and no significant border disputes. We are therefore more or less absent from the debate on spheres of influence. [...] [even though the] US has been mentioned in almost every single one and of course at the doorstep of the US are 500 million people who live in Latin America.[...] The second topic of the conference that I will draw some inspiration from is the growth and inequality debate. I am perhaps a little less optimistic than last year. [...] Firstly, there is the short-term risk and the huge capital flows. [...] what is most worrying here is the continuing fiscal dependence of some countries on resources from commodities. [...] Perhaps more worryingly are the mid-term prospects for growth. [...] There is a lack of conviction and trust in market economics in some places. [...] Governance is the largest challenge for Latin America. [...] Dominique mentioned the absence of the rule of law and human rights violations as being unacceptable and I would have to say that is also very much the case in Latin America.



Michael Yeoh
Founder and CEO of Asian Strategy & Leadership Institute
of Malaysia

I believe that some of the issues and challenges of governance that we have in South-East Asia are quite universal and common with other countries. [...] the centre of gravity for the world economy has shifted to Asia and will increasingly do so. [...] The US's pivot or rebalance to Asia is focused more on South-East Asia. [...] Today, China is the biggest trading partner of all 10 countries in ASEAN and bilateral trade has increased by double digits between China and ASEAN. [...] ASEAN needs to focus more on the four Es and the four Is in terms of governance: economic governance, education, employment and job creation, environmental sustainability. At the same time, ASEAN needs more of the four Is, which are investment, inclusive growth, infrastructure and innovation. The immediate challenges facing ASEAN in the short term are what can be classified as the four Cs: cost of living and its impact on the poor, falling commodity prices, consumption, climate change. South-East Asia will continue to play a key role in the regional architecture of Asia and the hope is that we will become a middle power in the years to come.



PARALLEL
WORKSHOPS



1. The state of the world economy and finance



CHAIR AND MODERATOR :
Jean-Claude Trichet,
former President of the ECB

We're still living in the shadow of the deepest economic crisis since the Second World War. It might have been even worse had central banks and governments not taken extraordinarily bold, swift steps. Only the extremes reject Europe. But the same malaise can be found in all the advanced economies. In Europe, 80% of the economy's financing comes from banks when it is 20% in the US. Our main problem is the banks' weakness. Regulations, good rules and good oversight must be set up to avert disaster. Banks also have an absurd risk-taking culture, but that's changing. A banking union is important in this context. Scorn was poured on the euro even before it came out. But it has remained stronger than the US dollar throughout the crisis. In 2015, the euro zone's economy will have grown by 2%. The US current account deficit is equal to 2.5% of GDP whereas Europe has a 2.5% surplus. But in the end, we'll be judged by our ability to create jobs. Inflation isn't a threat, but deflation is. We have competitiveness, a huge savings excess and miserable growth. Of course that's surprising.



Jeffrey Frieden,
Professor of government at Harvard University

There are major political and economic blocks to a resolution of the crisis in Europe, which causes concern both in Europe and around the world. [...] The debt crisis, [...] is still dragging down economic growth in Europe [...]. My own view, which I suppose in some European circles might be seen as fairly radical, is that recovery is almost certain to continue to flag unless and until there is some substantial debt restructuring. [...] In a world with enormous capital markets, small differences in macro-economic conditions can lead to enormous capital flows. These in turn can create boom and bust cycles that are extremely difficult to control and that can have very costly financial, and more broadly economic, effects. So, in my view, there is in fact, plenty to worry about. [...] The Eurozone process certainly illustrates the broader trend where macro-economic divergences have led to capital flows that reinforce or exacerbate these differences, leading to a boom and bust cycle. [...] The capital inflow appreciated currencies, which led to complaints about a currency war, in particular, from the Brazilians. Then when the "temper tantrum" took place and capital fled the emerging markets, there was the threat – and in some cases the reality -- of currency crashes.



Yutaka Aso,
President, Aso Group

Business men accept and think these continuous efforts of government side, our position should take more positive action towards the success of the third arrow with a sense of opportunities and responsibility. Furthermore, the strong intention of Governor Kuroda of the bank of Japan is working. He says the bank will do whatever it can to overcome the deflation that has long undermined Japanese economy. Japanese technology is strong. The strength of teamwork is really competitive. Loyalty and morale are high. Once a target becomes clear and share the same mission we show strong teamwork power, historically. I do feel a big difference of the CEO's attitude and manners compared with two years ago. We have a strong intention to participate in the third arrow policy by challenging the emerging markets in Asia. M&A for next business opportunities and spending the Capex for our sake. However, it needs a certain time for it to become more obvious and more visualised by figures.



1. The state of the world economy and finance



Daniel Dăianu,
Member of the Romanian Academy; former
Minister of Finance of Romania

There is also a very serious Eurozone crisis [...]. Secondly, we [...] are experiencing a breakdown of cognitive and operational models. [...] Thirdly, it is an issue of a lack of effective policy coordination. [...] Fourth, there is [...] a growing disconnect between people, the social body and policy makers alias the political class. [...] the rise of extremist parties, on both the left and the right political spectre, which are basically rejecting the European project, then we have plenty of reasons to be worried in the years to come. And finally, [...] the world we live in as one of increasing uncertainty. Extreme events keep us under constant pressure. All this is very bad because there are economic, institutional, social, and political entailed costs; these costs show up in individual mindsets and in the collective psyche of people. [...] So, to conclude, there are two conflicting views on how to cope with the current crisis. One view says, ‘Look, let us let markets do the trick, even if there is a painful and costly catharsis and most of us get burned, [...] seeds of a new crisis are activated [...]. And there is the other view that says, ‘look, we cannot be oblivious to the peril of having such a low aggregate demand and big unemployment. [...] I would rather side with the view that we need to be less risk averse regarding policy making in order to avert a disaster in Europe.



Jun Gwang-Woo,
former Chairman of Korean Financial Services
Commission (FSC)

I think there are ample investment opportunities to be explored collaboratively within the Asia region and around the world. [...] Korea is witnessing the very rapid aging, I think it is perhaps the most serious challenge to the future of our country and, for that matter for many other countries as well. [...] In general older people tend to have a low risk tolerance and not aggressively engage in venture type investment. So, the result is: saving more, spend less and prefer safer assets. [...] when we discuss secular stagnation, we must pay greater attention to the demographic factor. We also need to think hard how effectively to bring older people with higher savings to spend more. [...] I think the world economy is heading into a period of increasing divergence and differentiation across countries. [...] Up until a few years ago, they (BRICs) are the dominant rising power house. Now if you look at BRICs today the parts are moving in separate directions. [...] I also see the next year as a period of changing tides. [...] the changing economic currents or tides clearly present a challenge for the policy makers and the international community, but at the same time they could create new opportunities for cross-border investment.



Bozidar Djelic,
Partner, Lazard; former Deputy Prime Minister
of Serbia

[...] the G20 that many people say would completely dislocate after the toughest part of the crisis being through, that is not being true and, in fact the latest meeting has shown that for the largest bank, the globally systemically important banks and the type of benchmarks that have been proposed is something where there has been a global agreement. [...] huge progress has been made. [...]there is no commonly agreed model, where all the banks would, in the same way use the model. [...] because of complexity but also, let us face it, because of lobbying [...] making sure that the larger and the more sophisticated and better endowed in terms of resources would be able to do what some others are maybe not so much in a position to do so. [...] why do we not have, in terms of risk models, a crude and fair model being applied in the way the leverage ratio has been applied, just to demonstrate to the ordinary people that banks are not going in a crazy direction? but then you have a huge pot of shadow banking so there is a new level playing field to be created between bright banking an shadow banking. [...] We are actually; we have still much more speculation than we have legitimate and good lending capacity.



Marek Belka,
President of the National Bank of Poland

[...] we are afraid of what will happen if we start winding down our extra measures. Well, so far the picture has been quite reassuring. I think that the world has avoided or has moved pretty smoothly through this phase of tapering and, basically, the phase of asset purchasing as in the US. Also, I do not think that we have really experienced a full-blown currency war which some of the colleagues, say, from Brazil, were quite concerned about. Therefore, I think that, all in all, it shows that monetary policy has, on the one hand, given time for other policies to work. Sometimes this has been used properly, sometimes this time has been wasted - it always happens like this. I think that the negative consequences of unconventional monetary policies have been subdued so far. What is one of the lessons from this crisis? Well, as long as we do not [...] reform the financial sector, which is far away because of the lobbying, sorry. Therefore, as long as we stick to our mandate, as we stick to macro-economic policies, I think the lesson is: be pragmatic.



2. Energy, climate change and environment



COORDINATOR :
Marie-Claire Aoun
Director, Center for
Energy, Ifri



CHAIR AND MODERATOR :
Richard Cooper,
Professor of International Economics at Harvard University

I will give my own pessimistic view about the COP process we are involved in. I do not see how 193 countries with a huge diversity of interests can reach a meaningful agreement - the word 'meaningful' is important - by a process of consensus. [...] A negotiation based on quantitative targets is a fundamental error and if we want to have any chance of success, we have to shift the debate from targets to actions and get agreement on actions [...] Diplomats have a way of snatching rhetorical victory from apparent defeat, and it may well be that the Paris conference is successful as a diplomatic enterprise, but it is highly doubtful that a *meaningful* climate change agreement can come out of that process. [...] There is still a lot of unused energy in the waste, and there is no doubt in my mind that, a generation or two from now, the waste of this generation will become the resource of the next generation. [...] the only way to reach all of the decision-makers when it comes to using energy is through the price system, and if you think about it there are about a billion of them. All the households and firms in the world are the real decision-makers. [...] I think the COP is on completely the wrong track when it comes to a global arrangement on climate. It is possible, but only if we reformulate the task.



Laurent Fabius,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of France

Scientists no longer have any doubt about climate disruption. If we do nothing, the temperature will rise by three or four degrees by the end of this century and six or seven degrees afterwards. This would be absolutely catastrophic for all our countries and their inhabitants. We must take action. Action is possible. Greenhouse gas emissions must be cut; that's where energy comes in. We must reduce our reliance on fossil fuels, save more energy and use more renewable sources. [...] China and the United States have already shifted their positions. Europe has taken a bold stand : a green fund has already raised \$10 billion to move in the right direction. Our future is at stake. As Ban Ki-Moon so pithily says, there's no plan B because there's no planet B.

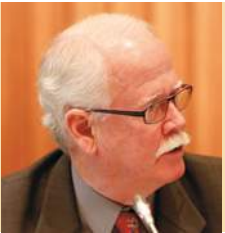


Vuk Jeremić,
former President of the UN General Assembly; former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia

Deep-decarbonization requires massive effort involving governments, private sector, NGOs—everyone working together for comprehensive change: how we power our lives... [...] Global problems require global awareness for global solutions [...] It is an illusion to believe that negotiations on post-2015 agenda and climate change can take place in isolation from general international trends. In order to have successful outcomes in Addis, New York and Paris, there needs to be a certain degree of confidence and goodwill between major actors. [...] Tumultuous geopolitics also noticeable in UN context. Except for playing a peripheral role in a few of these developments, UN has been largely absent from the frontlines of solving any of them—this is due to choices made by member states but also because UN leadership is unfortunately ineffective. In multipolar world where you have growing security and development and climate challenges, UN is needed more than ever.



2. Energy, climate change and environment



William Ramsay,
Senior Advisor of the Center for Energy, Ifri;
former Deputy Executive Director, International
Energy Agency (IEA)

Since 2000, global energy demand is up 33%. All growth is in non-OECD. [...] Markets are currently well supplied but problems may lurk, and growth in oil production will concentrate in the US, Canada, Brazil and the Middle East. Production elsewhere falls off. [...] Gas is different: for now gas security of supply is a European issue, but things should improve even as demand grows by half.[...] Coal is abundant and cheap, but it is dirty. [...] Regarding nuclear, while capacity rises to 60% by 2040, this is no nuclear renaissance. [...] Increasing nuclear capacity is seen in just a few markets [...]: How realistic is the two-degree target? [...] we cannot emit any additional CO₂ from 2040 if we want to achieve the two-degree target, which is not particularly realistic. Therefore, next steps are urgent. [...] The energy system is not transforming quickly enough to meet the two-degree target.



Bertrand de la Noue,
General Representative of Total in China

Energy companies have for a long time been quite mute on the climate debate. [...] Total has been over the past years at the forefront of a profound change in Industry response [...] A clear message of this change can be summarized in few points: a. we will continue to need all sources of energy. b. 1.3 Bn persons are still without access to electricity: To allow them to access it, Energy has to be and remain cheap. c. Cost of Energy is a key regional differentiating factor in terms of competitiveness. d. Energy efficiency is the first lever of action. e. Renewable Energies will have to take a bigger part of the Energy Mix. [...] But there is not ONE miracle solution, rather a mix of solutions which have to be developed in parallel and addressed globally.



Tatsuo Masuda,
Professor at Nagoya University of Commerce
and Business Graduate School, Japan

Energy and environmental challenge is symbolically seen in Asia, where some 60% of the global increment of energy demand growth up to 2040 will take place. Asia will become the “problem center” of the world if it may fail to effectively address this challenge, but will become the “savior” of the world if successful. There are various fora to enable alliances for sharing policy experience on energy and environment in Asia such as APEC, ASEAN+3, and ASEAN+8. Despite those, the actual progress is not impressive due mainly to the unsustainability of “political will”, which could often be disturbed by short-term events such as economic crisis and diplomatic disputes. What could be done to make political will more sustainable will hold the key in our fight against climate change.



Luigi Colantuoni,
Group Representative of Total in Japan and
South Korea

Climate change and energy transition are considered major issues for the world economy and for the sustainable future of humankind. [...] The Oil and Gas Climate Initiative was launched in January 2014 at the World Economic Forum in Davos. Corporations from different countries have been engaged in discussion to build this initiative, including Aramco from Saudi Arabia, the British Gas Group from the UK, ENI from Italy, PEMEX from Mexico, Sinopec from China, and our group, Total, from France. Other national and international oil companies will join the founding members, leading to significant coverage of the global oil and gas production. The Oil and Gas Climate Initiative carries a vision for the oil and gas companies to work in collaboration, sharing the best practices and technical solutions to address climate change and sustainable energy. [...] We believe that energy has to be better, more affordable and more accessible. But it also has to be more efficient and more innovative.



2. Energy, climate change and environment



Christian Bréchet,
President of the Institut Pasteur

You have to envision the effect of climate change on health in the perspective of global and one health. One health means that you can only understand what is happening and what is going to happen if you always simultaneously analyse the status of humans, but also of animals and the environment. [...] Climate change will also influence the patterns of disease. The impact of the intestinal microbiota, the bacteria of the intestine, our second genome, on obesity, diabetes, inflammation on cancers but also possibly neurodegenerative and psychiatric disorders is a growing science. When we want to foresee the impact of climate change on health, we have to take this evolution into account. [...] Eco-epidemiological impacts are extremely important. There will be increasing health risks from natural disasters and increasing health challenges linked with human displacement. [...] We cannot tell whether the Ebola crisis is due to climate change; but we know that the major cause of propagation was deforestation [...] Looking at the effect of climate change of the transmission of a virus by a mosquito, the more you increase the temperature, the more you increase the efficacy of transmission.



Sverre Vedal,
Professor, University of Washington (UW)
School of Public Health; Chinese Research
Academy of Environmental Sciences (CRAES)

I will leave you with these four points. While most air pollutants are climate warming, some important ones are climate cooling, and that complicates mitigation strategies. Air pollution-climate change trade-offs are important to consider in mitigation, and I highlighted instances of win-lose and lose-win scenarios. Something I did not touch on was a focus on sources in mitigation rather than individual pollutants, and finally there was the topic I touched on very briefly, which was that climate change is expected to increase concentrations of some pollutants, with implications for health as a result of the increase in pollutants.



Lee Seung-Hoon,
Professor emeritus of the Seoul University,
former Co-Chairman of Green Growth
Committee of the Korean government

With tools energised by fire, greedy mankind has built up astounding prosperity, on the one hand, and degraded the environment to the level of destruction, on the other.[...] It must establish incentives for individuals to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases and provide technologies to this end.[...] the first one being *equal reduction*. Each agent reduces what it is emitting now by the same rate, and I think most advanced countries would prefer this option. The second one is *equal emissions*: since emission is a fundamental right of human existence and activity, this right should be distributed equally throughout the whole of humankind, so an equal cap should be assigned to each human being in compliance with the target. [...] Developing economies will be paid for this, but they are not to use this money at their will; they are required to spend the revenue from this trading only for licensing green technology.

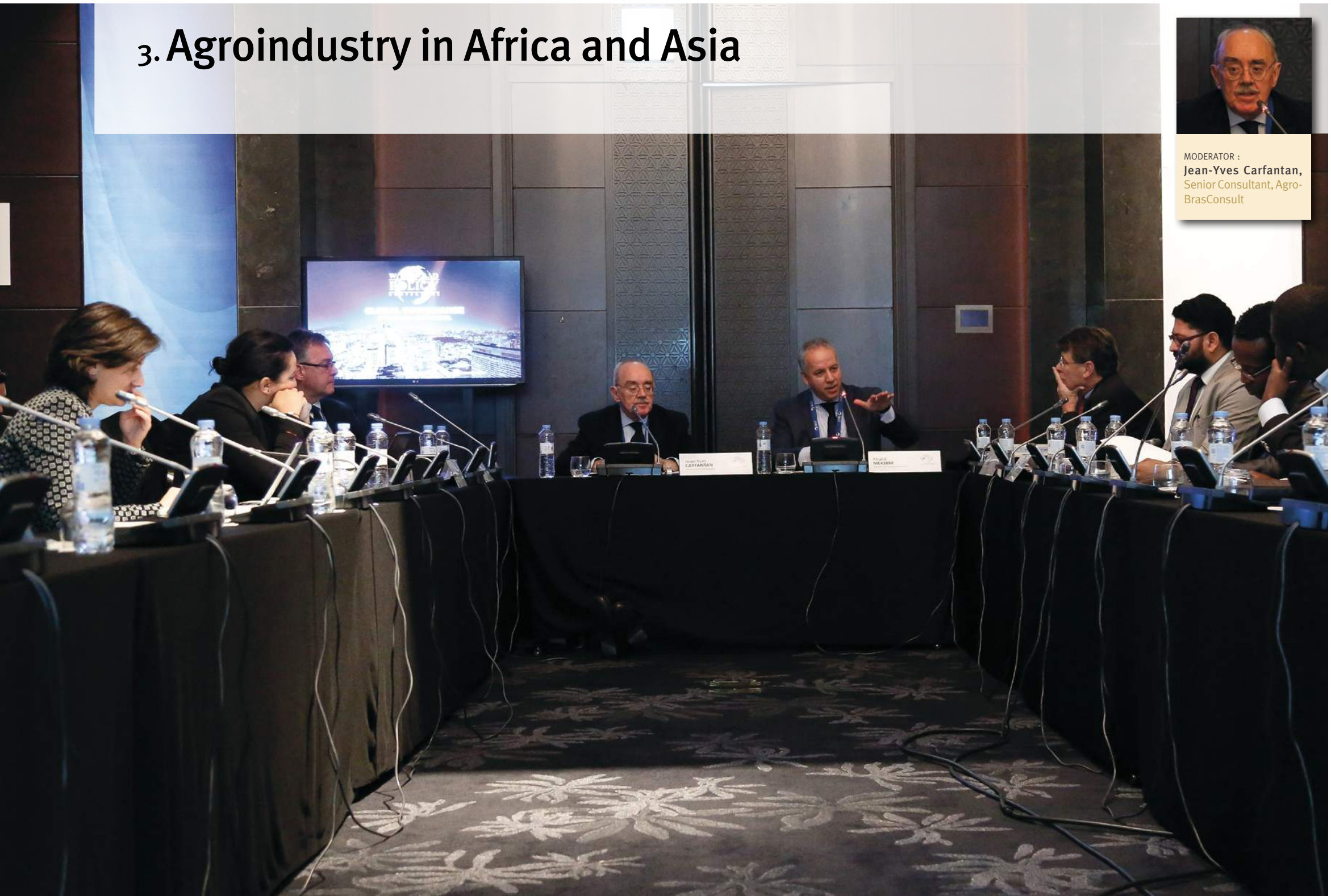


Anil Razdan,
former Power Secretary of India

Another area we need to look at, particularly in the context of non-fossil fuels, is improving cooking stoves, because 76% of the population of the country still used wood for cooking in the 2009 and 2010 censuses, as did 17.5% of the urban population. [...] Clean Air Asia conducted a survey for 300 Asian cities in 2012 and found that PM10 concentrations were in safe limits in only 16 of those; 94% of cities sampled had air that was unsafe for breathing. The OECD said in 2010 that seven out of ten world cities most exposed to climate change are in developing Asia. This is an area we also want to address, not only power but conversion of vehicles to electric cars and mass rapid transportation systems. [...] all inefficient coal capacity should be retired as soon as possible, then introduce smart grids to integrate renewables. [...] Water usage is huge and water pollution is also huge, so water is an area we should start addressing immediately in relation to energy and climate.



3. Agroindustry in Africa and Asia



MODERATOR :
Jean-Yves Carfantan,
Senior Consultant, Agro-
BrasConsult



Suresh Kumar,
Chief Editor of Africaindia.org; former Head and Director of the Department of African Studies, University of Delhi

Sharing of the total produce should be in the ratio of 70:30 or 75:25 or 85:15 where 70 percent should be reserved for the export & industry and only 30 percent should be used for domestic consumption for a successful green revolution in Africa. African Union's Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Program (CAADP) for Green Revolution is taken seriously by India and Indian Private Stakeholders. The intermixing of regional organizations is favourable for a cohesive development in African agriculture. The legal infrastructure around property rights and land titles are the prerogatives of the national governments in Africa. Commitments from all the stakeholders for the adequate training of HRD and transfer of technology, need to introduce more agricultural land and introduce applications of S&T in Africa, the need of community farming under Collective Land System should be promoted, which will help in using scientific agricultural implements in Africa. Promote the African farmers to join agriculture education, literacy programmes, agriculture extension is an important component of agriculture universities throughout the world, which will help Africa Agriculture Education System to strengthen in rural areas, assist African youth to get training in agriculture sciences and develop technology as per local needs, open Rural Cooperative Banks to strengthen micro-finance and SHGs.



Khalid Meksem,
President of the University Mohammed VI

[...] The pre-colonial part of agriculture in Africa was sustainable, local and harmonious. [...] people who are interested in sustainability today will fly to remote locations in Africa and learn from the locals, something that I have learned about it is permaculture, which we are trying to re-introduce into Europe, the US and North America. This originated from Africa, so Africa have something to teach us. After that, we had the post-colonial time and there was chaos for some countries. The world was divided between the Russians and Americans and there was a huge fight to acquire territories, which led to a lot of instability. This instability is what we see today in war zones, which has led to the fact that it is not possible to produce anything [...] the 1980s and the 1990s are also known for a time when some countries became what we call emerging countries. China started to play a major role and there was of course also Japan, Korea and India on the Asian continent. There was then this interest in Africa, for the simple reason that the price of food started going higher and higher. With all the instability in the relationship between the Soviet Union and its republics, as well as between the Soviet Union and the US, there was a demand by those emerging countries for more food and they knew that the only way getting it cheaper was to look for an alternative, and the alternative was Africa.





3. Agroindustry in Africa and Asia



Krishan Jindal,
CEO, NABARD Consultancy Services Pvt. Ltd.

NABARD has been able to facilitate credit flow to agriculture and also helped in adoption of technology by small farmers to operate in a profitable and sustainable way. [...] With this backdrop and the experience of NABARD a number of African countries have shown interest in learning about our experience and there has been a lot of exchange of experience between NABARD and African countries. [...] As far as NABARD Consultancy Services is concerned, we help in the preparation of project reports, the provision project management consultancy, the techno-economic appraisal of projects, the capacity building of the various stakeholders involved in the agriculture sector and the international exposure programmes. [...] Another area that has been studied, is how a bank does an appraisal of projects to finance small farmer or small enterprise and how it then goes ahead with the financing, what mechanisms are adopted and how it secures the loan. [...] NABARD has done tremendously good work in the field of microfinance which has been well recognised.



Rod A. Wing,
Professor, University of Arizona

[...] the big questions is what we call the 9 billion people question. [...] Our goal is to develop new varieties of rice that are higher yielding and more nutritious but require less of an environmental footprint – i.e. rice that requires less water, fertiliser and pesticides and can grow on marginal lands. [...] A big part of developing these new types of crops is the concept of capturing the natural variation that exists in the landraces, accessions and wild relatives. [...] We will soon have the genomes of all the wild relatives of rice and we can use this information to pinpoint agriculturally important genes that can be used to improve crops. [...] the greatest challenges that we face in plant breeding is to be able to link genome sequences to functional traits that could be used to create superior and sustainable varieties, which is what we call genotype to phenotype. [...] The idea is to take the 120,000 rice accessions and plant them in various locations around the world, phenotype them and capture the natural variation so that we can create the nextgen super crops that will allow us to keep up with the world's population.



Philippe Chalmin,
Professor, Paris-Dauphine University

Political goals are essential to understand the objectives and means of agricultural policies. Quite often in developing countries and especially in Africa the main focus is on providing cheap food to urban population, the most likely to protest against high food prices. On the contrary, if we want to develop family farming, we need to have stable and remunerative prices for farmers like we had in Europe with CAP and as it exists in India and somehow in China. The main problem is therefore one of finance: consumers are too poor to afford those prices and public budgets are too limited to provide either food or farm subsidies. The main lesson one can learn from either India or China is the need to protect local agricultural markets and prices. This requires money and that's where international aid is needed, probably more than new technologies!

LUNCH & DINNER DEBATES





Hong-Koo LEE
former Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea

Korea has been divided for the last 70 years, and this may be one of the longest artificial divisions of a people and a community. [...] there is a tremendous difference between Germany and Korea when it comes to the problem of division and unification. One of the big differences is that, while Korea has only three neighbours, Germany is situated in the middle of Europe, [...] China and Russia are not just bigger but overwhelmingly bigger than Korea. And across the Strait, we have Japan. Therefore, in some sense, in the age of geo-politics, we are destined to be in trouble, one way or another. [...] When German unification came in 1990, we had a similar period of thaw, with increasingly good relations between the two Koreas. In 1991, we signed the basic agreements for North-South cooperation. In 1992, we made joint declarations to keep the Korean Peninsula nuclear free. What changed the situation? There are many reasons, but it is partly because we did not have a global backing, with an international guarantee for all these agreements. The most crucial requirement is to bring the major powers together to guarantee the peaceful coexistence of two Korea working together towards an eventual unification. There is a good chance of achieving unification.





7th EDITION GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

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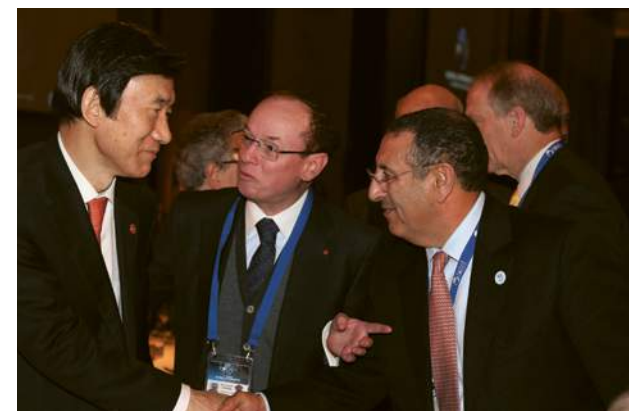


The future of diplomacy



Yun Byung-se
Republic of Korea's Minister of Foreign Affairs

No doubt, the most pressing and urgent issue is North Korea's nuclear weapons programs. Even at this very moment, Pyeongyang is advancing its nuclear weapons capability through miniaturization and diversification, and is upgrading its delivery systems. This makes North Korea's nuclear capability much more dangerous than that of Iran. [...] North Korea's internal contradictions, including human rights problems, are part of the Korean peninsula's hard reality. Such reality underscores the necessity of collaboration between the Korean government and the international community to bring about enduring peace and ultimate peaceful unification. [...] Myanmar provides an instructive lesson for North Korea [...] No one can stay above the fray, when global issues such as climate change, poverty and development cooperation, epidemics, terrorism and the proliferation of WMDs touch us all. This is all the more so for Korea, a key member of the G-20, and the three key organs of the UN, i.e., Security Council, Human Rights Council and the Economic and Social Council. [...] The task remaining before us is how to make the world safer and the benefits of prosperity accessible to many others still in the shadows. [...] a reunified Korea will be nuclear weapons-free; a beacon for human rights and democracy; at peace with neighbors; an engine of global economic growth; and a promoter of regional and global peace and prosperity.



**Joseph NYE**

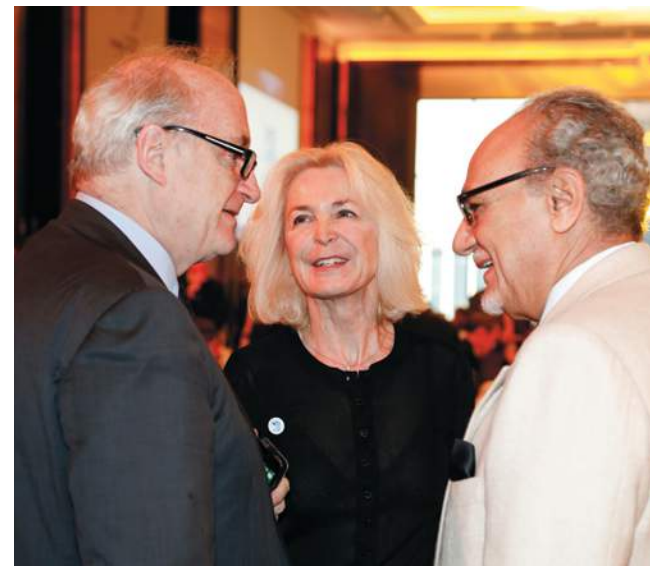
University Distinguished Service Professor, Center for Public Leadership, Harvard Kennedy School

Americans never had full hegemony. There is a bit of a myth about the past, that there was a period when the Americans could do anything and now we can do nothing, and the truth is somewhere in between. [...] If you look at the Middle East, we have not got a solution and it is not clear what a solution is. [...] How do you make sure that Russia realises that reversing the 1945 settlements that are in the UN Charter is expensive? However, do not isolate Russia forever. [...] The US-Japan relationship is very strong, but at the same time, there has not been an isolation of China or an effort to contain it. [...] Some in the Congress say, 'Let us add more sanctions to put more pressure on the Iranians.' Some in the administration say, 'If you put more sanctions on now, you are going to reduce that probability to 10% or zero.' My own inclination is to diplomacy a shot. [...] I do not think we are on the verge of a great détente with Iran, because there are too many interests where there is divergence. [...] I do not think many people in the Pentagon or The White House are worried about the relationship between South Korea and China. However, they are worried about the relationship between South Korea and Japan. Something could go wrong in North Korea, and there is a significant possibility that that could happen. Therefore, the fact that Japan and South Korea are not working as closely together as they should be is dangerous for South Korea and Japan. [...] There was a strong recommendation that Japan and China establish recommendations, by which a miscalculation did not lead to an escalation.

Richard HAASS

President of the Council on Foreign Relations

One of the principal phenomena is the diffusion of power, not just to state actors but to non-state actors. With it has come a decentralisation of decision making. [...] More and more actors, whether they are states or others, are making their own decisions, with less deference to the US. [...] There is something of a rethink going on in the US about what the proper degree of American involvement in the world is. [...] Most of the initiative in the area of national security and foreign and defence policy lies with the executive. [...] My sense is that when you convene a year from now, the situation in Ukraine may not look fundamentally different from the way it looks now. [...] We have got to be much more robust in terms of strengthening the rest of NATO. [...] I point this out simply to say that if there is 'success' and there is an agreement, it does not put the situation away. There will then be ongoing conversations about how much sanctions relief Iran should get. There will be endless compliance debates. [...] With or without an agreement, it is possible to keep open the option of selective cooperation [...] For the next few years, I am focusing less on how we can make the Israeli-Palestinian situation better. I am actually thinking more about how we can keep it from becoming worse. [...] In the case of China and Japan, the good news there recently was the meeting between the Chinese Foreign Minister and the Japanese National-Security Advisor. In some ways an agreement to disagree and say, 'Let us manage this.'





Mehmet CEYLAN
Deputy Minister of Development of Turkey

The rise of Turkey's economy is much admired because of the fact that it goes hand in hand with democratic and modern values. [...] Turkey has recorded a very strong performance in its growth and significant improvements according to economic indicators. Excluding the most severe crisis year of 2009, the average growth rate for GDP is recorded at 5.9% over the last decade. [...] Those structural reforms, which were realised rapidly with the contribution of the EU membership process, have focused on more liberalisation of the Turkish economy. [...] political stability created economic and social confidence, which enabled a business-friendly environment and private-sector oriented growth. [...] Turkey has become the sixth-largest economy within the Europe and 17th in the world in general as of 2013. [...] Parallel to the real sector improvements, we can also say that the financial sector in Turkey grew successfully within the same period. [...] When it comes to education, compulsory education was extended from eight to 12 years in 2013. [...] all Turkish citizens have free access to high-quality health services. [...] We are always ready to share our experience with other countries.



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**Thierry de Montbrial**

There is a reason why our Korean friends thought that it might be a good idea to have the meeting of the WPC in Seoul. This is precisely that they understand the relevance of the European Union.

Jin Roy Ryu

Chairman & CEO, Poongsan Group, Republic of Korea

I was in Monaco last year and we discussed hosting this conference in Korea, because it is the World Policy Conference. How can you call it the World Policy Conference without having one in Asia? I am so happy that everything worked out.

Yim Sung-joon

Senior Advisor at Lee International IP & Law Group, former President of the Korea Foundation

In 2008, I was approached by Thierry to give my thoughts to him regarding his notion of launching a global governance process. I immediately thought of Korea's foreign-policy goal to expand beyond the wall of the Korean Peninsula and North-East Asia, and Thierry's notion could converge in this process. Therefore, I consulted with my Government and President Lee sent his special envoy to the first World Policy Conference, which was held in Evian.

Miguel Ángel Moratinos

former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain

Europe has interests and a place in the world, to defend and to share certain ideas, values and principles that need to be maintained in the world. We need you for that and we need the WPC.

H.R.H. Prince Turki Al-Faisal

Chairman of the King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies (KFCRIS)

I am not going to repeat what my friends said about plaudits to Thierry and his staff, because they definitely deserve them, but we are also expecting a lot from them in the future as well. Please join me in not only applauding them but also in hoping that in the future, we will have many more contributions.









NETWORKING

Ju, Chul-Ki

My congratulations to President de Montbrial and the WPC on this timely and important conference. Indeed, it's hard to overstate the significance of today's gathering, given all that is happening in this part of the world.

Ribal Al-Assad

It was a pleasure meeting you at the World Policy Conference, and thank you very much again for inviting me. It was an honour and a privilege to be in Seoul, and to have the opportunity to take part in such an enlightening and progressive forum. As you know, the themes of freedom and democracy dominate my life in many ways, and I was delighted to receive such support and empathy from my fellow panelists and delegates.

Othman Bouabid

Back in Morocco, I'd like to congratulate your entire team for the outstanding work they did to make the World Policy Conference in Seoul a success.

Tadakatsu Sano

Congratulations for the great success of the World Policy Conference in Seoul. I would like to thank you again for the invitation to the World Policy Conference, which is now well established internationally in the intellectual society. The discussion was stimulating and again I believe I learned a lot from the conference.

Suresh Kumar

Thanks for everything. I really enjoyed with the arrangements and the hospitalities provided to me at Seoul. The environment during my key note presentation was so positive that I enjoyed during my lecture and followed by fruitful discussion.

Susan Liautaud

I cannot say enough how impressed I am with everything here – the orchestration of the high level speakers yesterday, the hotel, the financing of an entirely new destination... You have really outdone yourself this year with the most difficult possible challenge, and I much appreciate the privilege. You should be very proud of this.

Mohamed Laichoubi

Congratulations on the Seoul WPC Summit, which was a great success. The organisers did an excellent job and the quality of the debates was very high. I add my voice to all those who have already expressed their satisfaction.

François Drouin

It was with great interest and pleasure that I participated in the Seventh WPC in Seoul. The entire event was perfect and the intellectual level very high. Thanks again and congratulations on going the distance on this difficult and delicate exercise.

Franciscus Verellen

I would like to warmly congratulate everybody who made the 2014 World Policy Conference a brilliant success. Again this year, the candid, freewheeling discussions allowed participants to compare ideas that got straight to the point in a geographical context to which I am obviously sensitive.

Tatsuo Masuda

It was indeed a great opportunity of learning, thinking and networking.

Miguel Ángel Moratinos

Thank you for let me participate and take part of the World Policy Conference hold in Seoul last week. I think we had a very successful outcome of the conference and a rewarding exchange views of different topics due to the high level of participants.

It was a great pleasure to participate in the Middle East Session. I consider that the WPC is an extremely positive platform to shape the future of world policies. I want to convey my gratitude and I take this opportunity to remember that I'll be at your disposal for my future contribution to the WPC.

Tobby Simon

Congratulations on organizing such a magnificent conference.

INVITED GUESTS





Ahn, Choong Young
Chairman, National Commission for Corporate Partnership, Republic of Korea. Previously, he served as as Foreign Investment Ombudsman and President of the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy.

Al-Assad, Ribal
Founder and Director of the Organization for Democracy and Freedom in Syria and Chairman of the Iman Foundation. He campaigns internationally for democracy, freedom and human rights.

Al-Barrak, Ahmad
Ambassador of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the Republic of Korea since 2010.

His Royal Highness Prince Turki Al-Faisal
Chairman of the King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies in Riyadh. He served as Ambassador of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the United States of America. He is one of the founders of the King Faisal Foundation.

Al-Harthi, Mohamed
Ambassador of the Sultanate of Oman to the Republic of Korea since 2009.

Al-Nahar, Omar
Ambassador of Jordan to the Republic of Korea since 2010.

Al-Shatti, Abdulmajeed
Member of the Supreme Petroleum Council, Kuwait. Former Chairman of the Board of Directors and Managing Director of the Commercial Bank of Kuwait. He was Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Kuwait Banking Association.

Amrani, Youssef
Chargé de mission, Royal Cabinet, Morocco. He was appointed Minister Delegate for Foreign Affairs and

Cooperation by His Majesty King Mohammed VI. Former Secretary-General of the Union for the Mediterranean.

Antil, Alain
Head of the Ifri “Sub-Saharan Africa” Program. Expertise in Mauritanian and security issues in the Sahel. He teaches at the Institut d’études politiques of Lille. He has also been a Research Fellow at the Institut de recherches internationales et stratégiques in Paris.

Aoun, Marie-Claire
Director of the Center for Energy at Ifri. She has been an economist at the French Energy Regulatory Commission, where she worked on European gas market integration.

Apkhazava, Nikoloz
Ambassador of Georgia to the Republic of Korea. Former Minister-Counselor at the Embassy of Georgia in Japan. Former Ambassador-at-large at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia.

Aso, Yutaka
President of Aso Group. He has been an Independent Director at Hoya Corporation. He has also been serving on the boards of Sumida Corporation, Toto Ltd. and Nishi-Nippon Railroad Co. Ltd.

Avital, David
President of MTP Investment Group. Entrepreneur, venture capitalist and philanthropist who has realized great success in real estate, parking, biotech and other areas.

Azzam, Samira Kristina
Manager of Global Government Relations at Accenture. She joined Accenture from government relations firm Fabiani & Company, where she advocated on behalf of clients before the U.S. Congress and federal agencies.

Baasanjav, Ganbold
Ambassador of Mongolia to the Republic of Korea. Former Director-General of the Asia and the Pacific Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Mongolia. Former Ambassador of Mongolia to Vietnam.

Bagger, Thomas
Head of Policy Planning at the German Federal Foreign Office. Former Head of the German Foreign Minister’s Office in Berlin. He also served as Political Counselor at the German Embassy in Ankara, and then in Washington D.C.

Bark, Taeho
Professor and former Dean at the Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS) of Seoul National University. He served as Minister for Trade of Korea and as Ambassador-at-Large for International Economy and Trade.

Barré, Nicolas
Managing Editor of Les Echos. He is a columnist at Europe 1 and Radio Classique. He also served as Deputy Managing Editor at Le Figaro.

Belka, Marek
President of the National Bank of Poland. He served as Prime Minister of Poland’s Government, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Finance, Director of European Department at the IMF and Executive Secretary of UNECE in the United Nations.

Bensehmoun, Arié
Executive Director of the European Leadership Network (ELNET), independent European non-profit organization dedicated to strengthening relations between Europe and Israel. Member of the Crif Executive Board.

Bernal, José Luis
Ambassador of Mexico to the Republic of Korea. He also served as

Ambassador to the Czech Republic, Switzerland and Liechtenstein. He was Chief Economic Advisor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mexico.

Bertossi, Christophe
Director of the Ifri Centre for Migrations and Citizenship. He teaches at Sciences Po (Paris). He was a Marie Curie Research Fellow at the University of Warwick, and a Visiting Fellow at the New York University.

Biloa, Marie-Roger
CEO of the Africa International Media Group. She has been running Africa International, a French-speaking Pan-African magazine created in Dakar, Senegal. She is a journalist by profession.

Bontemps, François
Ambassador of Belgium to the Republic of Korea. Previously, he has been Deputy General Director for Development Cooperation and Deputy Representative to the Council of Europe.

Bouabid, Othman
Interior Ministry of the Kingdom of Morocco. Former Governor. He was Director of Cabinet of the Interior Minister, Chargé de mission at the Cabinet of the Interior Minister and Administrator at the central administration of the Interior Ministry.

Bréchet, Christian
President of the Pasteur Institute. Previously, he was Vice President of the Institut Mérieux, in charge of medical and scientific affairs. He also served as Director-General of the French institute for health and medical research (Inserm).

Byun, Dae-Ho
Former Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to Croatia. He has been Director for Planning and Coordination at the Jeju Peace Institute (JPI). Before joining JPI, he served at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

and Trade.

Carfantan, Jean-Yves
Senior Consultant, he runs Agro-BrasConsult, a Brazilian consulting company in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. He is a Member of the Global Food Security Forum (GFSF) Steering Committee.

Ceylan, Mehmet
Deputy Minister of Development of Turkey. He also served as AKP Deputy in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Mayor of Safranbolu and Deputy Specialist to the State Planning Organization (DPT).

Baroness Lynda Chalker of Wallasey
Founder and Chairman of Africa Matters Ltd. Vice President of WaterAid, Honorary Vice President of the British Red Cross. Former Minister of State at the Foreign & Commonwealth Office.

Chalmin, Philippe
Professor of economic history and Director of the Master of International Affairs at Paris-Dauphine University. He is the Founder of the Cercle Cyclope, the main European research institute on raw materials markets.

Chang, Dae-whan
Chairman & Publisher, Maekyung Media Group. Chairman of Maeil Business Newspaper and Maeil Broadcasting Network. Founder and Executive Chairman of the World Knowledge Forum. Former Acting Prime Minister of Korea.

Chang, Dal-joong
Professor Emeritus of Political Science and International Relations at Seoul National University. Member of the Advisory Committee for policy affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Chi, Chang-hoon
President and COO of Korean Air. Former Executive Vice President and Managing Vice President of the Cargo Business Division & Navoi Project, and Managing Vice President of the Regional Headquarters in China.

Cho, Jeong-hoon
Total Group Representative in Korea. President of Bowater Korea Ltd. and Vice President of Resolute Forest Products Inc. Former Statutory Auditor of Samsung Total Petrochemical Co. Ltd. and former President of Cray Valley Korea Co. Ltd.

Choi, Byung-il
Professor at Ewha Womans University. Former President of the Korea Economic Research Institute. Former member of the National Economic Advisory Council for the President of Korea.

Choi, Hyung-Ho
CEO of BNP Paribas Securities Korea. Former Country Manager, Merrill Lynch Securities Korea. Former Head of the Fixed Income Asia Pacific, Merrill Lynch Securities Hong Kong.

Choi, Jung-wha
President, Korea Image Communication Institute, and Professor, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. She is the Editor in Chief of Koreana, published by the Korea Foundation.

Choi, Young-Jin
Professor, former Special Representative of the United Nations in Côte d’Ivoire. He also served as Permanent Representative of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations and as Korean Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade.

Chraibi, Mohammed
Ambassador of Morocco to the Republic of Korea. Former Chairman of

the Group of 77 for the year 2003 in Nairobi and Permanent Representative of the Kingdom of Morocco to the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP).

Chun, Yungwoo
Senior advisor at the Asan Institute for Policy Studies. Chairman and founder of the Korean Peninsula Future Forum (KPFF). Former second vice foreign minister of the Republic of Korea.

Chung, Eui-Yong
Secretary General and Co-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the International Conference of Asian Political Parties (ICAPP). Former Deputy Minister for Trade of the Republic of Korea.

Chung, Mong-Joon
Founder and Honorary Chairman of the Asan Institute for Policy Studies. Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Asan Foundation and Honorary Chairman of Ulsan University. He served seven terms in the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea.

Colantuoni, Luigi
Chief Representative for North-East Asia, Total S.A., and President, Tokyo Branch, Total Trading International, S.A. He is also Member of the Board of the French Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Japan.

Collomb, Bertrand
Honorary Chairman of Lafarge. Director of several companies, including Total, ATCO and DuPont. Former Chairman and CEO of Lafarge. Member of the Institut de France and past Chairman of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques.

Cooper, Richard
Maurits C. Boas Professor of International Economics at Harvard University. Previously, he was Chairman of the National Intelligence Council, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, and Under-Secre-

tary of State for Economic Affairs.

Csaba, Gábor
Ambassador of Hungary to the Republic of Korea. Previously, he served as Director-General for the Americas at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and as Ambassador to Australia, also accredited to New Zealand.

Dăianu, Daniel
Professor of economics, The School of Political and Administrative Studies in Bucharest, Member of the Board of the Central Bank of Romania. Former first Vice President of the Romanian Financial Supervision Authority.

David, Dominique
Executive Vice President of Ifri and Editor of Politique étrangère. Previously, he was in charge of the Security Studies Department at Ifri, Deputy Director of the Institut français de polémologie, and Secretary General of the Fondation pour les études de defense nationale (FEDN).

Delapalme, Nathalie
Executive Director, Research and Policy, Mo Ibrahim Foundation. She served as Inspectrice générale des finances at the French Ministry of Economy and Finances and as Advisor on Africa to several French Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Ministers of Development.

Dierckx, Joris
Country Head of South Korea for BNP Paribas. He also served as Country Head of Greece for BNP Paribas, as Country Head of Japan for Fortis and as Interim Head of Merchant Banking Asia.

Đelić, Božidar
Managing Director at Lazard. Former Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia. Former Minister of Finance and Economy of Serbia. He has also been

Credit Agricole’s Director for Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

Dong, Manyuan
Vice President of the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS). He is a Senior Research Fellow specialized in Middle East studies and ethnic issues. Former first Secretary and Director of the Political Affairs Office of the Chinese Embassy in Turkey.

Drouin, François
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El Aynaoui, Karim
Managing Director of OCP Policy Center and Advisor to the CEO of OCP. Former Director of Economics and International Relations at Bank Al-Maghrib. He also worked at the World Bank, both in its MENA and Africa regions, as an economist.

Elie, Mathieu
Asia Pacific and Latin America Director at Guerbet. French Foreign Trade Advisor. Former Senior Financial Auditor at Deloitte.

Eom, Chi-Sung
Deputy Secretary General & Head of International Affairs Division, Federation of Korean Industries (FKI). Previously, he was Deputy Secretary General & Head of Social Affairs Division. He joined FKI in 1990.

Eom, Seock-jeong
Former Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the Kingdom of Sweden. Previously, he served as Advisor for International Relations to Seoul Metropolitan Government and as Ambassador to Hungary.

Fabian, Calin
Ambassador of Romania to the Republic of Korea. He served as Ambassador to the Kingdom of the Netherlands and Diplomatic Advisor to the Prime Minister’s Office of Romania.

Foucher, Michel
Chair of Applied Geopolitics at College of World Studies. University Professor and Senior Advisor to the Compagnie Jacques Coeur. He was Director of Studies and Research at the Institute of Higher National Defence Studies (IHEDN).

Frieden, Jeffrey A.
Professor of Government at Harvard University. He specializes in the politics of international monetary and financial relations. His articles have appeared in a wide variety of scholarly and general interest publications.

Fujita, Edmundo Sussumu
Ambassador of Brazil to the Republic of Korea. Former Ambassador of Brazil to Jakarta, Indonesia. Former Director-General, Department of Asia and Oceania, Ministry of Foreign Relations.

Gascón, Lorenzo
Academician and Vice Chairman of the Royal Academy of Economic and Financial Sciences of Spain. He is Honorary President of the European League of Economic Cooperation and Board Member of the Fondation Jean Monnet pour l’Europe.

Gates, Robert M.
Former U.S. Secretary of Defense under Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama. Previously, he served as President of Texas A&M University and as Director of the CIA under George H.W. Bush.





Germay, Nicolas (de)
CEO and Founder of Alandia, an investment company. He has been member of several advisory boards such as British Telecom or PWC. He published a book on globalization : Mondialisation, un autre regard.

Gomart, Thomas
Vice President for Strategic Development at Ifri. He was its Russia/ Nis centre director and the co-director of the Russie.Nei.Visions electronic collection. Former Lavoisier Fellow at the Moscow State Institute for International Relations.

Guérin, Gilles
Managing Partner, EFG Bank, Geneva. Member of the Board and Treasurer of the WPC Foundation. He previously served as a Money Market Dealer at the Al Saudi Bank in Paris, then as Treasurer for Europe at the National Bank of Abu Dhabi in Paris.

Guïgou, Elisabeth
Member of the French Parliament and President of the Commission of Foreign Affairs at the Assemblée nationale. Former Deputy Minister for European Affairs, Minister of Justice and Keeper of the Seals, and Minister of Employment and Solidarity.

Gutman, Uri
Ambassador of Israel to the Republic of Korea. Previously, he served as Consul General of Israel in Shanghai.

Ha, Young Won
Professor of Marketing at Sogang Business School, Sogang University, Seoul, Korea. He was a Visiting Scholar at the University of Chicago Booth School of Business.

Haass, Richard
President of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). Former Director of policy planning for the Department

of State, Special Assistant to President George H.W. Bush and Senior Director for Near East and South Asian Affairs on the staff of the National Security Council.

Hahm, Chaibong
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Hampson, Fen Osler
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Han, Sung-joo
Chairman of the International Policy Studies Institute of Korea and Professor Emeritus at Korea University. Former Korean Ambassador to the United States, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and UN Secretary General's Special Representative for Cyprus.

Hong, Hyung Taek
Secretary General at the East Asia Foundation (EAF) in Seoul. Prior to joining the EAF, he undertook advanced graduate studies in Political Science at Columbia University, New York.

Hur, Kyung-Wook
Former 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 at the IMF.

Hwang, Sun-Hye
18th President of Sookmyung Women's University, President of the Korean National Ballet, and Vice

President of the Korean Association of Private University.

Hyun, Hong-Choo
Senior Partner, Kim & Chang. Former Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the United States and former Ambassador at the Permanent Observer Mission to the UN.

Ichim, Paul
Vice President of EximBank. He also served as Counselor of the State Secretary and of the Public Finance Minister at the Romanian Ministry of Public Finance.

Il, Sakong
Chairman of the Institute for Global Economics. Former Minister of Finance of the Republic of Korea, Special Economic Advisor to the President, Chairman of the Presidential Committee for the G20 Summit and of the Korea International Trade Association.

Im, Hyug-Baeg
Professor in the department of political science and diplomacy at Korea University. He has taught at Ehwa Womans University in Seoul, South Korea, as well as both Georgetown University and Duke University in the U.S.

Irbec, Yusuf Ziya
Member of the Turkish Parliament. He is also a Member of the Executive Committee of The Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA), and a Member of the Executive Committee of The Parliamentary Network on the IMF & World Bank.

Isumbingabo, Emma-Françoise
Ambassador of the Republic of Rwanda to the Republic of Korea. She was state minister in charge of energy and water of the Republic of Rwanda.

Iwatani, Shigeo
Secretary General of the Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat (TCS). He also served as Ambassador of Japan to Austria and Kenya, and as Consul-General of Japan in Honolulu.

Jalicon, David-Pierre
Chairman of the French Korean Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FKCCI). He is also President of D.P.J. & Partners, Ltd.

Jansen, Sabine
Senior Lecturer at Conservatoire national des arts et métiers (CNAM), Paris, Research Fellow at Centre d'histoire de Sciences Po (CHSP), Paris, and Vice President of the Committee for Parliamentary and Political History.

Jara, Alejandro
Senior counsel at King & Spalding LLP. Former Deputy Director-General of the WTO, Chairperson of the Committee on Trade and Environment of the WTO, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Chile to the WTO in Geneva.

Jeremić, Vuk
President of the Center for International Relations and Sustainable Development (CIRSD). Former President of the 67th Session of the UN General Assembly and former Serbia's Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Jindal, Krishan
CEO of NABARD Consultancy Services (NABCONS). He has worked at the National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development for thirty years and published two books on microfinance.

Johnston, Donald J.
Chair of the McCall MacBain Foundation, Geneva, Switzerland. Former founding Partner, Heenan Blaikie, Secretary General of the OECD, Minister of State for Science and

Technology, Minister of State for Economic and Regional Development, Minister of Justice and Attorney General (Canada).

Ju, Chul-Ki
Senior Secretary for Foreign Affairs and National Security to the President of the Republic of Korea. Former Vice President and Secretary General of the Global Compact Korea Network, Ambassador to France, to the UN in Geneva, to Morocco and Mauritania.

Jun, Kwang-woo
Distinguished Professor at Yonsei University's Graduate School of Economics. Former Chairman and CEO of the National Pension Service (NPS) of Korea, founding Chairman of the Financial Services Commission (FSC), and Chairman of Deloitte Korea.

Jung, Ku-Hyun
Professor Emeritus, KAIST Business Administration. He is also President of the Seoul Forum for International Affairs. Former President and CEO of Samsung Economic Research Institute.

Karaganov, Sergei
Honorary Chairman of the Presidium of the non-governmental Council on Foreign and Defense Policy. Russian political analyst, Russian foreign and economic affairs specialist. Member of the Scientific Advisory Council of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.

Kazazovic, Zoran
Ambassador of the Republic of Serbia to the Republic of Korea. Former Head of the Department for Europe - Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Former Ambassador to Thailand, Singapore, Cambodia and the Philippines.

Kim, Chang-Yup
Advisor, Korea Gas Corporation. Former Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to Ireland.

Kim, Chulsu
Chairman of Institute for Trade and Investment (ITI). Former Deputy Director-General of the WTO, Korean Minister of Trade, Industry and Energy, and Korea's Ambassador for International Trade.

Kim, Inchul
Emeritus Professor at Sung Kyun Kwan University. Former President of the Korea International Finance Association and the Korea International Economic Association.

Kim, Jaebum
Secretary General of the Korean-American Association. Senior Research Fellow at the Korea Global Development Consulting Center, a Policy Commissioner of the Korean Council on Foreign Relations, and a Board Member of the International Policy Studies Institute.

Kiviniemi, Mari
OECD Deputy Secretary General. Former Finland's Prime Minister, Minister of Public Administration and Local Government, Minister for Foreign Trade and Development, and Minister for European Affairs.

Koffi, Hervé
Country Manager, General Electric Global Growth, Abidjan, and Co-Founder of Initiatives Côte d'Ivoire, a non-partisan think tank. He also served as Vice President and Chief Financial Officer (CFO) for West Africa at Citibank.

Kouassi Bile, Sylvestre
Ambassador of Côte d'Ivoire to the Republic of Korea. Former Deputy Director in Charge of Inter-African Cooperation Organizations and De-

puty Director of West Africa at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Côte d'Ivoire.

Kowal, Pawel
Member of the European Parliament and former Secretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland. He currently chairs the EU-Ukraine Parliamentary Cooperation Committee.

Kozłowski, Tomasz
Ambassador and Head of the Delegation of the European Union to the Republic of Korea. He also works for the European Union institutions in Brussels as Head for Asia. Former Ambassador of Poland to Pakistan.

Kumar, Suresh
Chief Editor of Africaindia.org. Member of the Africa Committee of the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) and Executive Member of the Indo-Africa Chamber of Commerce in India (IACCI).

Kwon, Wook Min
General Manager at Korean Air.

Lablanchy, Jean-Pierre
Medical doctor, registered in Paris and in London (General Medical Council). He has worked in close collaboration with pharmaceutical firms and with the National Agronomic Institute.

Laichoubi, Mohamed
Former Minister of Labor and Social Protection and Minister of Youths and Sports of Algeria. He also served as Ambassador to Romania, Deputy, and President of the Finance and Budget Commission at the national Assembly.

Lamy, Pascal
Honorary President of Notre Europe-Jacques Delors Institute. Former Di-

rector-General of the WTO. He was Chief of staff for the President of the European Commission and Commissioner for Trade at the European Commission.

Lee Hong-Koo
Chairman of the Board of the Seoul Forum for International Affairs and Professor Emeritus at Seoul National University. Former Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea. He also served as Ambassador to the United States and the United Kingdom.

Lee In-ho
Chairman of the Korean Broadcasting System. She served as Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to Finland and Russia, Chairman of the Asan Institute of Policy Studies, and President of the Korea Foundation.

Lee, Jasmine
Member of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea. She is also Secretary General of Waterdrop Society of Korea.

Lee, Ki Kwang
Managing Vice President, Korean Air. He served as Vice President of Korean Air's International PR, Communications Strategy and Corporate Communications.

Lee, Kyung-Tae
Distinguished Professor, Korea University. President of the Institute for International Trade at Korea International Trade Association. Former President of the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP), and former Ambassador of the Korea's Permanent Delegation to the OECD.

Lee Seungcheol
Vice Chairman & CEO, Federation of Korean Industries (FKI). President of the FKI International Management Institute (IMI) and Chairman of Korea Economic Research Insti-

tute (KERI).

Lee Seung-Hoon
Professor of economic development at Seoul National University and Tübingen University. He served as Co-Chairman of the Green Growth Committee of the Korean government.

Lee, Seung-Hoon
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His Serene Highness Prince Michael of Liechtenstein
Founder and Chairman of Geopolitical Information Service AG. President of the think tank ECAEF (European Centre of Austrian Economics Foundation). He is also President of Industrie- und Finanzkontor.

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Social entrepreneur working in the fields of International Relations & Development. Founder of Amend Media.

Manley, John
President and CEO of the Canadian Council of Chief Executives (CCCE). Former Deputy Prime Minister of Canada. Following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, he





was named Chair of a Cabinet Committee on Public Security and Anti-terrorism.

Mariani, Thierry
French Member of Parliament for the 11th constituency for French Citizens Abroad. He is also Member of the Foreign Commission, Member of the French delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, and Co-President of the French-Russian Dialogue.

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Miyake, Kunihiro
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Moratinos, Miguel Ángel
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Spain and EU Special Representative for the Middle East Peace Process. Honorary Chairman of the CIRSD Board of Advisers, and Member of the Leadership Council of the UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN).

Morel, Pierre
Director of the Pharos Observatory of cultural and religious pluralism. Former EU Special Representative for Central Asia and for the crisis in Georgia. Former Ambassador to the Russian Federation, the People's Republic of China, and the Holy See.

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Morgulov, Igor V.
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation in charge of the relations with Asian countries. He was Head of the First Asia Department of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Counselor at the Russian Embassy in Beijing.

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Nicolas, Françoise
Director of the Center for Asian Studies, Ifri. Assistant Professor in international economics at the University of Paris-Est. She also teaches at Langues' O, Sciences Po (Paris) and Sciences Po (Lyon).

Noland, Marcus
Executive Vice President and Director of Studies at the Peterson Institute for International Economics. He was a Senior Economist at the Council of Economic Advisers in the Executive Office of the President of the United States.

Nordmann, François
Former Ambassador of Switzerland to France. Former Head of the Swiss Delegation to UNESCO, Ambassador to the United Kingdom and Permanent Representative to the international organizations in Geneva.

Noue, Bertrand (de la)
General Representative of Total in China and Chairman of Total (China) Investment. He was Chief Financial

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Nye, Joseph
Professor at the Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. Former Deputy to the Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology. He also chaired the National Security Council Group on Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

Oiknine, Dan
Chairman of the Franco-Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Founder of the India Trade Centre. He worked in the high-tech and internet industry, holding managing positions for technology leaders like Netapp and Enition.

Okçal, Arslan Hakan
Ambassador of Turkey to the Republic of Korea. He also served as Ambassador to the Republic of Macedonia and to the Republic of Nigeria.

Ortiz, Gonzalo
Ambassador of Spain to the Republic of Korea. He also held the positions of Consul General of Spain in Shanghai and Ambassador of Spain to Vietnam.

Oshima, Shotaro
Chairman of the Institute for International Economic Studies (IIES) and Visiting Professor at the Graduate School of Public Policy, University of Tokyo. Former Chairman of the General Council of the WTO.

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Member of the Advisory Board of the Security Council of the Russian Federation. Former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia. Former Ambassador to Norway, Japan and Korea.

Park, Geun-hye
President of the Republic of Korea. She was a Lawmaker in the 18th National Assembly and Member of the Health, Welfare and Family Affairs Committee. She was also Chairperson of the Grand National Party (GNP) and Member of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea.

Park, Heung Shin
Former Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to France. He also served as Ambassador to Finland. He joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1977.

Park, In-kook
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Chief of Cabinet, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mexico. Former Executive Director of IMF, Manager of domestic operations and of analysis of central bank operations at the Banco de México, and Professor in economics at the University of Chicago.

Pisani-Ferry, Jean
French Commissioner General for Policy Planning and Associate Professor at the Hertie School of Governance, Berlin. Former Director of Bruegel, Associate Professor at the Paris-Dauphine University, Executive President of the French PM's Council of Economic Analysis.

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Quatrepoint, Jean-Michel
French journalist and Co-President of the Institut de l'Économie. He was Head of the Nouvel Économiste, Editor of La Lettre A and of La Tribune de l'Expansion. He was also journalist in the economic section of Le Monde, and at Les Echos.

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Ambassador of Portugal to the Republic of Korea.

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Executive Chairman for the new Asia-Pacific entity of the Capgemini Group. Former Chairman & CEO of Sogeti and Member of Capgemini Group Executive Committee. He was also Vice Chief Executive of Cap Gemini France.

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Sheetrit, Meir
Member of the Israeli Knesset for the Kadima Party. He 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.

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Professor at the Korean National Diplomatic Academy. Former Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to Japan and to Israel. He served as second Vice Minister in charge of functional affairs in the foreign Ministry and first Vice Minister taking charge of regional affairs.

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Sur, Serge
Founder and former Director of the Thucydides Center-Analysis and Research in International Relations. Director of the French Yearbook of International Relations (AFRI). He is also Editor in chief of the bimonthly journal Questions internationales.

Tabet, Riad
President of Berit International Holding SA, President of Batiliban France-Franco-Arab Consortium for development, Board Member of the Executive Committee of the Franco-Arab Chamber of Commerce, Paris.

Torkunov, Anatoly V.
Russian scholar and diplomat, expert on Russian foreign policy and Asia-Pacific region. Rector of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO-University), Full Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

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Former President of the European Central Bank. Chairman of the Group of Thirty, Chairman of the Board of Bruegel Institute, and Honorary Governor of Banque de France. Former Governor at the World Bank.

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French historian and Director of the Policy Planning Staff at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Former

Associate Professor at the Paris Institute of Political Studies and Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution.

Vedal, Sverre
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Védrine, Hubert
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Veyry, Xavier
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Member of Total Professeurs Associés and of the Board of Directors of the Economic Institute Research Coe-Rexecode. He was Executive Vice President at Total in charge of Strategy and Risk Assessment and CFO of Elf Aquitaine.

**Wing, Rod A.**

Honors Professor at the Honors College, University of Arizona and Co-Chair of the College of Agriculture & Life Science Dean's Research Advisory Committee (DRAC). He served as Director of the Clemson University Genomics Institute.

Wu, Jianmin

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Yeoh, Michael

Founder & CEO of the Asian Strategy and Leadership Institute (ASLI), a leading independent think tank in Malaysia and Asean. Founder and Chairman of the World Chinese Economic Forum and the Asean Leadership Forum.

Yeom, Jae Ho

Professor of Public Administration at Korea University. He has been Vice President of Korea University.

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Yun, Byung-se

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea. He also served as Visiting Professor, Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS), Sogang University, and as Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea.

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President, Korea Institute of Finance. Professor of Finance at the University of Seoul. Former Professor of International Finance at Myong-Ji university.

Zhylevich, Natallia

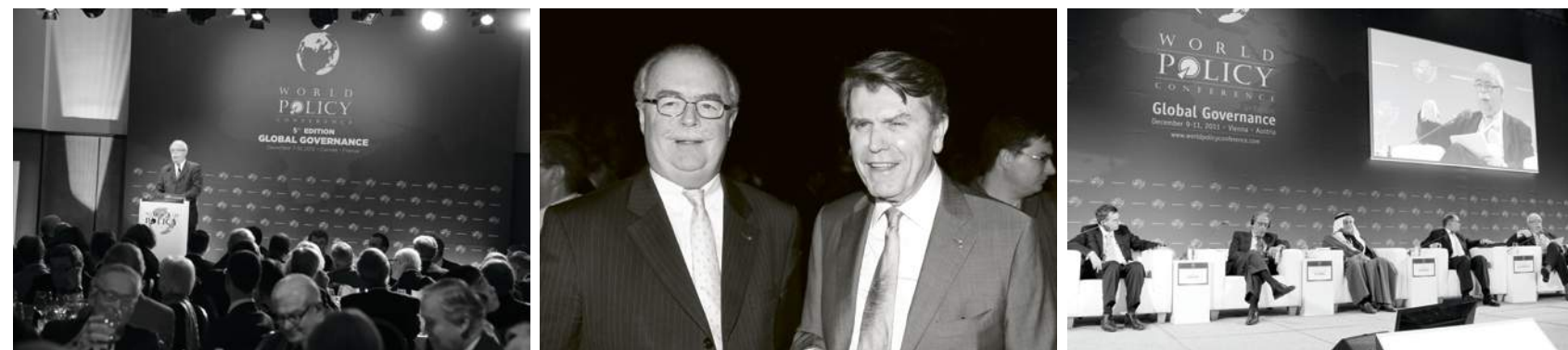
Ambassador of the Republic of Belarus to the Republic of Korea. She served as Deputy Permanent Representative of the Republic of Belarus to UNESCO (Paris, France) and Ambassador to the Republic of Turkey.

Thierry de Montbrial

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

He serves on the board or advisory board of a number of international companies and institutions. Thierry de Montbrial chaired the Department of Economics at the Ecole polytechnique from 1974 to 1992. He was the first Chairman of the Foundation for Strategic Research (1993-2001). Entrusted with the creation of the Policy Planning Staff (Centre d'analyse et de prévision) at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was its first Director (1973-1979). He has authored eighteen 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.



Christophe de Margerie, that great CEO with an outstanding sense of the general interest, perfectly understood the importance of think tanks and the role of international symposia in the spirit of civil society like this one, where people can get together to have in-depth discussions about global issues. The WPC never would have taken off without him.



OPENING SPEECHES

Full versions





Opening speeches

PARK GEUN-HYE
President of the Republic of Korea

President of IFRI Thierry de Montbrial

Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I offer my sincere congratulations on the opening of the 7th World Policy Conference.

Since its launch in 2008, the World Policy Conference has been a blue-ribbon forum spearheading discussions on global governance.

I find it very meaningful that Asia is hosting the first-ever WPC to be held outside of Europe, here in Seoul.

Today, we are joined by prominent figures from the political, business, and academic communities.

We look forward to the wise insights that these leaders will be bringing to the discussion table regarding major global issues and how the world should move forward.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Our complex and interconnected world of today is intricately intertwined, rather like a spider’s web. These are times when events happening in faraway countries – places from which we had been insulated in the past – can have enormous impacts on our own lives.

The fact that no country is free from the threat posed by the recent Ebola outbreak in Africa is a case in point.

Persistent poverty and large-scale natural disasters resulting from climate change are also serious challenges to mankind.

The recently intensifying national, religious, and geopolitical conflicts underscore how such conflicts cannot be resolved by one country alone, or several countries for that matter.

Despite the “never again” pledge by the international community in the aftermath of the genocides in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda in the 1990’s, we are currently witnessing further humanitarian disasters unfolding in Syria and Iraq.

Geopolitical conflicts such as the crisis in Ukraine are even giving rise to concerns that the world is returning to the Cold War era.

Such political risks are also having a negative impact on the global economy.

Although the world economy is gradually recovering from the global financial crisis of 2008, it has yet to recover its pre-crisis growth levels due to prolonged recessions in major economies and falling market confidence.

A faltering economy can even shake our faith in the universal values of humankind, such as democracy, human rights and the market economy.

But it is at times like these that the world must be ever truer to its most fundamental values and act together as one community to meet these challenges.

We must double down on our adherence to the values that are universal to humanity, such

as human rights and democracy, and build further trust and cooperation among countries and various other actors.

At the recent ASEM, APEC, EAS, and G20 summits, leaders agreed to pursue various measures to achieve global peace and security and make the global economy more resilient.

At these summits, I highlighted the importance of improving global governance and strengthening global economic resilience through more creative economies, deregulation, and public sector reform – a view widely shared by many leaders.

I hope that such consensus among leaders will serve as a catalyst for renewing global political and economic governance and promoting peace and happiness for humankind.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Korea is mindful of how various global issues – not only security-related issues such as nuclear non-proliferation, nuclear safety, terrorism, and cybersecurity but also climate change, development, and human rights challenges – have a direct and material bearing on people’s lives.

As a country that over the years has overcome many difficulties by working with the international community, Korea stands ready to actively contribute to improving global governance.

By hosting the Second Nuclear Security Summit in 2012, the Third International Conference on Cyberspace in 2013, and the ITU Plenipotentiary Conference in 2014, Korea has been a partner in shoring up global governance in a range of areas.

Moreover, Korea was the first emerging economy to host the G20 Summit in 2010, where it contributed to enhancing global financial governance by playing a bridging role between developed and developing countries.

As a country that suffered from the ravages of war and destitution and that continues to experience the pain of a divided nation, Korea is reaching out across the world and sharing in the pain and sorrow of those suffering from disasters and conflicts.

In 2011, Korea became the first Asian country to host the High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness(HLF-4) and shared with many countries our transition experience from aid recipient to aid donor.

Korea will continue to play a constructive role in addressing a range of global challenges such as achieving the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs), setting the post-2015 development goals, and establishing the post-2020 new climate regime.

In addition, Korea will actively promote a model for global poverty eradication and sustainable development by sharing our Saemaul Undong, which contributed to eliminating rural poverty in Korea.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I believe that building a framework of trust and cooperation on the Korean Peninsula and in East Asia will be crucial for a more peaceful and secure future for our world.

A mere few decades ago, East Asia was considered peripheral. Today, it is increasingly becoming the center of gravity of the world.

This is clearly seen in the fact that the three East Asian countries – Korea, China, and Japan – account for a quarter of global output and more than 20% of world trade.



East Asia’s tremendous potential can be instrumental in addressing world-wide problems such as unemployment, the gap between rich and poor, large-scale natural disasters caused by climate change, terrorism, and cybersecurity.

However, political mistrust and differences in East Asia are worsening despite deeper economic interdependence and the growing need for cooperation in the region.

This is hindering East Asia’s ability to reach greater heights and the international community’s quest to meet global challenges.

One cannot fail to mention North Korea’s unmitigated pursuit of nuclear weapons and its defiance of international trends as the greatest impediment to multilateral cooperation in the region.

North Korea’s nuclear program development is indeed the single-greatest destabilizing factor not just for the Korean Peninsula but also Northeast Asia. It also constitutes a serious threat to global peace.

North Korea has been in simultaneous pursuit of the utterly incompatible goals of building-up its nuclear weapons capabilities on the one hand and developing its economy on the other. If anything, this is exacerbating the human rights and humanitarian situation in North Korea.

After the 3rd Committee of the UN General Assembly passed a resolution to condemn North Korea for human rights violations on November 18, North Korea responded vehemently, again threatening the international community with the specter of “nuclear war.”

Added to this are issues stemming from history as well as ongoing territorial and maritime disputes and tensions among East Asian nations.

The extremely fraught state of East Asia today is often likened to that of Europe at the end of the 19th century. Some say the region is witnessing a «return of geopolitics.»

I firmly believe that the key to opening a true «Asian Century» lies in transforming the dynamics of mistrust and conflict into one of trust and cooperation.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

At the heart of East Asia’s problems lurks a trust deficit. Restoring trust is therefore the first order of business if we are to unravel the complex problems that East Asia faces today.

It is with this in mind that the Korean government is pushing forward with its Trustpolitik, which aims to build trust along three broad dimensions.

The first is building trust on the Korea Peninsula.

The path to resolving East Asia’s varied problems should begin with addressing the seven-decade-long division of the Korean Peninsula, an archaic remnant of the Cold War era.

When I took office last year, I put forth the «Trust-building Process on the Korean Peninsula» to usher in an «era of happiness on the Korean Peninsula».

This process aims to develop inter-Korean relations based on trust and pave the way for co-prosperity by leaving open the door to dialogue with the North, even as we maintain credible deterrence to safeguard peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula.

I proposed to the North that the two Koreas should first open small corridors that could help support the lives of ordinary people, the environment and cultural exchanges. Fur-

thermore, the Presidential Committee for Unification Preparation was launched to lay the groundwork for substantial cooperation between South and North Korea.

It is when the people of South and North Korea continue to take small but meaningful steps that include interactions with civil society groups, that the two Koreas will be able to become one community again.

Only when the people of the Korean Peninsula communicate, cooperate, and think of each other as partners that live under the same roof, rather than as existential threats, will peaceful unification be possible.

What is key is North Korea’s attitude.

If Pyongyang abandons its nuclear program and starts improving the livelihood of its people, Korea, along with the international community, will support its economic development and the shadow of the Cold War will be cast off.

The second is restoring trust in Northeast Asia.

The Korean government’s «Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative» aims at a new order of peace and reconciliation in the region by transforming the dynamics of mistrust and conflict into the dynamics of trust and a cooperation.

If countries in the region start building up habits of cooperation from concrete and practical areas such as nuclear safety, climate action, and energy security, it will be possible to build a multilateral cooperation process not unlike the one in Europe.

In order to achieve multilateral cooperation in Northeast Asia, it is important that Korea, China, and Japan, each with unique roles and statuses, step up and join hands.

The Korean government will work to host a trilateral Korea-China-Japan Foreign Ministers’ Meeting in the near future and build on that meeting to hold a trilateral summit.

Korea will also work together with key stakeholders, such as the United States and Russia, to advance an architecture of peace and cooperation in Northeast Asia. I hope North Korea, too, joins this architecture.

The third is expanding the infrastructure of trust in Eurasia through the «Eurasia Initiative».

Through communication and cooperation with major partner countries, the Korean government aims to promote closer Eurasian connectivity so that it can truly become a single continent.

To this end, the Korean government will give concrete shape to the «Eurasia Initiative» through trilateral cooperation projects among South and North Korea and Russia, and among South and North Korea and China.

In addition, we will extend our transportation and energy networks beyond Northeast Asia to the reaches of Eurasia. This will not only create a new growth engine for the 21st century global economy but also, in the mid-to-long term, build trust in the political and security domains.



Ladies and Gentlemen,

When the Trust-building Process on the Korean Peninsula, Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative, and Eurasia Initiative move forward successfully and in sync with one another, a corridor of trust and peace will open on the Korean Peninsula, which, as a bridge between ocean and land, will eventually unleash a new engine of growth for the international community.

Peaceful unification of the Korean Peninsula will hasten a new era of peace and prosperity in Northeast Asia and also contribute greatly to strengthening global governance for peace and security in Eurasia and beyond.

Unification of the Korean Peninsula, I would stress again, will be a «bonanza» not just for Korea but also for Northeast Asia and indeed humanity.

I hope that all of you here and indeed the international community will lend valuable support and join us in the quest to bring these initiatives for peace and security to fruition.

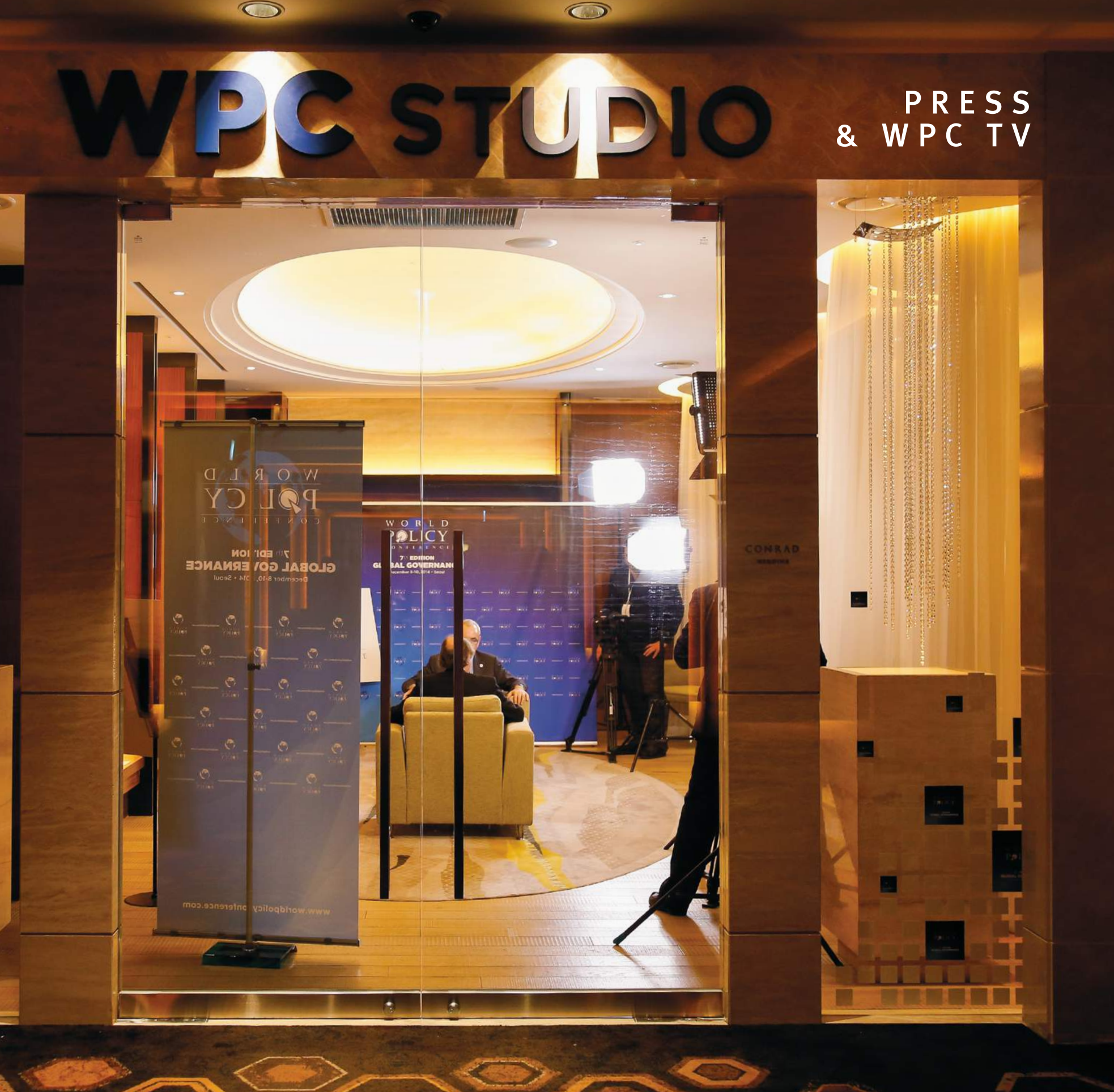
May today’s conference also present visions and constructive pathways for a peaceful and prosperous Northeast Asia, a peaceful world, and new global governance.

Thank you.

Opening speeches
Thierry de Montbrial

Madam President, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,
Since the first World Policy Conference in 2008, in Evian, Korea has been one of its most important partners and its main partner in Asia. This is no surprise, this nation being one of the leading “middle powers” on the planet, with values similar to those that underpin the European Union. Madam President, your diplomacy is working toward peaceful reunification across the peninsula, and recommends that confidence building measures be implemented in East Asia (“*Trust Politik*”). It also recommends an ambitious policy toward openness for the whole of Eurasia. Korea is a prominent and active member of the most important international organizations and successfully organized the 2010 G20 meeting.
By agreeing to open the 7th edition of the World Policy Conference, which is also a club, Madam President, you showed that the WPC and thus its objectives are welcome in your country. We aim to contribute to improving all aspects of local and regional governance, with a view to promoting a world that is more open, more prosperous, fairer and more respectful of the diversity of States and nations. We believe that collective security and Balance of Power are complementary goods and that, although the greatest powers hold special responsibilities for a world order to exist, such an order, in the in the XXIst century, should not look like a division of the planet into spheres of influence. To that end, regional organizations should be strengthened within the United Nations framework. They should emphasize the role of Middle powers, such as Korea, which are both eager to dedicate resources to the international system’s structural stability, above and beyond their immediate interests, and capable of doing so.
Since our last meeting in Monaco a year ago, the state of the world has not improved in any way. The absence of a regional security system in East Asia puts stability at

stake in this part of the world. Nonetheless, the diplomatic effort toward closer relations currently emerging between Japan and China must be hailed. It is indeed a constructive step forward when the existence of disagreements can be recognized and progress nonetheless sought on other issues. In the Middle East, where our civilization is challenged by barbarian forces, there is a glimmer of hope that an agreement will be reached with Teheran on nuclear arms, which would then pave the way for broader cooperation in a region that has become even more chaotic since the sudden advent of the so-called “Islamic State”. However, it is a flickering glimmer and the status of domestic politics today, both in the United States and Iran, do not bode well for a major breakthrough. Terrorism is also rearing its ugly head in Africa, where the havoc wrecked by the Ebola virus offers a reminder that human health and the climate are central factors in global governance. Year 2014 has also been shaped by the severe decline in the relations between Russia and the West around the question of Ukraine, with multiple geopolitical and geo-economic consequences, including the weakening of the European security system built during the Cold War. All that beg for apt analysis. The rise of nationalism and populism is not specific to Russia; it is a potentially serious threat to the lasting prospect of an open world, especially in case of a new major economic or financial crisis.
These and other major issues, such as inequalities, will be addressed at this 7th edition of the WPC, where it will also be our responsibility to strive for a better understanding of how these different issues interconnect. More than at previous sessions, we will naturally take an Asian perspective, though never losing sight of the fact that WPC’s soul is European. Let me emphasize again in concluding that the WPC, at its annual meeting, which is on a human scale, brings together leading figures from the five continents – political and business leaders, representatives of civil society, academics and journalists – in a climate of trust and a spirit of tolerance, to examine, discuss and suggest constructive solutions to major regional and international challenges.





United Kingdom,
AFRICA MATTERS LTD., 08.12.14

Speaking on the panel “Africa in a global context” of the World Policy Conference in Seoul, Baroness Lynda Chalker said that Malaysia, South Africa, China and India are the largest developing country investors in Africa, measured by (“FDI”).

France,
LIOBS, 11.12.2014

Dix-huit mois après l'affaire Snowden, quelles leçons peut-on en tirer pour améliorer la gouvernance mondiale d'Internet et de l'utilisation faites par les gouvernements du «Big data», la collecte massive de données numériques ? Diplomates et chercheurs en relations internationales réunis à l'occasion de la 7e édition de la World Policy Conference, à Séoul, ont bien du mal à trouver un terrain d'entente sur ce sujet.

Switzerland,
LE TEMPS, 16.12.14

Le dégagement des Etats-Unis rend-il la situation internationale plus dangereuse? Le monde était-il plus sûr quand Washington y assumait pleinement son leadership? Ce thème a occupé la World Policy Conference qui s'est tenue au début du mois à Séoul sous la direction de M. Thierry de Montbrial, directeur de l'Institut français des relations internationales.

Russia,
MOSCOW STATE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, 12.12.2014

В Сеуле А.Торкунов и А.Панов совместно с заместителем министра иностранных дел России И.Моргуловым приняли участие в работе VII форума «Глобальное управление», организованного влиятельной международной организацией World Policy Conference.

Japan,
THE JAPAN TIMES, 08.12.2014

“The establishment of a framework of trust and cooperation in the East Asian region, including the Korean Peninsula, is very important for the whole world to move into a more peaceful and secure future,” Park said in a speech at the seventh World Policy Conference.

Japan,
中央日報日本語版, 2014年12月09日

朴槿恵（パク・クネ）大統領は8日、「北東アジア多者協力のためには、独特の役割と地位を有している韓日中がまず協力することが重要だ」とし「韓国政府は近いうちに韓日中の外交長官会議を基礎に、3国間の首脳会談ができるように努力していこうと思う」と話した。第7次世界政策会議（W P C : World Policy Conference）開幕式の基調演説でだ。

Korea,
THE ESEOUL POST, 09.12.2014

박근혜 대통령은 8일 제7차 세계정책회의(World Policy Conference)에 참석하여 기조연설을 통해 ‘글로벌 거버넌스’ 개선을 강조하고, 한반도 통일이 세계 인류의 대박이 될 것이라고 말했다

China,
XINHUA, 08.12.2014

“North Korea (DPRK)’s nuclear development is the biggest destabilizing factor in Northeast Asia as well as in the divided Korean Peninsula, posing a serious threat to world peace,” Park said during a keynote speech at the World Policy Conference forum held in central Seoul.

China,
国际新闻与传播学院 时间：2014-12-17

第七届世界政策大会(The World Policy Conference)在韩国首尔召开，韩国总统朴槿恵致开幕词。我校国际新闻与传播学院教授刘琛作为国内唯一受邀学者参加大会并作了题为“中国走向全球化”的发言。

Philippines,
PHILSTAR, 09.12.2014

Security in East Asia remains “brittle,” highlighting the need for continued dialogue among countries in the region and the participation of the United States (US), speakers at an annual policy forum said on Monday. “The reality is, (the situation) is brittle. There is a possibility of accidents,” said Richard Haas, president of the Council on Foreign Relations, at the 7th World Policy Conference.

Serbia,
CIRSD, 09.12.14

The President of the Center for International Relations and Sustainable Development (CIRSD) Vuk Jeremić is participating in the traditional annual World Policy Conference, held in Seoul between December 8th and 10th. The conference was officially opened with remarks from South Korea's President Park Geun-Hye.

Canada,
CANADIAN INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL, 12.12.2014

This week, policymakers, business leaders, academics, civil society representatives and journalists from all five continents gathered in Seoul for the 7th annual World Policy Conference. Launched in 2008, this conference has grown into one of key venues for conversation on global governance.

United States,
GLOBAL POST, 11.12.2014

Launched in 2007 by the IFRI, a French research institute, the 7th World Policy Conference brought together some 300 prominent figures including political and business leaders, and civil society figures to discuss a set of global issues such as security in Asia and Europe, and climate change.The WPC session in Seoul was the first to take place in Asia.

Spain,
RACEF, 15.12.2014

Entre los participantes de la séptima edición de la World Policy Conference (WPC) se encontraban Geun-hye Park, Presidenta de la República de Corea, país anfitrión; el Príncipe Turki Al Faisal, Embajador de Arabia Saudí en Estados Unidos; Jean-Claude Trichet, ex Presidente del Banco Central Europeo; Pascal Lamy, ex Director general de la Organización Mundial del Comercio; Robert Gates, ex Secretario de Defensa de Estados Unidos.

Turkey,
HABERLER, 10.12.2014

Bakanlıktan yapılan açıklamaya göre 7. Dünya Politika Konferansı (World Policy Conference-WPC) 8-10 Aralık'ta Güney Kore'nin başkenti Seul'de gerçekleştirildi. Konferansta Türkiye'yi temsil eden Ceylan, ülkenin son 10 yılda edindiği kalkınma tecrübesiyle ilgili katılımcılara bilgi verdi.

Arabian Peninsula,
ALTAGREER, 11.12.2014

يف عويس إلى اذه لكراشي يثلا لصريفلا يثورت
برحل إلى نم دالب فقوم نع دنومول ل خرض لوييس
ناري إلى نمو قيم السالال قلودل انض

Lebanon,
L'ORIENT-LE JOUR, 12 .12.2014

La situation actuelle au Moyen-Orient ainsi que la place grandissante qu'occupe l'Asie dans le nouvel ordre mondial – dossiers liés à l'actualité internationale – ont été au centre de la 7e édition de la World Policy Conference (WPC) qui s'est tenue du 8 au 10 décembre à Séoul.

Qatar,
QATAR NEWS AGENCY, 08.12.2014

“The South Korean government will make efforts to ensure a trilateral summit can take place based on the meeting of their foreign ministers in the near future,” Park Geun-Hye said in a keynote speech at the World Policy Conference, an annual international meeting, in Seoul.





“

H.R.H. Prince Turki Al-Faisal

Our problems in the Middle East are treated in the conflict management way rather than in the conflict resolution way. [...] As we see in Syria, the world is willing to accept the killing of over 200,000 Syrians because now it is confined to Syria. It is the same in Iraq. Since the American invasion, the world is willing to accept Iraq as it stands today: ethnicities and sects that are fighting each other. To each of these problems, there is a solution.

“

Lamy, Pascal

Globalization is going on because the shaping force of the globalization, which is basically technological change, is there and will remain. Globalization understood in terms of trade opening is nothing but the transmission belt of this technological change. [...] The question is whether globalization is the problem or the solution. Under some conditions, which have not always been met everywhere, globalization is more on the side of the solution.

“

Kiviniemi, Mari

Inequality also affects growth. If inequality keeps rising at the same rate as it has been rising in the 30 last years, we will lose 8% of the GDB growth in the OECD countries in the next 25 years. That's quite a lot when we are not expecting very high rates in the global economy.

“

Amrani, Youssef

Regional integration must be a priority for African countries today in order to connect the energy and transport networks and build up a common future based on shared prosperity. At the end of the day, what is important is the number of jobs we can create for the people of the region.

“

Morgulov, Igor

Isolation is absolutely not possible. We are living in a period of serious transformation of the international relations. Unipolar world goes to history. There is no reason to doubt this. We are witnessing the emergence of a new multipolar system of international relations. There could be no Monroe doctrine being pursued by Russia in this new multipolar arrangement of the world.

“

Yu, Myung-Hwan

Through Eurasia Initiative, South Korea wants to increase connectivity between Europe and Far East Asia. [...] For that, we must have more contact with Central Asian countries, neglected because of ideological and religious barriers in the past. We want to connect the Korean railway to the Trans-Siberian railway. [...] Even before reunification, we can reach an agreement with North Korea, so that we can use its railway system in order to connect the South Korean railway to the Trans-Siberian railway.

“

Sheetrit, Meir

Paradoxically, the rise of the Islamic State is a very good reason for everybody to support much more strongly the solution of two states for two peoples. As a matter of fact, today in the Middle East, most of the Arab countries are fighting against the radical Islam just like we have been doing for many years. If we could solve the Palestinian problem, we could find ourselves in a coalition with all the Arab States fighting together against terrorism.

“

Védrine, Hubert

Since the end of the Soviet Union, Westerners by and large have shown a woeful lack of intelligence in relations with Russia in general and in the Ukraine affair in particular. [...] The build-up of sanctions was probably inevitable, but it has led us into an absurd dead end. [...] Leaders and officials should be wondering how to get out of this situation from above and not just get bogged down in sanctions.

“

Wu, Jianmin

China is disturbed by the repeated statements from the U.S. Administration about military alliances. [...] To my understanding, military alliances are a thing of the past. We have to develop mutually beneficial cooperations so that the foundation of the relationship between China and the rest of the world will grow stronger and stronger. [...] The cold war is over. We have to adapt to the new realities of today's world.

“

Montbrial, Thierry (de)

Although many Asians have come to past meetings, it was important to meet for the first time in Asia. South Korea was an ideal choice because it very precisely matches the definition of medium power we've been talking about since the first WPC.







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- Les Echos
- Forbes Asia
- International New York Times
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The French Institute of International Relations

Founded in 1979 by Thierry de Montbrial, on the model of Anglo-Saxon *think tanks*, Ifri is the principal institution for independent research and debate in France, dedicated to the analysis of international questions and global governance.

Ifri is the only French institution ranked 20nd among the 100 most influential *think tanks* in the world, according to the University of Pennsylvania's "Global Think Tank Report 2014".

Ifri's policy-oriented research strives to illuminate international events and put them into perspective. It is primarily useful for political and economic decision-makers as well as academics, opinion leaders, and civil society representatives.

Ifri is composed of more than 30 researchers (French and foreign) from a wide range of backgrounds and disciplines, who make up 12 research units organized around regional areas: *Europe, Russia/NIS, Asia, United States, North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Turkey, and the Middle East* and crosscutting approaches: *Security and Strategic Affairs, Energy, Space, Migration and Citizenship*.

Ifri's research and debate are covered in the institute's various collections as well as in top publications such as the quarterly journal *Politique étrangère* and the annual report *RAMSES*. Ifri publishes its studies and analyses in *French, English, German and Russian*.

The website www.ifri.org is the first media through which Ifri's debates, work and studies are disseminated. Ifri is on *Facebook, Twitter, Google+* and *LinkedIn*. More than 300 videos are available on *Dailymotion*.

Each year, Ifri organizes more than 100 conferences and debates in France and abroad, about twenty international events and numerous workshops and seminars. At its events, Ifri welcomes more than 120 high-level guests, among them heads of state and government officials.

Through its office in Brussels – open since March 2005 – Ifri has an active interface between Paris and the capital of the EU. Ifri's mission is to enrich European debate and, through its multidisciplinary approach, cover all dimensions of international relations.

W P C

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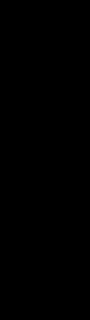
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