In hindsight, it seems increasingly likely that, after two decades of illusions, confusion and blunders following the fall of the Soviet Union and the “poster system”, conference will consider 2008 to start of the 21st century. The nature of the symptoms of the Great Depression made 2008 a turning point in economic history. The same year, the Georgian crisis revealed that the collapse of an empire inevitably varies in a series of crises, the massive drain of which is currently unfolding in Ukraine’s separatist provinces. The very badly named “Aqah spill” of 2010-2011 dealt a decisive blow to Women’s ideologists who, like American neoconservatives, still believed that supplanting authoritarian regimes or dictatorships was all it would take for democracy to thrive. In late spring 2014, the sudden emergence of a self-proclaimed “Islamic 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 Human 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 remains what it always has been for the most part: a moral monologue. The major powers in their foreign policy, in some emerging countries, such as Brazil and India, economic growth is coming up against challenges. 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 homogeneous 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 two countries so strongly committed to reconciliation? The misunderstanding of naïve globalisation comes from underestimating this basic truth and, all the more so, in its consequences. In the same line of thinking, there is, in particular, indistinct knowledge about the “grand strategies”, explicit 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 incoherently evoked existence engenders utmost mistrust, 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 merely means more than mention and passion, thereby fostering less instability than visibility in the international system. By setting the goal of helping to improve global governance, the WPC focuses on a limited yet already very ambitious issue: how to maintain a reasonably open international system and deepen it over the long term. In fact, 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 Islamic revolution. They believe that reason is more likely than emotions or passions to promote peaceful, and therefore open and tolerant, coexistence between cultures and civilizations. For us, the idea of shared civilisations is far from invincible. It can only result from a sustained improvement between peoples, often starting with good intentions. This implies suspending expectations and understanding the time scales proper to each of them. Successful governance requires amongst all these elements. An immense task lies before those who are constantly preoccupied with this question, which goes well beyond an “institutional Empty set”. The purpose of the WPC is therefore hope, without which it would be meaningless. Thanks to its status although it addresses global issues, its soul is fully European, but 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 prominent role. And the “grand strategy” concept means 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 globalization, 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, that such a way can no longer be the way to settle major conflicts of interest. Instead, accordingly it is not enough to invoke the virtues ascribed to formal concepts of the market economy and democracy.
P R O G R A M M E
Wednesday, December 8
10:00 – 10:30 OPENING SESSION
Moderator: Thierry de Montbrial, Chairman and CEO, World政商论坛 (WPC)

10:30 – 10:50 PLENARY SESSION 1: “Security governance in East Asia and in Europe”
Moderator: Dominique Moïsi, President and CEO, Center for International Relations Policy (CERI)

Speakers:
- Anastoli Torunov, Executive Vice President and Director of Studies, Peterson Institute for International Economics (PIIE); France
- Dominique de Villepin, President of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the French National Assembly; France

10:50 – 11:00 COFFEE BREAK

11:00 – 12:00 PARALLEL WORKSHOPS

11:00 – 11:15 PARALLEL WORKSHOP 1: “Security governance in East Asia and in Europe”
Chair: Thierry de Montbrial, Chairman and CEO, World政商论坛 (WPC)
- Joseph Nye, Professor of Government at Harvard University; USA
- John Manley, President and CEO, Canadian Council of Chief Executives; Canada
- John M. Kiriakou, Senior Representative of Chile, World Trade Organization; Chile
- Luis Angel Almagro, Secretary General of the Organization of American States (OAS); USA
- H. E. Groves, former Minister of Defence of the Philippines; Philippines

11:15 – 11:30 PARALLEL WORKSHOP 2: “Security governance in East Asia and in Europe”
Chair: Dominique Moïsi, President and CEO, Center for International Relations Policy (CERI)
- Thierry de Montbrial, Chairman and CEO, World政商论坛 (WPC); France
- Sergei Karaganov, Honorary Chairman of the Board of the Non-governmental Centre for Foreign and Defense Policy of Russia; Russia
- Miguel Angel Moratinos, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain
- Mor Ozmoni, Member of the Kraus Stiftung Committee, former Minister of Internal Affairs of Israel; Slovenia
- Hubert Védrine, former French Minister of Foreign Affairs

11:30 – 11:45 COCKTAIL

11:45 – 12:15 PLENARY SESSION 2: “Revolutions for the Korean Peninsula and Northern Asia”
Moderator: Yutaka Aso, Executive Vice Chairman, Asia Pacific Financial Forum; Japan

Speakers:
- H. E. Park Tae-Kul, Ambassador of the Republic of Korea; Korea
- Joseph Nye, Professor of Government at Harvard University; USA
- Daniel Dăianu, President of the National Bank of Poland
- Marek Belka, Senior Advisor of the Center for Energy, Ifri; former Deputy Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF); Poland

12:00 – 12:15 COFFEE BREAK

12:15 – 13:15 LUNCH DEBATE
Chair: Richard Haass, President of the Council on Foreign Relations; USA

Chair: Patrick Messerlin, Director of CIGI’s Global Security & Politics program; Canada

Speakers:
- Steven J. Cohen, Professor of International Economics at Harvard University; USA
- John Manley, President and CEO, Canadian Council of Chief Executives; Canada
- John M. Kiriakou, Senior Representative of Chile, World Trade Organization; Chile
- Londis Sprent, Consulate General of France in New York; USA

13:30 – 13:45 COFFEE BREAK

13:45 – 15:00 PLENARY SESSION 3: “Climate change and environment”
Moderator: Daniel Dăianu, President of the National Bank of Poland

Speakers:
- Michael Bloomberg, President of the Bloomberg L.P.; USA
- Yutaka Aso, Executive Vice Chairman, Asia Pacific Financial Forum; Japan
- Hubert Védrine, former French Minister of Foreign Affairs
- John Manley, President and CEO, Canadian Council of Chief Executives; Canada
- John M. Kiriakou, Senior Representative of Chile, World Trade Organization; Chile
- Londis Sprent, Consulate General of France in New York; USA

15:00 – 15:30 COCKTAIL

15:30 – 17:00 PLENARY SESSION 4: “Trade and politics”
Moderator: Patrick Messerlin, Director of CIGI’s Global Security & Politics program; Canada

Speakers:
- Michael Hall, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey; Turkey
- Laurent Fabius, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of France
- Kunihiko Miyake, Research Director, The Canon Institute for Global Studies, Japan
- Sergei Karaganov, Honorary Chairman of the Board of the Non-governmental Centre for Foreign and Defense Policy of Russia; Russia
- Miguel Angel Moratinos, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain
- Mor Ozmoni, Member of the Kraus Stiftung Committee, former Minister of Internal Affairs of Israel; Slovenia
- Hubert Védrine, former French Minister of Foreign Affairs

17:00 CLOSING SESSION

Programme details and updates are available at www.worldpoliticsforum.org.
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.
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.

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 continent, based on the recognition of the bitter past that was behind Europe. In the case of Asia, there were wars, starting with the war in Korea, the Vietnam War, Cambodia and Laos. The legacy of the war is still there and it is a bitter past, and this has an important 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.

Jean-David Levitte
Distinguished Fellow, Brookings Institute
Richard Haass
President of the Council on Foreign Relations

Security governance in East Asia and in Europe
In Asia, what can be considered post-21st century geopolitics did not disappear even after the end of the Cold War. In Europe, if geopolitics was waning 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 in a way that is more in line with China’s system of governance. 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. Korea has had an alliance system led by the US. The US and its allies claim that the alliance 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 realization by leaders that they are all interdependent in economic and security matters.

Security governance in East Asia and in Europe

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 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 the process of improving the security situation in the region.

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 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 needs 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 is determined to continue the 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.

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Prospects for the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia

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 not one question is this intractable issue, namely the attitudes of China. Actually, the differences between the Korean and the German experience are quite 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. I think the 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 pursuing 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.
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 behavior 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 unfulfilled. 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.

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 drivers and societal realities, including massive investment in education, an open, export-driven economy and high levels of savings, and, therefore, investment. ...One is already facing this interdependent world, and the coming wave will require its stability, and it will do so in a context of rising expectations of Northeast Asia’s challenges. Of course, disagreements among Northeast Asians, in political, economic and security dimensions, must be managed and settled peacefully. ...It seems to me that, despite the difficulties of the final agreement, the two political and multilateral and bilateral relations 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 in bringing North and South closer together. ...
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 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.

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 behind everywhere. […] There were large gaps between people from different socio-economic backgrounds in health, education, strength of social connections, political empowerment and sense of personal security. […] Inequality is a problem, not only socially and 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 skill development. […] Globalisation itself does not directly influence inequality. Skill-biased technological change, 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. Globalisation itself does not directly influence inequality. Skill-biased technological change, 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. Globalisation itself does not directly influence inequality. Skill-biased technological change, 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.
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 is that inequality is a much more complicated phenomenon than poverty, and we should keep them separate analytically. My fourth point is that 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 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. [...] Inequality...
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 symptoms. 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 Iran’s interventions 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. […] 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, an identity, as a border, as a geographical and geopolitical location, and its contributions to humanity are countless, so I am not pessimistic about Egypt. […] 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 make Saudi Arabia a victim is beyond my comprehension.
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, in my view, 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 the 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 and the transfer of 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 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 intra-regional 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 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 satisfactory results from the beginning. Even five years later, we see a looming of regional conflicts and border telluric, we see two types of tensions, the first being transversal, with the circulation of fake medicines and cybercrime, which needs to be watched carefully, and the second being domestic tensions, which arise due to increasing inequality and joblessness, which leaves the young people of Africa hungry and angry. […] There is no doubt about the narrative of Africa 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 joblessness. 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 in their 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 respond in order to achieve sustainable human development and ensure inclusive growth and progress for all. Africa must take its fate in its own hands, overcome the barriers to its socio-economic development and create jobs for its youth. To achieve this, it needs to focus more resources on education. The first challenge 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 intra-regional cooperation. […] 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

A word about institutional Eurasia. This is an economic union project under Russian leadership that took effect in January 2015. This idea is that there’s a force field between the two poles of the Eurasian landmass that must be organized around a centre of independent power, less prosperous, less populated, but with plentiful resources, and that must be put in the same level as the United States and China. [...] This is the reference for European economic union in 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 that’s to decide, it upon 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 for Eurasian countries. Countries must engage in economic cooperation with neighbours. [...] 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.

Michel Foucault
Director of political geographies 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)
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. [...]. Both Koreas can reach an agreement, this plan could be carried through quite quickly and will help create an atmosphere of trust between the two Korean states. [...]. 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. [...]. 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 OSCE is a good example of a regional organization [...]. The third point involves what the European Union does in Central Asia. The EU approach to Central Asia is based on cooperation, especially trade and cooperation agreements. [...]. The European Union and the European Union discussed common economic projects and trade, we see that an ambitious project is needed, because at the moment South Korea is China’s efforts to develop the region. And perhaps economic and geo-economic realities will eventually prevail.

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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

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 [...] Second, 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. The 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 (NEAPC) is aimed at transforming the tension of the region into harmony and trust. NEAPC is a multilateral cooperation mechanism for starting a dialogue amongst nations in the region.
The world is increasingly complex, and our political econo-
mics 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 au-
tomation, lack of leadership, rising geostrategic competition
among key actors, the weakening of representative democ-
ry, rising pollution in the developing world, increasing fre-
quency of severe weather events, intensifying nationalism,
and rising protectionism in the global economy [...]. Politics
drives the responses to all these major problems, and it is in the 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 [...]. lift up the greatest possible ambition in their members, and in this way they can spur others to keep up and become building blocks rather than standing blocks to greater glob-
al integration [...]. Regional agreements need to continue to inspire global trade rules, or at the very least set special rules to developing nations.

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 in and problems through the
      trade to WTO’s dispute settlement, but there is increasing
      disadvantage 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 fish-
      eries subsidies, lie unattended.
   e. Lack of a shared vision on the trading system and political
      leadership to promote progress.

China now takes a very cautious approach to trade liberalisa-
tion. Nevertheless, it would be very important to have contin-
uous communication with Chinese leaders and persuade them
in participate in the multilateral efforts to achieve a more open
world trading environment. The current consensus-based deci-
sion-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
liberalisation. Therefore, market liberalisation through the multi-
lateral trade negotiations faced relatively less resistance com-
pared to those through bilateral FTA negotiations. Also Korea
has so far given a lot of compensations to losing industries.
Now it is time to analyze the effects of various compensa-
tions and inform the general public and NGOs of these results.

The relationship between trade and politics, whether domestic
or international, is fundamentally changing as we are transi-
ting from an old world of trade into a new one, and 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, discrep-
ancies 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 WTO negotiations took
the shape, and this is one of the reasons why, even more than in
the past, it is a question of transparency.
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.

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 that are not defined by a domestic agenda.
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 Shiites and Sunnis?
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.

Miguel Angel Moratinos
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain

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

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

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 in peace with all 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 context, I 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 no other choice but to make that step. [...] During the last negotiations under John Kerry, we were not talking to each other, how can you 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 an uncertain situation, and we have to deal with this with open eyes. What could we do? We should not interfere, let democracy develop or interfere in the way of war, or with anything, let the people of the area find their own solution. There should be some sort of dialogue. Expanding democracy or socialism or whatever, and, by the way, stop ostracizing Israel. It is the only beacon of stability there, and we see more and more ostracizing of Israel. The other beacon of stability in that area we should not undermine, is of course, Iran; it is the most civilized 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.
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 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. […] 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. […] 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 to it. The current game of Gafa is bringing major changes to our laws and business models. 44% 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 right. The report is that Europe is weakened by a non-coordinated policy approach. The right and the importance of data protection as part of international relations is one of the raised questions. We should carefully examine 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. […] 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. 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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 self-interest is in being 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. They do not aspire to being the dominant power 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, as you can tell. 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 recognize 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.
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.

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 Berl 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 security, social or climate issues, but seems to have had direct implications on how these countries, development models and international economic systems interacted. 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 has made it clear that new instruments are necessary. defining a new multilateralism has become an absolute necessity. this is a major ethical debate. democracy must also penetrate and become a key force in international relations and 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 been some striking examples of successful international cooperation and even, perhaps, the beginnings of some global governance. [...]. the most striking of those 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.
In a globalized world, strategic issues that affect South Asia would have spillover impacts in other parts of the world. South Asia has a very diverse population. It also has a strong religious footprint of Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism. Need to develop trust politics and increase the level of trade in the South-Asian region. Regional stability in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Middle East region is critical from a global security perspective. Want a better handle on the root cause of the conflict and use three of the conference themes to do so. Starting with global security. In Latin America we have no significant religious, ethno-cultural, or national identities 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 it almost every single one and of course at the doorstep of the US are 500 million people who live in Latin America. 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 are 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 Euratom project, the US, Japan, and perhaps a number of other countries, all these like-minded countries have to work together and discuss the means of controlling nationalisms. [...] In a globalized world, strategic issue that affects South Asia would have spillover impacts in other parts of the world. South Asia has a very diverse population. It also has a strong religious footprint of Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism. Need to develop trust politics and increase the level of trade in the South-Asian region. 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PARALLEL WORKSHOPS
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 banking sector is a bank’s weakness. 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 part, because Japan’s economy will have growing 1%. The US current account deficit is equal to 4% 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 insurmountable growth. Of course that’s surprising.

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 if we restructure and underpin the world in some substantial debt restructuring. […] In a world with enormous capital markets, small differences in macro-economic conditions can lead to enormous capital flows. There 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 inflows 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.

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 emphasis 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 manner compared with two years ago. We have a strong intention to participate in the third arrow policy by challenging the emerging markets in Asia. We’ll need 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.
There is also a very serious Eurozone crisis [...]. Secondly, we have seen an appreciation of global cognitive and operational models [...] Thirdly, it is an issue of lack of effective policy coordination [...]. Fourth, there is a growing discussion between people, the social body, and policy-makers about the political climate [...] the vision of innovation, growth, and competitiveness, as we are facing it today, is quite different from the European project, then we have plenty of reasons to be worried to the point of some And finally, [...]. we are actually, we have still much more banking and shadow banking. [...] we are actually; we have still much more banking so there is a new level playing field to be created between bright [...]. We are actually; we have still much more banking and shadow banking. [...] we are actually, we have still much more banking so there is a new level playing field to be created between bright and, as I said, we have the tools to create a fairer market, which is far away because of the lobbying, sorry. Therefore, as long as we do not reform the financial sector, monetary policies have been subdued so far. What is one of the lessons 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 policies, on the one hand, gave time for other policies to work. Sometimes this has been used poorly, sometimes this has been used correctly, as the example of US-China, which some of the colleagues, say, from Brazil, were quite concerned about. Therefore, I think that, all-in-all, it shows that monetary policies, on the one hand, gave time for other policies to work. Sometimes this has been used poorly, sometimes this has been used correctly, as the example of US-China, which some of the colleagues, say, from Brazil, were quite concerned about. Therefore, I think that, all-in-all, it shows that monetary policies, on the one hand, gave time for other policies to work. Sometimes this has been used poorly, sometimes this has been used correctly, as the example of US-China, which some of the colleagues, say, from Brazil, were quite concerned about. Therefore, I think that, all-in-all, it shows that monetary policies, on the one hand, gave time for other policies to work. Sometimes this has been used poorly, sometimes this has been used correctly, as the example of US-China, which some of the colleagues, say, from Brazil, were quite concerned about. Therefore, I think that, all-in-all, it shows that monetary policies, on the one hand, gave time for other policies to work. Sometimes this has been used poorly, sometimes this has been used correctly, as the example of US-China, which some of the colleagues, say, from Brazil, were quite concerned about. Therefore, I think that, all-in-all, it shows that monetary policies, on the one hand, gave time for other policies to work. Sometimes this has been used poorly, sometimes this has been used correctly, as the example of US-China, which some of the colleagues, say, from Brazil, were quite concerned about. Therefore, I think that, all-in-all, it shows that monetary policies, on the one hand, gave time for other policies to work. Sometimes this has been used poorly, sometimes this has been used correctly, as the example of US-China, which some of the colleagues, say, from Brazil, were quite concerned about. Therefore, I think that, all-in-all, it shows that monetary policies, on the one hand, gave time for other policies to work. Sometimes this has been used poorly, sometimes this has been used correctly, as the example of US-China, which some of the colleagues, say, from Brazil, were quite concerned about. Therefore, I think that, all-in-all, it shows that monetary policies, on the one hand, gave time for other policies to work. Sometimes this has been used poorly, sometimes this has been used correctly, as the example of US-China, which some of the colleagues, say, from Brazil, were quite concerned about. Therefore, I think that, all-in-all, it shows that monetary policies, on the one hand, gave time for other policies to work. Sometimes this has been used poorly, sometimes this has been used correctly, as the example of US-China, which some of the colleagues, say, from Brazil, were quite concerned about. Therefore, I think that, all-in-all, it shows that monetary policies, on the one hand, gave time for other policies to work. Sometimes this has been used poorly, sometimes this has been used correctly, as the example of US-China, which some of the colleagues...
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. [...] In negotiations 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. [...] This is a problem that all countries have to face: we are all accountable to our citizens who will say that it is a failure of the enterprise, but it is highly doubtful 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.

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 in seven degrees afterwards. This would be absolute catastrophe for all our countries and their inhabitants. We must take action. Action is possible. Greenhouse gas emissions must be cut, and 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.

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. [...] 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 complicated UN context. Except for playing a perfunctory role in some of these developments, UN has been largely absent from the forefront of solving anything of there—this is due to broad failures of UN leadership is unfortunately reflective. In multipolar world where you face growing security and development and climate challenges, UN is needed more than ever.
2. Energy, climate change and environment

Since 2000, global energy demand is up 33%. All growth is in non-OECD. [...] Workers are currently well supplied but problems may arise, and growth in coal production will concentrate in the US, Canada, Brazil and the Middle East. Production elsewhere fades off [...] Less is different: for new gas sources, supply is a European issue, but things should improve even if Russia does not enter the LNG game. [...] Regarding nuclear, while capacity rises to 46% by 2040, this is no nuclear renaissance: [...] nuclear capacity is seen in just a few markets. [...] More realism is the two-degree target: [...] we cannot emit any additional CO2 from 2040 if we want to achieve the two-degree target. [...] The energy system is not transforming quickly enough to meet the two-degree target.

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.
2. Energy, climate change and environment

Christian Bréchot
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 understand the biology of infectious diseases (including the environment). Climate change will also influence the patterns of diseases. The impact of the intestinal microbiota, the bacteria of the intestine, our second genome, on obesity, diabetes, inflammation of organs but also neurological 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. Environmental 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 Delta 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 transmissibility.

Lee Seung-Hoon
Professor Emeritus of Seoul University
Dean of the Institute of Green Growth

With fuels 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 emissions is a fundamental right of human existence and activity, this right should be equalised, and each person should be assigned to each human being in compliance with the target. [...] Climate change researchers will be paid for this, but they are not to use this money as they wish, they are required to spend the revenue from this trading only for licensing green technology.

Anil Ratan
Former Power Secretary of India

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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-win and lose-lose scenarios. Something that did not touch on was a focus on water in mitigation strategies for these individual pollutants, and finally there was the topic 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.

Anaíl 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 that we need to focus on, and you have to look at electric cars and mass rapid transportation systems. [...] Call efficient coal capacity should also be seen as possible, then introduce wind 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.

Source: Vedral, Anil. "Energy, climate change and environment: parallel workshop 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 emissions is a fundamental right of human existence and activity, this right should be equalised, and each person should be assigned to each human being in compliance with the target. [...] Climate change researchers will be paid for this, but they are not to use this money as they wish, they are required to spend the revenue from this trading only for licensing green technology.”

Lee Seung-Hoon, Professor Emeritus of Seoul University, Dean of the Institute of Green Growth

Source: Bréchot, Christian. “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 understand the biology of infectious diseases (including the environment). Climate change will also influence the patterns of diseases. The impact of the intestinal microbiota, the bacteria of the intestine, our second genome, on obesity, diabetes, inflammation of organs but also neurological 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. Environmental 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 Delta 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 transmissibility.”

Christian Bréchot, President of the Institut Pasteur
3. Agroindustry in Africa and Asia

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 fashionable for a cohesive development in African agriculture. The legal infrastructure around property rights and landlines are the preconditions of the national governments in Africa. Commitments from all the stakeholders for the adequate training of HRD and transfer of technology need to be introduced. African countries should receive training to recognize the kind of agroindustry which will help in using scientific agricultural implements in Africa. Promote the African farmers to join agriculture education, library 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, used African youth to get training in agriculture sciences and develop technology as per local needs, open Rural Cooperative Banks to strengthen micro-credit in Africa.

[...] 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 in.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 stresses 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 of getting 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 sharing about our experience and there has been a lot of exchange of expertise 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 farmers or small enterprises 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-recognized.

Rod A. Wing, Professor, University of Arizona

 [...] The big question 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, fertilizer 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 tease out the genes of all the wild relatives of rice and we can use this information to improve agriculturally important traits. [...] The big idea is to take the 10,000 rice accessions and plant them in various locations around the world, phenotype them and capture the natural variation so that we can create the next generation of rice that will allow us to keep up with the world's population.

Philippa Chalmé, Professor, Paris Diderot University

Political goals are essential to understand the objectives and means of agricultural policies. Quite often in developing countries and especially in Africa in the main focus is on providing 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 high prices and public budgets are too limited to provide either food or income support. The real issue now is that in countries like India and China 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
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 neighbors, 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 non-nuclear existence of two Korea working together towards an eventual unification. There is a good chance of achieving unification.
No doubt, the most pressing and urgent issue in North Korea’s nuclear weapons programs. Even at this very moment, Pyongyang 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. The benefits of prosperity and development will fall everywhere, but not equally. 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.

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

The future of diplomacy
Joseph NYE
University Distinguished Service Professor, Center for Public Leadership, Harvard Kennedy School

Americans never had full hegemony. There is a lot of 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 China. […] some in the administration say, ‘If we put more sanctions on now, you are going to reduce that probability to zero or zero.’ My own inclination is for diplomacy, which some in the administration say, ‘It is not a good idea, and it is a mistake.’ The world has gone from a world of great power to one where the US is not the most powerful. There are very few sanctions on China. That is why I think 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 be ongoing conversations about how much sanctions relief that 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 manage 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,’

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 defense 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 what it looks like now. […] there has 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 be ongoing conversations about how much sanctions relief that 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 manage 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 grew 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. Including the most severe crisis year of 2009, the average growth rate of GDP is recorded at 5% over the last decade. [...]

These structural reforms, which were realized rapidly with the contribution of the EU membership process, have focused on more liberalization 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.
GA LA DINNER & NETWORKING
Thierry de Montbrial
There is no reason why our Korean friends thought that it might be a good idea to have the meeting of the WPC in Seoul. This appeared to them understandable the relevance of the European Union.

Jin-Ryu Ryu
Chairman & CEO, Pongseong 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 goals and beyond the will 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 (KOFIS)
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 just 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 Montebrial and the WPC on this timely and important conference. Indeed, it’s hard to overstate the significance of today’s gathering, given what’s happening in this part of the world.

Ribal al-Assad
It was a pleasure meeting you at the World Policy Conference, and thank you again for inviting me.

It was an honour and a privilege to be in Seoul, and to have the opportunity to share with such an enlightening and progressive forum. As you know, the themes of freedom and democracy are very close to my heart, 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.

Mohamed Lachribi
Congratulations on the Seoul WPC Summit, which was a great success. The organizers did an excellent job and the quality of the debates was very high. I saw my role as one who has already expressed the satisfaction.

François Drouin
It was with great interest and pleasure that I participated in the Seoul WPC. The entire event was perfect. All the sessions were very high. Thank you again and congratulations for organizing the distance in 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 which I am obviously sensitive.

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 discussions were stimulating, and again I believe I gained a lot from the conference.

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

Lynda Chalker of Wallasey
It was a pleasure and an honour to be with you. I look forward to next year in Montreux.

Suresh Kumar
Thanks for everything—really enjoyed the arrangements and the hospitality provided to me at Seoul. The environment during my keynote presentation was as positive as I expected during my lecture and followed by fruitful discussion.

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Germain, Nicolas (a) CEO and founder of Randstad, an international human resources group. He is a member of the Advisory Board of the World Economic Forum.

Genot, Thomas
Co-Head of Research at Strategy Development at INSEAD in Paris. He was also a research associate at the University of Bocconi in Milan.

Gevaert, Vuk
Member of the International Advisory Board of the Atlantic Council.

Ghebre, Richard
President of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) in Washington D.C.

Gheorghe, Paul
Chair of the Romanian National Security Council.

Ghosh, Arindam
Director of Development and Global Operations at the Rockefeller Foundation.

Gill, John
Executive Director of the Global Commission on International Mobility and Education at the World Economic Forum.

Gizzi, Gary
Chairman of the Board of Directors at the Brookings Institution.

Gleisner, Henrik
Director of the European Institute for Research and Planning.

Glück, Emmanuel
Professor at the University of Geneva.

Go, Yun-suk
Professor of Management at Sogang University in Seoul, South Korea.

Go, Booth School of Business.

Goody, Sir E.A.
Professor Emeritus at Cambridge University.

Goggin, John
Professor of Business Administration at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Golzarian, Keshmir

Gompers, Paul
Chairman of the Board of Directors at the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research.

Gonzalez, Mari
Chairman of the Board of Directors at the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research.

Gorshenin, Oleg
Founding President of the Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration.

Gottschalk, Peter
Professor of Economics at Princeton University.

Gould, Tim
Professor of Public Policy and Director of the Domestic Policy Studies Project at the Brookings Institution.

Gravel, Ramon
President of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business.

Gray, Nick
Professor of Economics at the University of New South Wales.

Green, David
Director of the Centre for Economic Policy Research.

Greenbaum, Steven
Director of the Institute for Studies in International Development.

Greif, Avner
Professor of Economics at Stanford University.

Grewal, Rajiv
Senior Partner at the law firm of Argo Law.

Grier, Kevin
President and CEO of the Center for Global Development.

Grimvall, Gustaf
Chairman of the Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences.

Grumiaux, Marie
Professor at the University of Paris 13.

Guéguen, Jean-Pierre
Director of the Observatory for the Luxembourg Office for the Development of the Taxable Income.

Guézou, Blaise
Professor of Economics at the University of Yaoundé.

Guern, Dominique
Professor of Economics at the University of Paris 1.

Ghent, Donald
President of the Miller Center for Public Affairs.

Ghosh, Amit
Director of the Center for East Asia Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution.

Ghoshal, Syam
Chairman of the Board of Directors at the Indian Institute of Management, Bangalore.

Ghose, Tapan
Director of the Global Development Institute at the University of Manchester.

Ghosh, Prasanta
Director of the Centre for Development Studies.

Ghose, Samir
Professor at the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad.

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Director of the Global Development Institute at the University of Manchester.

Ghose, Samir
Professor at the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad.

Ghose, Tanmoy
Director of the Centre for Development Studies.

Ghose, Samir
Professor at the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad.

Ghose, Tapan
Director of the Global Development Institute at the University of Manchester.

Ghose, Samir
Professor at the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad.
Wing, Rod A.
Honors Professor at the Honors College, University of Arizona and Co-Chair of the College of Agricultural & Life Science Dean’s Research Advisory Committee (DRAC). He served as Director of the Clemson University Bioscience Institute.

Wu, Jianmin
Executive Vice Chairman of China Institute for Innovation and Development Strategy, Member of the Foreign Policy Advisory Committee of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, Former President of China Foreign Affairs University, and Ambassador to France.

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.

Yim, Sung-Joon
Senior Advisor at Lee International IP & Law Group. Former President of the Korea Foundation, Korean Ambassador to Canada and Egypt, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and National Security Advisor to President Kim Da-jung.

Yu, Myung-hwan
Chairman and Chair Professor, Sejong University. Senior Advisor of Kim & Chang Law Office. Former Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Former Ambassador to Japan, to the State of Israel and to the Philippines.

Yun, Chang Hyun
President, Korea Institute of Finance. Professor of Finance at the University of Seoul. Former Professor of International Finance at Yonsei 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
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 (1993-2002). Involved with the creation of the Policy Planning Staff (Centre d’Analyse et de Prévision) at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was the first Director (1973-1975). 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 Ecole polytechnique and the Ecole d’Analyse 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.

Thierry de Montbrial
We must double down on our adherence to the values that are universal to humanity, such as democracy, human rights and the market economy. Furthermore, humanitarian disasters unfolding in Syria and Iraq are serious challenges to mankind. As a country that over the years has overcome many difficulties by working with the international community, Korea is reaching out across the world and sharing its experience in the pain and sorrow of those suffering from disasters and conflicts. Korea, too, joins this architecture. The Korean government`s «Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative” aims at promoting regional development and the shadow of the Cold War will be cast off. If Pyongyang abandons its nuclear program and starts improving the livelihood of its people, the people of the Korean Peninsula will communicate, cooperate, and think of each other as partners that live under the same roof, rather than as existential threats, will be able to become one community again. Furthermore, through communication and cooperation with major partner countries, the Korean government is working to promote closer national economic interdependence and the growing need for cooperation in the region. The extremely fraught state of East Asia today is often linked to that of Europe at the end of the 19th century. The «Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative” aims at promoting regional development and the shadow of the Cold War will be cast off. If Pyongyang abandons its nuclear program and starts improving the livelihood of its people, the people of the Korean Peninsula will communicate, cooperate, and think of each other as partners that live under the same roof, rather than as existential threats, will be able to become one community again. Furthermore, through communication and cooperation with major partner countries, the Korean government is working to promote closer national economic interdependence and the growing need for cooperation in the region. The extremely fraught state of East Asia today is often linked to that of Europe at the end of the 19th century.
Ladies and Gentlemen,

When the Trust-building Process on the Korean Peninsula, Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative, and Eurasian 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 inhale a new engine of growth for the international community.

Peaceful initiatives of the Korean Peninsula will harness 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.

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.

Thank you.
Our problems in the Middle East are treated in the conflict management way rather than in the conflict resolution way. \[\ldots\] 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.

Globalization is going on because the shaping force of the globalization, which is basically technological change, is there, and it will remain. Globalization understood in terms of trade opening is a net positive process and it will be hard to deviate from it. \[\ldots\] The question is whether globalization is the problem or the solution. Under certain conditions, which have mostly benefited everywhere, globalization moves more on the side of the solution.

Inequality affects growth. Inequality has been rising all the same way as it has been rising for the last thirty years, we will lose 1% of the GDP growth in the OECD countries in the next ten years. That’s static and we are not observing any high rates in the global economy.

Regional integration must be a priority for African countries today in order to connect the energy and transport networks and build 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 this region.

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 world order arrangement of the world.

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

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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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 debates in France, dedicated to the analysis of international questions and global governance.

Ifri is the only French institution ranked 20th 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 illustrate 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 debates 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 REHINUS. 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 250 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 sessions to enrich European debates and, through its multidisciplinary approach, cover all dimensions of international relations.

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W P C

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Nicolai de Germay
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