The mood at the eighth WPC in Montreux was steeped in gravity and serenity. It was grave because of the attacks the so-called “Islamic State” had carried out in France a week earlier. It was serene because the members of the club that the WPC is increasingly clearly becoming continue to share the hope for successful globalisation, in other words a sufficiently flexible yet firm world order. It must be flexible enough to allow a gradual move in the direction expressed by the philosophy of human rights while acknowledging, and even respecting, on the one hand the constraints inherited from history and on the other the new prospects that the acceleration of an unprecedented technological revolution is opening up. Striking the right balance between forces buried deeply in the collective unconscious and others springing up from an intense burst of creativity is extremely difficult. But the world order must also be firm enough to counter new revolutionary ideologies especially those based on the most perverse interpretation of the Quran’s message. Those ideologies are the antithesis of the Enlightenment and the idea of progress. Groups proclaiming themselves to be more fundamentalist than their competitors already on the scene are continuously popping up.

A world order meeting the dual demands of flexibility and firmness does not exist yet, far from it. Terrorism continues to thrive. The established powers that are asserting their desire to fight it look more like rivals than allies. As I write these lines, this can be seen in the rivalry between Iran and Russia, both of which back Bashar al-Assad’s regime in Syria, or the ulterior motives of those supporting the Sunni world, where Saudi Arabia has become a pivotal player. The lack of shared rules — international disorder by another name — also worsens a humanitarian disaster. The least of its collateral damage is not the European Union’s destabilisation by the uncontrolled flow of refugees. Even worse, certain established powers, unable or unwilling to see beyond their short-term goals, may believe that that destabilisation actually serves their interests.

If we add that many observers believe the global economy is on the brink of another major financial crisis, the only possible conclusion is that hope for successful globalisation today must rest on an unshakeable faith in humankind’s ability to defeat the demons that are constantly assailing it. Faith always has a quasi-mystical aspect. But it amounts to nothing without a willingness to act in a lucid, realistic way. That is what drives the WPC’s friends. They know that to act well, first it is necessary to think well and remain open-minded and tolerant no matter what.

Although the 13 November attacks disrupted the organisation of the eighth WPC in Montreux, the overwhelming majority of participants consider last year’s gathering the best ever. That encouraging message gives us the strength to persevere.

Thierry de Montbrial
Founder and Chairman
February 11, 2016
**PROGRAMME**

**Friday, November 21**

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<td><strong>President of the World Bank</strong></td>
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<td><strong>PLENARY SESSION 2</strong></td>
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<td>Egyptian Senator and Member of the Senate Constitutional Committee Mona Makram Ebeid,</td>
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Neither terrorism nor any of the contemporary world’s other ills will be defeated by expressing emotions alone. Only a genuinely international policy in the highest sense of the term will allow the world to make it through the 21st century without repeating tragedies on the scale of those that wracked the 20th. These thoughts led us to launch the WPC on the other side of the lake, in Evian, in 2008. Our goal is to help to improve governance, in all its aspects, in order to foster the emergence of a world that is more open, more prosperous, more just and respectful of the diversity of States and nations. Respect is essential. Any ideology bent on conquest, even in the name of human rights, is harmful to peace. Every people has its own history. Every people has its culture and traditions. Every people develops at its own pace and devises its own solutions. That is why we seek to gather senior figures from the five continents, always a limited number — political and economic leaders, representatives of civil society, researchers and journalists — in a climate of trust and a spirit of tolerance to think about, debate and put forward constructive solutions to major regional and international challenges. We give the floor to representatives of medium-sized powers, whose views are too often not heard enough in the debates, even though we need to know more about them in order to avoid making the same kinds of historic mistakes that have occurred in the recent past.

Thierry de Montbrial
Founder and Chairman of the WPC

Today’s world has become more unstable, more complex and more dangerous. The resurgence of armed violence — of armed conflicts and terrorism — affects all our societies. It causes tremendous human pain and jeopardises security and prosperity around the world. A barrier of fire is burning on Europe’s southern and eastern edges, kindling flames in the heart of our continent. [...] In our 21st century world, crises are no longer the exception but the rule. That in itself is unacceptable — and must be fought — but nobody can deny the obvious. To meet this challenge, the need for diplomacy has reached a level unparalleled in many years. Diplomacy, especially creative diplomacy, needs to take centre stage. For today the situation looks grim. We are living in uncertain times and governments are almost always operating in crisis mode. Strong dialogue and creative diplomacy can change things. Switzerland can make useful contributions in that regard. The Lake Geneva area and the city of Montreux, which are hosting us today, are a symbol of that and a reality. Many peace conferences and diplomatic meetings, public or low-profile, have taken place on the shores of this lake — even in this hotel, which hosted the second peace conference on Syria early last year. Switzerland has a specific history and role. It feels all the more responsible on account of this specificity, while standing shoulder to shoulder with the world. That is what I wish to talk to you about today: the changes occurring in the world and Switzerland’s response to them.

Didier Burkhalter
Federal Councillor, Head of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, Switzerland
LUNCH & DINNER DEBATES
PLENARY SESSIONS
After the 2008/09 global crisis, global leaders felt that the G20 was not representative enough, so they decided to initiate the G20. The G20 was not meant to be a formal global institution, it is an informal "steering committee", so to speak, for the world, to assert collective leadership for global economic affairs. (…) Certainly, the Bretton Woods institutions do not reflect the current constellation of global economic power. So, G20 leaders in Seoul 2010 agreed to substantially reform the Bretton Woods institutions, particularly the IMF, with a historic shift of 6% of quota from overrepresented to underrepresented countries. Unfortunately, its implementation has been stalled by the US Congress. (…) According to McKinsey, the world needs USD 57 trillion of infrastructure investments. The AID has the expected capitalisation of USD 60 billion and the World Bank together are not enough to meet the vast global infrastructure investment demand. So the initiation of AID is good for the global community as long as this institution is to become complementary and supplementary to existing institutions such as the World Bank and the ADB. (…) The emerging world is more concerned with the Fed's treatment interest rate hike because it comes at a time when the Chinese economy is slowing down. (…) So a closer global economic and financial cooperation is critical and the G20 should take leadership in this regard. The G20 has an agreed mechanism called the IMF (Mutual Assessment Process) to be used for this.

Global economic order at the Crossroads

My personal view is that globalisation is going on in terms of technological and business aspects, but I think instead of advancing, indeed started to regress, concerning the policy and institutional aspects. We see that at the global level, just think about the WTO. We have now clear symptoms of integration fatigue as we have before the economics crisis also at the European level. Therefore, it is not just a side effect of the crisis that people want to integrate less. (…) This march of integration fatigue well before the economic crisis also at the global level,

PLENARY SESSIONS

SESSION 1 • FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20 • 09:45 – 11:00

S E E M I N G  T H E  V I S I O N

Global economic order at the Crossroads

John Lipsky

Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Institute at Johns Hopkins University; Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), former First Deputy Managing Director, IMF

Il Sakong

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

Motoshige Itoh

Professor, Graduate School of Economics, Faculty of Economics, University of Tokyo, Advisor to the Prime Minister

Mario Monti

Chairman of the High Level Group on Tax Resources, European Commission, former Prime Minister of Italy

[The operations of the author, G20, and system have trended to undermine the effectiveness and legitimacy of post-World War Two organisations. The G20 leaders process seems to have lost traction. (…) The G20 as an institution, potentially is extremely powerful when it represents the expression of a very broad consensus. Its purpose is the lack of an internal structure or a voting rule, and – to a certain degree – its lack of legitimacy. (…) Part of the problem of both effectiveness and legitimacy is that there is a disassociation between the leadership of the G20 and the leadership of the multilateral institutions. In many cases, the composition of the IMF and World Bank Executive Boards are not the same as the G20’s membership. Therefore, it seems to have lost牵引力, and when there is loss of consensus among the G20, especially among the principal members, the G20 finds it very hard to make progress. In contrast, the multilateral institutions have voting rules, and legitimacy through their universal membership, that allow them to reach decisions that can be effective and have legal standing even in the absence of full consensus. (…) It is not appropriate that there is a ‘bifurcating out’ of general institutions, but they need to be considered with actions at a global level agreed by global governance institutions; (…) the US has hardly provided a leadership role in the area that I discussed, namely, the reform of the international systems and a defence of the multilateral institutions; (…) It is not inappropriate that there is a filling out of re-
One can say that from its inception the Euro, as a currency, was considered with great skepticism. The dominant view was that it would be a total failure. What happened in reality? We had the stress tests, we had to cope with the worst financial crisis since World War Two, a crisis which could have been the worst financial crisis since World War One, the central banks not exercised very boldly and swiftly everywhere in the world. What happened was nearly the contrary of what was anticipated. Really, the currency proved to be credible, to inspire confidence and to preserve stability, to the extent that the main criticism against the currency during the crisis was that it was too strong. For a currency which was supposed to disappear, this was very paradoxical! Secondly, how many countries were in the Euro area when Lehman Brothers collapsed in September 2008? There were 15 at that very moment after the worst crisis since World War Two started. How many countries were in the Euro area when Lehman Brothers collapsed in September 2008? There were 15 at that very moment. The Euro endeavor is much more resilient than was anticipated by the overwhelming majority at the time of the crisis. The 15 are still there. The 15 are still in, including Greece. On top of that, four new countries got in, the three Baltic States of the 15 are still there? The 15 are still in, including Greece. On top of that, four new countries got in, the three Baltic States, so we are 19 now, with four new countries joining at the time of the crisis. The Euro endeavor is much more resilient than was anticipated by the overwhelming majority of observers. Seventy percent of Scots voted to leave. The euro area’s sustainability of this achievement requires a sufficient degree of real convergence. [...]

The future of central banking

Jean-Claude Trichet
Former President, ECB

We should remember that Europe has taken and absorbed, broadly successfully, tons of millions of immigrants, as refugees. If you prefer, in the last few decades. It happened not without problems, of course, and do not need to say this in the French or the Swiss, but the phenomenon was mostly a source of phenomena, allocating to a certain extent the demographic misery of Europe. [...] This is a very serious stress test for the European integration, for whether Europe will address this issue from a communitarian perspective. You may say that the Euro has been a great success, and it has. It rescued the crisis, and yes, we have certain problems with cohesion among the European countries, divergence being the key issue, but whenever Europeans do something together, like trade policy, they become a superpower, and Google is more afraid of the French or the Swiss, but this phenomenon was mostly a phenomenon together, we are much more successful than we try to do it on our own. [...]
I would like to offer a few thoughts on the reaction in the US to the horrible events in Paris on Nov. 13, a week ago. The initial reactions - and the enduring reaction - by the American people and the American Government are naturally of horror and revulsion at the barbaric savagery committed in the streets of Paris. Clearly, the killers hoped to change the nature of Paris with these terrible crimes. I am confident they will not succeed. There are, of course, echoes of 9-11 in what has happened in Paris. It will change the way France looks at things and how she acts, just as it changed the way the US looked at the world-reelced. We all have to guard against overreacting, but the need for action has become very clear. There is intense interest in the US in what Europe does, how the governments that have been attacked re-establish the trust of their populations. That is one of the essential issues that Europeans will now face, that is, how people can feel safe again.

The horrific events in Paris and what has followed will accelerate the narrowing of the fields of candidates on both the Republican and Democratic sides. If I am right, we will have the least experienced pair facing off for the Republican nomination, in an establishment versus anti-establishment vote, and on the Democratic side we will see a quick consolidation in favor of Hillary Clinton. I worry very much that it will be difficult to make serious, nuanced policy in the presidential election season that lies ahead. I believe that President Obama is moderate about what he believes the US can do in the Middle East, in part because history has shown that we have to be moderate, at least under current circumstances. This does not mean that he is not committed to finding a sustainable framework. He just does not see arms as the focal point of that framework. The diplomatic effort that Secretary Kerry is undertaking right now to get the Russians, the Turks, the Saudis, the Europeans and the Iranians all at the table is very earnest and has every chance of success. It was clear to me from that interaction that Rouhani is sincere. The problem is that he does not control the entirety of his government. The Republicans remain adamantly opposed to Iran and the Iran deal, and it will continue to be a fissure going forward. Finally, I will say that I have known John Kerry for a long time, and he will not leave the State Department without another strong effort to lead to a Palestinian-Israeli accord.
Today's trade agenda is characterized by the need to address impediments to the way business is conducted in today's world. Negotiations have moved beyond tariffs to have "beyond the border" issues of non-tariff barriers and domestic regulation as an increasing focus. With the advent of supply chains, there is increasing recognition of the interplay between trade and investment, and of the importance of services as an inherent element of goods trade. In this light, regional and mega-regional agreements such as the TPP seek to facilitate competitive supply chains, by addressing goods and services, trade and investment, and regulatory convergence. But there is more to be done, including reconciling trade rules with social choices. More fundamentally, as the moniker of the "Doha Development Agenda" suggests, trade needs to be understood as but one element of promoting sustainable economic growth. Neither the WTO nor regional agreements alone can give countries a path to lasting development unless accompanied by sound macroeconomic policies and structural reforms, including transparent regulation. Greater coherence and collaboration between relevant international organizations is needed to this end.

Based on the preparation for the remaining Doha Round issues in Geneva, we cannot expect much to be achieved from the next Nairobi MC10 meeting. The multilateral trading system is really at a critical crossroads. In response to the slow progress in the Doha Round, in Asia-Pacific, there have been several developments for regional trade integrations like the TPP, RCEP and China (Japan-Korea) FTA. Until recently, none of these RTAs have been concluded but, in the last month, the TPP negotiations have been completed. Given the very uncertain picture of the global trading system, this was the welcome news. However, you can easily see that the TPP does not include more dynamic economies in East Asia such as Indonesia, Thailand or Philippines, and of course Korea and China. Therefore the potential economic gains from the TPP would be limited. In other words, sooner or later after they complete the ratification of the TPP agreements by the member states, they should open the door to additional members and certainly Korea will try to join the TPP with other countries. There are also good news from the G20 meeting held in Antalya in Turkey last week. Leaders agreed that the Trade Ministers of the G20 countries will meet regularly meaning that there will be a high-level communication channel between Geneva and the G20 participating countries.

The negotiations on the TPP, the Trans-Pacific Partnership, were successfully concluded, which does not mean that it is all over, because it needs to be ratified, not least by the US Congress, and it will be very difficult if it gets stuck there. The TPP trade partnership between Europe and the United States and other North America countries is not yet at that stage, it will take more time, but if these two things get put into place I think the framework not only for trade but for regulation industrial policies will be organized in a way by default through these two treaties. Thierry de Montbrial has always said that we sometime get to global governance but trade is usually the only tool. There is a trade agreement and the WTO is in some ways the most successful international organization because there was international law under the WTO. If we want to go further with globalisation, there has to be more harmonization and competition regulation, otherwise we are stuck. We want to have monetary cooperation, we have to acquire new instruments to succeed. I think that is why we are really at a very crucial moment where in fact if we do not perform we may actually be pushed back.
Do Firms have a Nationality?

I think we have all seen the globalization trend since the eighties, whereby companies have disregarded the notion of nationality for companies, especially large ones. Today, a new reality is reaching this apparent dilution of companies’ nationality through digitization. What I call the seventh continent, which is the world of data connecting billions of people, is ruled by global companies, with worldwide footprints, that seem to have no nationality. Any company is based upon three ingredients in the way it is thinking and operating. In the land, its people, its Energy, and its Spirit. The link between companies and their mother country’s government. In particular, of growing importance. And its reciprocal. On the one hand, especially in tough times, companies need their countries to support them, and on the other hand, they should be used by governments as sources of global leadership. Understanding this is a challenge we have to overcome. So far, our countries and some of our institutions have not yet completely understood what the seventh continent means. What is interesting about China is the way it pursues a dual goal. On the one hand, we need to set global rules for the 21st century, so that large digital companies can operate in a fair and level playing field. In Europe, in Asia, etc. And on the other hand, we need to maintain a game, and let us champions—that are not America—emerge. This is exactly what China is doing.

The global companies have multiple headquarters with many factories or subsidiaries within a network and at the same time, we cannot really identify the nationality based on who the shareholders are. Even though data lives everywhere, a company like Google has to be local in order to comply with local laws. However, despite companies wanting to be local, it is impossible for them to run away from their national origins and from the flags that they carry. Suddenly, any tech company is seen as carrying the American flag and embodying American values. Some of the values that are associated with them are very good ones: the free flow of information, robust discussion, etc. But there are also behaviors that are now associated with them. We learned then that the most important thing is actually not to be with an institution that is too big to fail, but rather to be with an institution that has a home in a country that is too big to fail. I believe President Obama’s statement reflects national pride. The question of China is an interesting one because I think those of us outside China—both Americans and Euros—poor, as well as many of the countries other than China that are rising up in the developing world—feel we can benefit from one set of rules that is a global set of rules that everybody can agree on. I think many Chinese believe they benefit from having a separate set of rules, and that China is a valued partner in which their rules can prevail. This is going to feed some conflicts about who regulates the Internet.
The future of the Middle East

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

Youssef Amrani
Royal Cabinet, Morocco

Mona Makram Ebeid
Egyptian Senator and Member of the Senate Constitutional Committee

Paris: 139 people killed and 352 wounded, from 19 different countries. It just proved for the magnitude of the attacks and international solidarity... I obviously believe that we must move beyond our emotions and see what can be done. The main thing is to become aware that Europeans and Africans must work together. From Mauritania to the Sahel, from Libya to Egypt and Senegal, the same malicious terrorism is coming together. The future of Europe, Africa and the Middle East is more interconnected than ever. We have a common enemy. We have the potential of a political process with specific goals... We must also go after Daesh’s funding. But afterwards, how can we ensure that it will not happen again? How can we prevent the instability? The terrorism is much more intense, coordinated fight against radicalisation. Faced with radicalisation, messages are spreading on the Internet, Islamic State, the huge weight, majority of voices who are unbalanced must be given the means to express themselves. On the Internet to develop a counter-message that would come from the people, from the bottom up. Lastly, we must work towards social cohesion. Because unemployment, inequality and corruption are breeding grounds for deadly ideologies. What is happening in Europe and the Middle East shows that the start of a joint response might be under way.

Everybody knows that the region is collapsing. When I talk about the region, I mean the Middle East plus the Egypt and beyond. I mean the Middle East, especially the Sahel, because all these issues are not concerned and we cannot have peace and stability in the region. We do not hope to implement the Jordanian-Palestinian peace process back to work. There is a lesson from all these prophetic visions, which is that it is not one or multilateral actor alone has the power to manage or to solve the crisis. We need to assume our shared responsibility if we want to solve this issue. We must work in three dimensions: in the political sphere by ensuring the stability of all countries and building up democratic countries based on good governance; in security matters, it is important that we have cooperation in the field of security and the exchange of intelligence, by implementing effective, multifaceted security cooperation to stem the threat of terrorism and instability. The third dimension is economic development. It is essential to create wealth and perspectives for shared prosperity. Today the priority should be to reconstruct the Jordanian model. We need coherent and sustained counter-messaging, strategic communications, a priority is to develop a counter-message that would come from the people. From the bottom up. Lastly, we must work towards social cohesion. Because unemployment, inequality and corruption are breeding grounds for deadly ideologies. What is happening in Europe and the Middle East shows that the start of a joint response might be under way.

The main question and challenge in Egypt today is how the government can effectively counter terrorism without threatening civil liberties. What reforms are needed to make Egypt’s security sector effective, accountable and in line with international human rights? How can the international community play an effective role in encouraging and facilitating the reforms? Instead of accusing Egypt of oppressive measures? Until now the government has struggled to find an appropriate response to counter the threat of terrorism and face significant challenges both inside and outside the country faces major terrorist attacks that have negatively affected the country’s security and economic stability. The international community should engage with the region to enable it to solve some of the problems it faces today including unemployment and educated. This is what the international community must do today, to try to find out what are the roots of this frustration today. If Egypt falls, the whole region falls, and I am not saying this as an Egyptian but as an Arab. We want to succeed, and I know we will. However, it takes time, and not just five or ten years... We, the end of the parliamentary elections, and in the new constitution that we are in favour of women and of Christians, something that has never happened before. President Sisi made a point in his discourse about the reform of Islam when coming from the plane from Kuwait to go to the Coptic cathedral on Christmas day. That was the first time an Egyptian president has done so. Try to see the positive aspects.
It is clear that the Arab world is a set of deeply divided societies that are witnessing a very deep crisis of identity and the whole concept of nation state [...]. We have to understand the future of the Middle East not only through the lens of terrorism and extremism but also through the lens of this crisis and how to recover it. We have several failed states, especially Libya, Yemen, Syria, and to a certain degree Iraq. I am in favour of finding some sort of comprehensive solution to the Syrian and Iraq crises together, because it is a fait accompli that finding a solution to the Syrian crisis will not be enough to deal with this part of the world [...]. We can repeat endlessly the mantra that this has nothing to do with Islam, that Islam is nice, but believe it or not, there are people who are presenting exclusivist interpretations of Islam [...]. Just as we forget that out of two million Christians only a tenth are left, not more than 200,000 [...]. Jim Hoagland
Contributing Editor to The Washington Post

Public opinion in the U.S. largely supports the President’s policies in the Middle East. That has a lot to do with the fact that he has great power to shape opinion on foreign affairs in the American system. But people are war-weary and eager not to get more deeply involved, and the President for his own reasons has augmented that support. We have just heard from my co-panelists an impressive list of the difficulties facing the Middle East right now, and it falls to me to tell you that it is even worse, or at least that it is even broader than what you have heard so far. We are witnessing the beginning of an era of very violent backlash, and primarily backlash against globalisation. We saw this amazing flow of goods, people, ideas and business across borders that we call globalisation at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. What it has begun to do, particularly in the Middle East and particularly in the Arab world, is to begin to exert enormous pressure, not simply on national borders and nation states, but on the fundamental elements and units of society, the family system, the clan system, the tribal system that exist in different parts and different ways in the Middle East. We have to recognise that this is a cultural problem which is extremely deep and difficult, not just an Arab world problem, but one that has to be at least recognised if we are to make any progress [...].

Bernard Siman
Senior Fellow of the Geopolitical Information Services AG

I would like to focus on the technical shifts that have taken place and are taking place in the relationship between the global powers and the regional state actors, particularly distinguishing regional stability from regime security. The implicit contract for decades was to safeguard regime security in return for regional stability. The fall of President Mubarak led to a perception, and subsequently a reality, creeping in for the regional state actors that that contract was over. Therefore, the regional state actors have clearly taken the position of abandoning the globalist agenda and the global game in favour of a classical zero-sum power struggle in their own back yards [...]. Vitaly Naumkin
Scientific Director of the Oriental Studies Institute,
Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences

The key question is what grand plan, if any, that Europe as a bloc and the various European states have for reengagement in their own back yard. It is particularly interesting to explore what the future relationship between the regional state actors and the global powers will look like in the absence of a proactive and dominant American position that all the actors used as a benchmark to position themselves periodically against [...]. We have to understand the future of the Middle East not only through the lens of terrorism and extremism but also through the lens of this crisis and how to solve it. We have several failed states, especially Libya, Yemen, Syria and to a certain degree Iraq. I am in favour of finding some sort of comprehensive solution to the Syrian and Iraq crises together, because it is a fait accompli that finding a solution to the Syrian crisis will not be enough to deal with this part of the world [...]. Vitaly Naumkin
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The future of the Middle East

Vitaly Naumkin
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Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences

Jim Hoagland
Contributing Editor to The Washington Post

Bernard Siman
Senior Fellow of the Geopolitical Information Services AG
Security in Asia in a Historical Perspective

It is the one and only sub-region where the world's four major powers, that is, the US, China and Russia, and one semi-nuclear state, Japan, demonstrate their respective military strengths in this highly-contested strategic area. What are the possible elements? They are increasing economic intertwinement, as well as cooperation and partnership for specific interests and issues. [..] Multilateral conferences at the highest political level are held frequently at the ASEAN Plus Three summits, East Asia Summit, EAS, and the China, Japan and Korea Summit. However, on the other hands, there exist negative elements that present a wide range of security challenges. First, competition and rivalry between China, Japan and others on regional political influence has become salient since China surpassing Japan in GDP in 2010. Secondly, there are continuing regional political motive factors. One is the rise of an ‘aggressive’ China, whose assertive military buildup, specially of its Naval capabilities, is matched by new-militaristic tendencies; the determinate force displayed by Chinese President, Xi Jinping’s policy, to pursue his ‘Chinese dream’, which encompasses his ‘One Belt One Road’ initiative alongside a revival of the Maritime Silk Route, dwarfing the ‘American dream’ and curtailing the ambitions of every other Asian nation; and Three, China’s disdain for a viable security structure for Asia, if China is to be restrained. Countries in the region are, consequently, readjusting their priorities. While conflicts have not yet reached a flash point, they are nevertheless certain dangerous possibilities. [..] While survivors are still there, we really have to come to a rapprochement with China and Korea as well. [..] We need to have forgiveness, and we need to raise the standards. [..] Japan as a country is saying that we have to raise our standard, not by our children or our families. [..] If Abe deserves credit for bringing Japan more towards a situation of normalcy, as we even with that new legislation Japan will be unable to possess the full-fledged right of collective defense, as other countries. [..] We are not engaging in the kind of education Germany is giving to its children and we will revise the history curriculum to teach kids the victims themselves, not by their children or their families. [..] The Japanese people are deeply remorseful and of course are pledging that they will never again engage in such atrocious activities. However, we are not engaging in the kind of education. Germany is giving to children and we will revise the history curriculum to teach kids the victims themselves, not by their children or their families.
PLENARY SESSIONS

SESSION 7 • SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21 • 08:00 – 09:30

Zhang Yunling
Professor of International Economics, Academy Member and Director of International Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Science (CASS)

Igor Yurgens
Chairman of the Management Board of the Institute of Contemporary Development, professor of the Higher School of Economics, Russia

Looking at the region now, when we talk about security, we really have a new situation and concept. We are living in a time of globalization, and the region, whatever differences we have, is highly economically integrated apart from North Korea. All the other members are deeply involved or integrated, which means we have shared common interests together. We have very strong interest group pressures for policymakers to continue such trends. […] Talking about security, we have broader dimensions beyond individual countries, apart from issues of national security. We have regional security, global security, non-traditional security, especially now with the new terrorist threat, and so on. That means that we have to think of security in terms of creating new ideas rather than falling into conventional security thinking. The future regional security order will not be dominated by the US. It will not be dominated by China, because it is not able to do that […] China calls this cooperative security a new security concept, and under this kind of new framework and architecture, it is not possible for the region to create a totally unilateral security arrangement. […] The ideal role for Russia in Asia would be a balancing one, role of mediator between our strategic ally, and friend China and the rest of the Asian countries. To play this role we have to be more persistent in our Asian strategy, not of all to work it out, and secondly, we have to figure out what we want to do with our South Korean friends, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and other U.S. allies. […] I firmly believe that the Russian forces in Asia is inevitable and impossible at the same time. It is a very difficult task which Russia has to face. We started with the overextension of Russia, and an affair that, given our involvement in the conflict in Ukraine, and now our involvement in the conflict in Syria, we could overextend ourselves if we are excessively involved into the security and economic development of the Far East. […] Medvedev – formerly the President and now the Prime Minister, at the Asia-Europe Summit today promotes the idea of a comprehensive, binding security treaty in Asia. It is a very vague idea from my point of view, because from what we have just heard at this podium, to be binding, comprehensive and secure is very difficult in Asia this time around. […] We have to find our peaceful and proper role in Europe, and we have to come back with the same ideas to Asia; this balancing role of Russia would be ideal.
Lionel Zinsou
Prime Minister of Benin

Peaceful coexistence of religions?

Benin is one of the West African countries where coexistence between religions is extremely fertile and traditionally quite calm and peaceful, which has not always been the case. We are in a situation where coexistence is fruitful and peaceful. This is not because the intensity of spirituality is low. Benin is the land where voodoo originated. It is likely one of the world’s most deeply spiritual countries. Voodoo originated in the area stretching from the Yoruba country, the site of Benin’s historic kingdoms, from Abeokuta to Togo. But its epicentres, the most active hubs, are obviously in the former kingdom of Dahomey and the centre of Benin. We are very good at spreading voodoo and absolutely willing, in the end, to proselytise and syncretise. Syncretism is very strong. The beautiful Roman Catholic basilica in Ouidah is another very strong symbol. Very early on, Ouidah’s somewhat rudimentary port provided access from the sea to a region that was already very vibrant in the late 16th century. Missions long predated colonisation. One thing is particular in Benin. The fetish priest convents, Quranic madrasas, Protestant churches, Catholic churches and seminaries are full. And if you take a look at migratory flows, a very important category of migrants is in demand in Europe—clergymen. How does everybody manage to live together so peacefully? Three factors come into play. First, acceptance and a welcoming attitude have been entrenched in our history for a very long time. That is why I brought up the Ouidah basilica. Second, we have no colonial past marked by the desire to divide peoples along ethnic or religious lines. Above all, there is political will. The religious identity card has never been played in the past 60 years. Since 2007, we have hosted every possible conference on these issues because they require tremendous efforts. The most natural tendency is to slide downward into religious warfare.
Agriculture and the food system in general, is a major extractor of renewable water. By 2050 we expect to have an increase in food production by about 60% for the world. This is the result of a combination of population growth, increases in incomes and the accompanying dietary changes. Such growth will require increasing amounts of water. Urbanisation will mean that some of the stresses on water resources will come from competition between agricultural water and water for municipalities. Climate change will tend to exacerbate water scarcity and the competition for water resources. Especially in some of the world’s more thirsty regions the solution to the problem of allocation of scarce water resources will have important implications for food security and nutrition and on the progress to eliminate hunger in a sustainable manner. The fight against hunger will depend on the growth in agriculture, but also on the capacity of countries to put in place social protection systems for the more vulnerable. Fragmentation in the governance of food security at country and at global levels will compromise such efforts.

African policymakers should focus on the transformation of agriculture, in particular by developing smallholder farming and improving the livelihood of farmers. This does not preclude large-scale commercial farms to ensure food security. A shift from rain-fed to irrigated, high-value and high productivity farming is essential. One good example is Ethiopia, which has relied on its agricultural sector for its economic take-off. Agriculture has been a key driver of the economic growth so far registered, and growth has been shared, contributing to poverty reduction (from 54% to 22%) and increased life expectancy (from 47 to 64 years) between 1991 and 2014. Although much remains in this area, Ethiopia has also made substantial progress towards attaining food security. African countries need to make long-term investments in infrastructure, education and skills development for sustained economic growth and structural change. These are key for the successful transformation of agriculture and development of the industrial sector, and structural change. Africa’s economic transformation can be achieved if African countries focus on the development of manufacturing, as it has larger spillover effects, and is complementary to transformation of agriculture. A state committed for Africa’s development is critical for the success of Africa’s economic transformation. Policy independence is essential and international partners should not press for universal adoption of international prescriptions. Africans themselves should be in the driver’s seat.

In 2050, we will have a global population of 9-10 billion. That means that we are going to have to double food production without doubling available arable land. That is a big challenge and we should not only mean more production in output per fixed amount of arable land. […] If you look at the figures, you come very quickly to the conclusion that Africa will be part of the solution globally. 60% is the estimate for the remaining arable land unused in Africa. We need a global approach on the agricultural front, with a strong focus on Africa. Africa can help feed the world. Imagine if we did not address the rural and agricultural development challenge in Africa. Then we would be strengthening the rural nucleus which is already happening. That rural nucleus is the core translating into the Medusa in Africa. […] If we do not address the agricultural development challenge of Africa, 60% of the land is still arable and not used. Some say “let us move to intensive, mechanised, large-scale agriculture.” This is probably the right one, as a mix of this. It is to address the small farmer challenge, with more precision and more small-scale farming and agriculture. I know many African countries are addressing that challenge and Ethiopia is one of them. In an example, African policymakers should focus on the transformation of agriculture, in particular by developing smallholder farming and improving the livelihood of farmers. This does not preclude large-scale commercial farms to ensure food security. A shift from rain-fed to irrigated, high-value and high productivity farming is essential. One good example is Ethiopia, which has relied on its agricultural sector for its economic take-off. Agriculture has been a key driver of the economic growth so far registered, and growth has been shared, contributing to poverty reduction (from 54% to 22%) and increased life expectancy (from 47 to 64 years) between 1991 and 2014. Although much remains in this area, Ethiopia has also made substantial progress towards attaining food security. African countries need to make long-term investments in infrastructure, education and skills development for sustained economic growth and structural change. These are key for the successful transformation of agriculture and development of the industrial sector, and structural change. Africa’s economic transformation can be achieved if African countries focus on the development of manufacturing, as it has larger spillover effects, and is complementary to transformation of agriculture. A state committed for Africa’s development is critical for the success of Africa’s economic transformation. Policy independence is essential and international partners should not press for universal adoption of international prescriptions. Africans themselves should be in the driver’s seat.
It is vital for us to separate from the Palestinians and have a two-state solution. We cannot continue the dialogue as we did for the last 22 years, because it proved to be a dismal failure. Why? It is due to the simple fact that the Palestinian side was not considered on a parity level. We have been in a situation where the top dog is constantly dictating the terms of reference to the underdog. The third party, which was supposed to be an honest broker for peace, unequivocally supported the top dog over the underdog. [...] There is a crisis of leadership in Israel. We do not see that bold move coming forward in the context of concession. Israel is not conceding. Israel is denying the right to self-determination to Palestinians who have been under occupation for so many years now. [...] The desperation in the peace process has led to the rise of such militancy among Palestinians, who think the only way towards a solution is through convulsive violence. I say we will never be able to find a military solution to this conflict. Israel has won five major wars in the Middle East, but it has failed dismally in bringing security to its own individuals. [...] Unless the Israelis look eye to eye at the negotiating table, nothing will move forward. As long as we have such a fascist regime today in Israel, we do not have any chance for moving forward in this peace process. [...] The problem does not lie in how to move forward with the negotiations, it is the lack of will on the past of Israel to move forward. [...] The problem does not lie in how to move forward with the negotiations, it is the lack of will on the past of Israel to move forward. [...] The problem does not lie in how to move forward with the negotiations, it is the lack of will on the past of Israel to move forward. [...] The problem does not lie in how to move forward with the negotiations, it is the lack of will on the past of Israel to move forward. 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The global challenges of the digital technologies

What are the main drivers of both digital technologies and economies? It all starts with the availability of an unprecedented and large volume of data. Three points can be particularly consid- ered: the invention of Information Technology, the develop- ment of structured data, the boom in unstructured data and the new big data era. This is progressively generating wholly new perspectives on how we can organise and manage both our personal and professional lives. The digitalisation of our world has some serious implications on the way we govern it. The digitalization of our world has also serious implications on the way we govern it.

The global challenges of digital technologies are: First, keep the Internet open. An open and accessible Internet, with high-speed and mobile bandwidth, is essential for innovation in the 21st century. Secondly, digitally-enabled innovations require investment in modern infrastructure like broadband, spectrum, and new Internet addresses. Policies are also needed to encourage investments in data, promote data sharing and reuse, and reduce barriers to cross-border data flows. Third, there are still many barriers to the use of digital technologies and the development of new digitally-enabled businesses. With respect to the Internet of Things, for instance, removing regulatory barriers and entry in the mobile market would allow the million-device Internet of Things. An open and accessible Internet, with high fixed and mobile bandwidth, is essential for innovation in the 21st century.

The other problem with blurred boundaries is that it gives opportunities for many people to have power. However, the problem with that power being spread, again, without taking any responsibility, is that very often, it is assumed without taking any responsibility. We can spread all on its own. Unethical behaviour will have a life of its own, whether or not we engage with it. However, keeping all these points in mind, I think we have continually failed to its own, whether or not we engage with it. However, keeping all these points in mind, I think we have continually failed to

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PLENARY SESSIONS

Health and
global governance

SESSION 12 • SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 22 • 08:45 – 09:45

Louise Fresco
President of Wageningen University and Research, The Netherlands

Bertrand Badré
Managing Director and Group Chief Financial Officer, World Bank

Christian Bréchot
President of the Institut Pasteur

We need investment in modern digital, chemical and genetic technology to understand the complexities of food chain, toxicity, and the ecosystem together, and above all we need the political will to integrate that and to get ministries and sectors to work together.

Health is linked to the way we function as a planet. Pathogens have always been there. The ecosystem as a whole needs to be understood in order to get a sense of pathogens and infection routes. It also leads us to the awareness that we need to understand the whole food chain to be safe.

Healthcare is one of the most interesting world governance questions today. The World Bank group, as instructed by its shareholders, has two objectives for 2030. The first one is to end poverty, which also implies ending poverty as an issue of health, and the second is what we call boosting shared prosperity, which means basically minimizing inequalities. Therefore, we need to make sure that the poorest people on earth share in the benefits of global growth and advancement, that it is not just reserved for a small proportion of the population. We believe, and this is extremely important, that investing in health offers one of the best opportunities to achieve this goal in this generation. I am not talking about 2050 or 2100 but in the next 15 years. The UN endorsed the 17 Global Sustainable Goals. Their ambition is high, is universal, and incidentally quite costly. The new global goal for health is a healthy life for all. This is about universal health coverage, so every person everywhere can get essential, quality, life-saving healthcare. If we are to achieve those ambitious global goals, we need to think and act differently; it will not be more of the same. Therefore, let us start to think differently on health, technology and innovation. We will have to innovate within the public sector as well as to enable the public sector to embrace and leverage innovation in the private sector. We believe that over the next five years technology development, connected with digital health solutions such as m-health and e-health, mobile and electronic health, will revolutionize how health services are delivered and offer new ways to address gaps in access to and affordability of care.

Now we have entered the era of what we call the two genomes, the whole genome and the intestinal bacteria, and this is one of the major forces which we have to embrace globally. We need a combination between proper education, training and communication between local, regional and central offices, coordination and smoke capacity and infrastructure. The main difference between SARS and Avian Flu is that there was onsite capacity and infrastructure in China, although there were challenges, obviously. There was the problem, in the case of Ebola in Africa, of lack of onsite capacity and infrastructure, and you can have the most sophisticated research institutions, the best will and the best financial support, but if you are not able to convey actions to the field, you are useless. I am not saying that the Institut Pasteur is the only solution, but it is an example of how you need to combine basic research, public health, education and industrial partnerships with real central and local government. This is the situation of the Institut Pasteur with regard to the major public health threats. We need to have a global view, a global voice, where we provide capacity onsite for bio-banking and sample analysis, which means sharing by bioinformatics, the integrative biology of the data, and this is key to having a real impact in terms of governance.

We need investment in modern digital, chemical and genetic technology to understand the complexities of food chain, toxicity, and the ecosystem together, and above all we need the political will to integrate that and to get ministries and sectors to work together.

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A week before the [Paris] Conference starts, where do we stand, in a few words? [...] Progress has also taken place in recent weeks on the crucial issue of funding, which is the key to trust and, therefore, to the agreement that is necessary in Paris. We must show that the wealthy, developed countries are willing to follow through on the pledge they made in Copenhagen in 2009 to contribute $100 billion a year by 2020 [...].

But the wealthiest countries must still make crucial additional efforts. [...] In addition to funding efforts, which are a key element to reaching an agreement in Paris, we must set highly ambitious goals to develop and share technologies, in particular to boost performance and bring down the cost of renewable energy sources. [...] A huge challenge lies before us. The commitment of governments is therefore essential but not enough. The commitment of all is indispensable. [...] There will be initiatives and strong commitments, especially from companies and local governments, all of which will become public knowledge at COP 21 in Paris.

What is at stake is the energy mix, energy consumption, the emissions caused by the industry, and finally, the type of solutions the companies can bring to the system. Therefore, clearly we need to accelerate, and we also need to find breakthroughs through innovation [...]. Clearly, governments have a key role to play; they have to set the targets, to put stable and consistent regulations in place [...]. They also have to create a landscape which is adjusted to the cycle. [...] The companies are critical to implementing an agreement [...]. They bring the technologies and the innovation, they are able to raise money, and they can also interact along all the value chains, which is completely critical [...]. We need commitments; COP 21 is bringing these forward [...]. We need measurements, reporting and verification. That is a point which is not being underlined enough [...]. Finally, we need adequate tools and systems [...]. Carbon pricing is a tool which has shown that it can accelerate emissions reductions; it is also accelerating innovation and is able to create new opportunities. [...] It is a huge challenge. I believe that success, strictly ex ante and ex post, which will be generated by measurement, by visibility and by consistency over time [...]. It will also be generated by innovation, and profitable innovation. [...] The capacity to cooperate and adapt is [...]. It is completely critical to succeed [...]. The capacity to raise private money is completely critical and will depend on the type of governance [...]. Finally, on governance, climate change is a subject which is linked to other subjects in my business that are very important for the world, such as poverty and cities.
Pope Francis has submitted and integrated all the information from the natural and social sciences to the fundamental teachings of the Bible and faith. As you have said during this forum, scientific data show that if the energy necessary for human activity comes from fossil materials, the outcome will be climate change and global warming. […] The Encyclical seeks to raise our awareness that this is not just an economic issue or a problem involving only the natural and social sciences, but also and above all a spiritual matter. […] The Pope speaks of an “ecological conversion”. […] The Pope integrates his new concept of “integral ecology” into the social thought of the Church, on an equal footing with dignity, freedom of conscience, fraternity, the universal destination of goods, solidarity, etc. Integral ecology encompasses ecological balances, social justice and spiritual responsibility.

…there is still a long way to go, but I am more optimistic for several reasons. First, the United States and China, today’s biggest emitters, have decided to jointly announce that this time they are serious on making an effort. […] The second […] is that, well beyond governments and scientists, there has been a groundswell of awareness about this threat of global warming, gradually prompting all the players in civil, economic and political life to start doing their part […] The third reason is that Paris will not be the end of the story. Paris will be a key step […] I am cautiously but wholeheartedly optimistic. I think COP21 will be a limited success, but a decisive step on the way to solving the problem. We are the first generation aware of the fact that global warming poses an existential threat to our planet’s future. We are also the last generation that can come up with a decisive solution to that existential threat.

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Jean-David Levitte
Senior fellow, Brookings Institution and member of the International Advisory Board of the Atlantic Council of the United States; Former Senior Diplomatic Adviser and Sherpa of President Nicolas Sarkozy

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Chancellor, Pontifical Academy of Sciences and Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences
PLENARY SESSIONS
SESSION 14 • SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 22 • 11:30 – 12:15

Tehran believes that regional crises have no military solutions. A use of force in the region only will increase hatred and strengthen radicals and there is no alternative solution for settlement of challenges and political crises derived from Takffireis ideology except political solution. In order to eradicate terrorism there should be joint planning and designing by participation of all countries. All financial sources of terrorist groups should be obtained and their military training centers should be blocked and to be destroyed. It is necessary that all regional and trans-regional countries through serious dialog and cooperation to find solution for challenges and solving problems. The I.R. has seriously believed that the security of all neighbors is like the security of the Islamic Republic of Iran and hopes all other regional and trans-regional players, especially in a positive and responsible manner for serious plan, actions, dialog and cooperation for combating against terrorism and focusing on political solutions. The initiatives of the United Nations on our regional issues will be succeeded parallel to serious combat against terrorism, there should be strengthening of regional political trends and to find solution for them otherwise any other solutions would not have appropriate result.

Iran and Middle East

Hossein Amirabdollahian
Deputy Foreign Minister for Arab and African Countries, Iran

Iran and Middle East
Some problems elude quick solutions, unfortunately. Claiming that there is a solution to what is happening, to the drama we are experiencing today, is unfortunately impossible. […] The first point I would like to make is very macro. We are experiencing one of the dimensions, and Thierry de Montbrial always stressed it when he launched this conference. We are living in a world where the problems really overlap. The world is really interdependent. This world has a huge need for global governance. I do not say “government”, because that is pointlessly utopian, but governance — mechanisms allowing us to cooperate across borders, […] Seeing what is happening makes us realize on how many levels global governance has not worked, whether in the Middle East, where tragedies have been occurring for years, or in Europe, with major clashes over the euro, the euro zone, Greece and, more recently, the refugee issue. […] The second point I would like to make is that a very delicate balance must be found between humanity, generosity and the basic tenet that a person is presumed innocent until proven guilty, and taking all necessary steps, including the state of emergency that was declared in France. […] My third point is that transit countries, such as Turkey and Greece today, and Italy for a long time, need support. I will not go into the details of all that, but they have been carrying a very heavy burden for a long time. In contrast, perhaps the Gulf countries give some money, but take in almost no refugees. The refugee issue is essential. It is even real, in my opinion. The first is a political one: [...] But there is also an individual level. [...] Today, we must make sure these movements are temporary. In other words, the refugees must be taken in because it is our duty to welcome them — whether it is on humanitarian or religious [...]. It is a duty to take them in — but everything possible must be done to secure places where the religious diversity that still exists in the Middle East can endure [...]. The main goal is to be able to bring those who hope to live their faith, their commitment, back to their land. That is also a long-term commitment — we talked about a medium-term one — to securing places where people can be resettled back home. Some problems elude quick solutions, unfortunately. Claiming that there is a solution to what is happening, to the drama we are experiencing today, is unfortunately impossible. [...] The first point I would like to make is very macro. We are experiencing one of the dimensions, and Thierry de Montbrial always stressed it when he launched this conference. We are living in a world where the problems really overlap. The world is really interdependent. This world has a huge need for global governance. I do not say “government”, because that is pointlessly utopian, but governance — mechanisms allowing us to cooperate across borders, [...] Seeing what is happening makes us realize on how many levels global governance has not worked, whether in the Middle East, where tragedies have been occurring for years, or in Europe, with major clashes over the euro, the euro zone, Greece and, more recently, the refugee issue. [...] The second point I would like to make is that a very delicate balance must be found between humanity, generosity and the basic tenet that a person is presumed innocent until proven guilty, and taking all necessary steps, including the state of emergency that was declared in France. [...] My third point is that transit countries, such as Turkey and Greece today, and Italy for a long time, need support. I will not go into the details of all that, but they have been carrying a very heavy burden for a long time. In contrast, perhaps the Gulf countries give some money, but take in almost no refugees. The refugee issue is essential. It is even real, in my opinion. The first is a political one: [...] But there is also an individual level. [...] Today, we must make sure these movements are temporary. In other words, the refugees must be taken in because it is our duty to welcome them — whether it is on humanitarian or religious [...]. It is a duty to take them in — but everything possible must be done to secure places where the religious diversity that still exists in the Middle East can endure [...]. The main goal is to be able to bring those who hope to live their faith, their commitment, back to their land. That is also a long-term commitment — we talked about a medium-term one — to securing places where people can be resettled back home.
PLENARY SESSIONS

I think we should be careful about barking up the wrong tree when we stress a panic atmosphere. This is the worst time to restart the debate over Europe’s demographic deficit […]

Second, if we have to wait for a united Europe, we might as well stop talking right now! […]

On the other hand, I think there is a real priority: restoring security is an absolute priority […]

Likewise, this is not the time to set about “reconfiguring the Middle East”. That is immensely desirable, but we are incapable of it. Nobody can do it, not even the United States!

The source of immigration is not just Syria, but Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq and then there is Africa with a few million waiting. A lot of people who come are terrorists or potential terrorists. If any of the younger people in this group were to go to a bazaar in Beirut, as our specialists say, they would buy a Syrian passport for peanuts there, and then they would come here. I assume these passports are being bought en masse and people are coming here already. The problem is long term and it could not be solved in the foreseeable future by economic, cultural or social means. It is a problem of security of our peoples. And it will increasingly be so. My immediate advice is: close the borders as soon as possible. Triple enrolment in your police schools and increase by 10 times the funds used to penetrate all kinds of local Islamic societies […]

Americans are getting out of the Middle East, and we could not rely on them as we used to. […]

At this juncture in Europe, only Russia has the potential to deal with these problems, in terms of security, will, brains and competences […]

The Middle East will continue to fall apart […]

The EU must move immediately to build a united federal Europe with a common army […]

Security and many other problems within Europe like radicalisation cannot be solved on a sub continental basis or on a trans-atlantics basis. Maybe we could find a common Eurasian and Euro-Atlantic solution.

Europe’s refugee crisis

The refugee crisis is perhaps the most serious crisis that Europe has come to face since the end of the Second World War. […] Europe must be able to act decisively on this. It would be in the basic interest of European companies — as well as what Europe expects to stand for in the world — to do these things sooner rather than later. We must act as we have seen Europe acting to bring all the interested parties together to the conflict in the contemporary Middle East, centered on Syria, and catalyze the process. This will be partly a diplomatic endeavor, but it needs to be backed up by the readiness to use decisive force if necessary. Otherwise, this conflict will continue, and it will continue, and it will not be able to put enough barbed wire and fence around the borders of Europe. […] Let us for a moment look at the three players that are the most significant in many ways in the EU context. These are Great Britain, France, and Germany. They are all now looking in their own direction. The United Kingdom is obsessed with the referendum question and the political class spends most of its time dealing with the referendum debate. It is fully concerned with a dramatic security situation. And Germany is treading increasingly inward, frightfully embittered at the lack of solidarity when it comes to dealing with the refugee issue. All three are acting in their own direction, and this could be disastrous. […] The European Union, wrapped in a slight brexiter international player that is always yet it cannot act fast enough to cope with one tenth of the refugees that the former has taken in. It is definitely something that we card as Europe and it is something that we definitely should and I hope we will do as Europe.

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I think we should be careful about backing up the wrong tree when we stress a panic atmosphere. This is the worst time to restart the debate over Europe’s demographic deficit. […] Second, if we have to wait for a united Europe, we might as well stop talking right now! […] On the other hand, I think there is a real priority: restoring security is an absolute priority. […] Likewise, this is not the time to set about “reconfiguring the Middle East”. That is immensely desirable, but we are incapable of it. Nobody can do it, not even the United States!

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As I have been saying for many years now, we have to come together to tackle Islamic extremism. Unfortunately, this has been ignored, and we have heard lately that some of our allies, including Qatar, have been trying to promote Al-Nusra. They have proposed that we should back Al-Nusra against ISIS. But this is insane. We should not forget that ISIS was behind the 9/11 attacks, the 7/7 bombing in London or the Madrid train bombings. It was Al-Qaeda, which is now Al-Nusra. Their小时前 in Syria, is the way you heard last week that Ayman Zawahiri, the leader of Al-Qaeda, came out in a statement, a recorded statement on the Internet. He was very clear and he said that the Americans, the Russians, the Iranians and Hezbollah are coordinating their war against us. He encouraged his people to stop fighting amongst themselves and direct their attacks against that alliance. Unfortunately, nothing was done. We have to know that these Islamic extremists are worse than the Nazis and a bit more dangerous, because they do not recognize international borders. They have no national state or borders we could invade. There is no single army to fight or ambasador to threaten with sanctions. Their ‘nation’ is amorphous. They exist in all of our countries and their threat will continue to grow until pluralism, economic development and respect for the law prevail across the world.

Ribal Al-Assad
Founder and Director of the Organisation for Democracy and Freedom in Syria and Chairman of the Imam Foundation

Meir Sheetrit
Member of the Israeli Knesset

Miguel Ángel Moratinos
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Spain

I believe that the best way to arrive to peace between Israel and the Palestinians is to negotiate a peace agreement, according to the Arab Initiative. There are five reasons: 1. We can have peace and normalization with 57 Islamic countries with the same price to have it only with the Palestinians. 2. This is the only way to circumvent the biggest problem of the Palestinians to have an agreement with Israel which is their claim for right of return. 3. An agreement with 57 Islamic countries and the end of the conflict will ensure that the agreement will pass in the parliament and in the referendum. 4. This kind of agreement will guarantee the existence of the peace. Because no one will dare to break it. 5. This is the best way to bring back Gaza strip under the Palestinian authority. If this will happen, it will change the Middle East and the world.

Europe must take its project back into its hands. It must re-examine all of its domestic and foreign policies. Within Europe, essential existences and values must be re-assessed. Outside Europe, a big question must be asked. What do we want to do with our neighbors? Do we want to live with them, next to them or in opposition to them? My answer is that we want to live with them, and if we want to live with them, the building blocks of a space of cooperation, stability and prosperity must be shared with them. […] Europeans, we must act together.
We consider the attacks on 13 November 2015 extremely serious because they signal the failure of all our systems to educate and integrate French-born citizens from immigrant backgrounds. But it must be remembered that an average of 1,000 Frenchmen died every day in the First World War. During the crucial Marne counter-offensive in September 1914, 20,000 young Frenchmen were killed every day! So I think things must be put into perspective. I think the coercive security measures being imposed on the whole population are counter-productive. I live next to the Luxembourg Gardens. They were closed for three days. I did not understand why, because this hands the terrorists a victory. I think we must avoid the mistake the Americans made in 2001. They thought 11 September was a strategic attack, even comparing it to Pearl Harbor. It was not a strategic attack. The attack on the Bataclan was not a strategic attack. We are collateral damage in a war splitting the Muslim world between a large majority that perfectly adapts to modernity and a violent minority that wants to restore the practices of seventh-century Islam. We must be extremely precise in this war. We must go after the terrorists with precision and nail those spreading hatred. We must contain and ruthlessly destroy them. But let us not take any overarching steps. If strategic and tactical skill is not used, we might find ourselves gradually and unwillingly drawn into one of those classic wars that, thankfully, have so far spared our world today.

I sometimes wonder, while talking about the West, Atlantic, Europe and the region, if we can pay attention to some other equally important regions at the same time. [...] In my opinion, this will be Africa’s century, and countries like India, China, Japan, South Korea and Indonesia will play a big role in helping that happen. Therefore, my view is that countries like India, Japan and others in Asia should be joining hands and cooperating with democracies of Western Europe and somewhere in order to build a modern Africa [...] It would help the Middle Eastern countries if they engaged with fellow Asian countries even more. [...] Asian nations should join hands for a stable and prosperous Indian Ocean region. [...] Let us not forget about the country which is very crucial to all the discussions we have had here since the opening [...] Afghanistan.

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Despite tension over the South China Sea and other issues and the difficulties of arming at a new modest level with each other, conflict between the US and China is unlikely. Neither is looking for trouble and the risk of conflict by accident and not war by design. The strategic issue for other states in East Asia is to avoid being forced into invidious choices as the US and China adjust their relationship, a process that is likely to take decades. But the most difficult adjustments for the ASEAN countries are internal not external.
LUNCH & DINNER DEBATES
PARALLEL WORKSHOPS
The recent decline of the oil price has been dramatic and the question is, is it temporary or structural? This is the topic of this workshop. In the quarter to quarter, we need to know if this oil market is related to supply/demand balance but also to geopolitical factors, specifically in the Middle East. From 2010 to 2014 oil prices have been almost stable in a range of 95/120 $/b. Downwards pressures due to uncertainties on the world economic growth have been compensated by upwards pressures related to the political unrest of some producing countries (Iraq, Iran, Libya…). Now it appears clearly that the oil market has been supplied by the dramatic growth of non-conventional oil production from United States. Surprisingly OPEC did not decide to reduce its production, as it was the case in the past but maintained its production to exert some upward pressures. As we enter in a new paradigm of the oil market, the disconnects have dramatic impacts on oil consumption and producing countries. As many countries, the oil market is subject to the first signs of rebalancing of the market. In the past it took around 4 years to rebalance the market. In 2014 oil prices have been almost stable in a range of 95/120 $/b. Downwards pressures due to uncertainties on the world economic growth have been compensated by upwards pressures related to the political unrest of some producing countries (Iraq, Iran, Libya…). Mid 2014 it seemed that the world economy was entering into a “new normal”. To answer to this question, we need to point out that the oil market is related to supply/demand balance but also to geopolitical factors, specifically in the Middle East. From 2010 to 2014 oil prices have been almost stable in a range of 95/120 $/b: downwards pressures due to uncertainties on the world economic growth have been compensated by upwards pressures related to the political unrest of some producing countries (Iraq, Iran, Libya…). Oil price is at the moment a crucial parameter in the global energy landscape. Will this transition be smooth? The present geopolitical instability and the international support for climate action will bring the transition for sure? The present geopolitical dismantling of the previous paradigm is creating a huge unknown.

Olivier Appert
President, Comité Français de l’Energie; President, Conseil Français de l’Energie; IFP Energies Nouvelles

Masood Ahmed
Director of the WFP’s Middle East and Central Asia Department

Tatsuo Masuda
Visiting professor at the NUCB Graduate School

Last oil price downturn is nothing new in oil market history. What differs this time will be the energy transition due to ‘improved and perceived climate risks. The systematic shift from fossil fuels to renewables (energy system decarbonization) is gaining momentum for the first time under low oil price environment. The traditional pattern of the impact of low oil prices may no longer apply (HEV, BEV, PHEV in the automotive sector, and policy incentives for renewables, lowering tax rates may not lead to notable demand increase due to weaker economy and the return of nuclear in Japan). This may offer a precious opportunity for fossil consumers to reduce their oil consumption with producers (e.g., Asian Premium crude oil and LPG, and LNG destination classed). As several positive impact on岚価 (an over-reporting region of energy) will largely be offset by weaker economy due to Chinese slowdown and the shift to “new normal”.

I want to focus a little bit on what the impact of this has been on the oil exporting countries in the Middle East. Over the last decade, most of them had built up financial assets. This year we are drawing down the assets they have built up to try and soften the impact of having less money coming into their budget from oil. [...] Now, if you look at these economies, there is a little bit of a slowdown in growth, but it is not a huge slowdown. It is the finances that are taking the hit because of the debt. If you are repaying your savings to finance spending [...] (one oil price war to stay low for only a year or two, there is a very good way to run your business [...] (one problem is what happens to oil prices in the next five years [...] (there was no change in the current spending plans of the countries for the next five years, this would be large, and for some countries unsustainable, fiscal deficits and rising debt [...] (the challenge facing these countries is therefore a difficult one. They are trading off their financial resilience and ratings on the one side, by trying to cut down spending and not building up debt faster than they can afford. But they must also do it in a way that does not add to the already serious problem of overemployment amongst youth and young people in particular.

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1. ENERGY

Antoine Rostand
Senior Advisor, Schlumberger

Energy is fundamental to the economic development. That is the reason why it is important for G20 countries to discuss energy issues in order to help address the energy challenges of today and the future. There are five important issues to be dealt with by the G20 countries in 2015 under the Turkish Presidency; energy access for all, energy efficiency, renewable energy, market transparency and inefficient fossil fuel subsidies that encourage wasteful consumption. As climate change is one of the greatest challenges of our time, G20 leaders stressed the importance of the successful outcome of the COP 21. The leaders welcomed that over 160 countries, including all G20 countries, have submitted their Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDC). There are two key issues to be tackled at the Paris COP 21 Conference. One is how to establish review mechanism for the implementation of the Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDC) in a transparent manner. The other one is about how to source financing to help developing countries with adaptations and mitigations. These two issues are closely related and will be the key obstacles to the successful outcome of the COP 21 in Paris.

There is something interesting about the newest world energy outlook, which was revealed recently, about two weeks ago. The growth happens in Asia, in developing economies, and India, not China, will bring the largest increases up to 2040. Another thing is about where the oil comes from. This year’s world energy outlook tells us about the low price scenario of about USD 50 per barrel, which will continue far into the 2020s. The demand will grow more and high cost producers like the US, Canada and Brazil will diminish the production. This means we have to heavily depend on the Middle East in the future. There is also carbon capturing and storage, for coal users as well as gas users, and huge investment in nuclear. For sustainability’s sake, this is very difficult. The United States can achieve sustainability and security by itself, thanks to the shale revolution.

In shale gas, US entrepreneurs are managing to decrease the unit cost of gas at 15% per annum, leading to a huge supply of gas in the US. Thanks to US, regional gas markets are getting interconnected and the price has come down globally in all markets.

In the future, I think that the world will be divided into two groups. In one group, US shale gas operators moved their drilling rigs to oil fields. In the other group, US operators are shutting down production in coming years, after 4 months lag, and the US will have too much surplus of production by mid-2016.

The outlook represents only 2% of global resources where shale and tight gas resources represent around 6% of global gas resources. In the short term, there is still a set of uncertainties. Gas prices, credit, technology in supply, technology in demand, regulation... Today the scenarios for the cost of gas are well below any point in time, so. According to the US EIA, Energy Information Administration, long term price scenarios for oil have a range of between 40 and 60.

Pierre Sigonney
Chief Economist, Corporate Strategy Department, Total

I will speak to you about international companies and how an international oil company can adapt to the new energy landscape. Costs have been much less reduced than price. Big oil companies still have to adapt and still have to continue to reduce costs, try to improve a better organization. They also need to pressure service companies. They will need to invest in R&D as the time for hydrocarbons is limited. International companies have sought to adapt their long term visions to the global environment and to the climate change issue. When we look at the transformation, the better fossil fuels, we will need gas some priority. When reducing coal, we will be able to do a fast decrease in CO2 and to maintain the use of hydrocarbons. Gas is very often a cheaper solution to limit CO2 emissions in the near future than renewables. So the least efficient scenario for reducing CO2 emissions should be to use gas, until the cost of these renewables has decreased sufficiently for them to be competitive.

Nobuo Tanaka
Secretary, Executive Director of the International Energy Agency; President, The Tanakawa Peace Foundation

Lee Hye-Min
Goo Sherpa, Ambassador for International Economic Affairs, Republic of Korea

There is something interesting about the newest world energy outlook, which was revealed recently, about two weeks ago. The growth happens in Asia, in developing economies, and India, not China, will bring the largest increases up to 2040. This year’s world energy outlook tells us about the low price scenario of about USD 50 per barrel, which will continue far into the 2020s. The demand will grow more and high cost producers like the US, Canada and Brazil will diminish the production. The context we have to heavily depend on the Middle East in the future. There is also carbon capturing and storage, for coal users as well as gas users, and huge investment in nuclear. For sustainability’s sake, this is very difficult. The United States can achieve sustainability and security by itself, thanks to the shale revolution.
The external observers and investors were keen to mention that, despite the difficulties of the financial crisis of 2007-2008, in the face of the receding demand in the south, there is a sense in the medium term phenomenon of acceleration of growth. It is clear that prudent banks from most emerging economies expect growth in the years to come, and projections for 2016 are still flattening. It is hard to predict on the criteria that have been observed for the slowdown, as well as the main global risks, in particular China, the geometric rates risks we are observing everywhere, the prices of oil and commodities impact on many countries, the rate increases that are highly likely in the US and which might not have adverse consequences. I only note that in the presentations made by them, the mood is quite pessimistic and everything is presented as a negative trend. It is evident that to bring up a number of risks factors are present, whereas it is something which is more complex and has positive and negative aspects.

John Lipsky
First Deputy Managing Director, IMF

Global growth will remain slightly below its medium-term and long-term average. In the context of our forecast, global economic risks remain skewed to the negative, but there is some upward pressure from the improved outlook for emerging and developing economies, with China's economy in particular. The implications, of course, of all these broad developments is that the growth gap between advanced and emerging economies has narrowed. What has been most striking has been the relative stagnation pace of business investment in the advanced economies. [..] The business investment slowdown has been one of the critical factors that have produced disappointing productivity results. [..] It is critical that the current environment is trying to understand why the disappointing productivity performance of recent years to come, so there is a medium term phenomenon of relaxation of growth, it has been most impressive, and prudent banks from most emerging economies expect growth in the years to come, and projections for 2016 are still flattening. It is hard to predict on the criteria that have been observed for the slowdown, as well as the main global risks, in particular China, the geometric rates risks we are observing everywhere, the prices of oil and commodities impact on many countries, the rate increases that are highly likely in the US and which might not have adverse consequences. I only note that in the presentations made by them, the mood is quite pessimistic and everything is presented as a negative trend. It is evident that to bring up a number of risks factors are present, whereas it is something which is more complex and has positive and negative aspects.

Jean-Claude Trichet
Former President, ECB

We are trying to work out what it is going on, whether the economic model that propelled our growth over the last several decades is somehow out of date and in need of revision. [..] That in many ways, on reflection, lulled us into a false sense of security, whereas it is something which is more complex and has positive and negative aspects. The same goes for the rate increases, which are always presented very negatively, particularly by the IMF, whereas it is something which is more complex and has positive and negative aspects.

Korn Chatikavanij
Former Finance Minister of Thailand

We are trying to work out what is going on, whether the economic model that propelled our growth over the last several decades is somehow out of date and in need of revision. [..] That in many ways, on reflection, lulled us into a false sense of security, whereas it is something which is more complex and has positive and negative aspects. The same goes for the rate increases, which are always presented very negatively, particularly by the IMF, whereas it is something which is more complex and has positive and negative aspects.

Akinari Horii
Senior Researcher, Bank of Japan; Special Adviser of The Canon Institute for Global Studies

We are trying to work out what is going on, whether the economic model that propelled our growth over the last several decades is somehow out of date and in need of revision. [..] That in many ways, on reflection, lulled us into a false sense of security, whereas it is something which is more complex and has positive and negative aspects. The same goes for the rate increases, which are always presented very negatively, particularly by the IMF, whereas it is something which is more complex and has positive and negative aspects.
Economic growth rates do not look so bad if long-term series are considered. However, while average growth rates are relatively good, we are currently having worrisome side-effects such as the search for yield and continuing macroeconomic misalignment. The deep change of incentives, if it is successful, is necessary. Following movements of recent decades, it is a source of concern, if it may change the future trajectory. Geopolitical mass unemployment is also a source of worry. Distributional issues have come to the fore and it is telling that central bankers mention them. Policy makers are grappling in the dark as a huge tradeoff confronts them and macroeconomic models are of limited help. Subsidization has limits and many have gone too far, current reformation, therefore, does make sense. Sovereign finance needs to be reformed and retrenchments have to go on, even minor changes through legislations is needed. Shadow banking facts are regulated as it is multi systemic risk.

Unconventional monetary policies have become so popular because they are seen as a quick fix to the problem. The effect of unconventional monetary policies is the side-effects of that monetary policy, and we have said 10,000 times that it probably did, and there is probably room for discussion. The problem now is the side-effects of that monetary policy, and also what will it be times that interest rates really had a big impact on the real economy. We do not know, but there is no doubt about it. However, where doubts begin is whether this impact on interest rates really had a big impact on the real economy. We do not know, but people do not invest, and if they do not invest it is because they are not confident in the future, and if they are not confident in the future it is because they do not exactly understand what the macro policy will be in the future, which reform would be implemented and combinations would come back, and there is a lack of transparency. Sovereigns are not doing what they should be doing new to improve the climate, transparency, and the voice of the public is increasing, and that is why transparency is needed. Savings going into financial investments or low-productivity investments instead of growth generating investments. It will again mention the case of very low interest rates and ultimately poor quality of investment, and if that continues, we could have a poorer quality capital stock with a negative impact on future growth. It might be time to start a very strong dialogue between the central bank and governments.

The independence of the central bank can be seen as one of the great achievements of the past 30 years, because it has helped avoid political meddling in banking but at the same time there is a lot of problems in controlling public expenditure. I think that assumption is that QE is here to stay, so that issue will not go away, and we would be better if we had just shown some oversight. I regard the transactional issues of course emerging markets welcomed the recapitalization, taking over when it came and crying when it was taken away. However, it is true that in a world that is managed better, central banks would have been provided with the remit that old monetary policy is bringing you money, while you are in the middle and not being actually taken to task. The other thing is a lot of countries have been agreeing and agreeing and decision makers without that actually being responsible for it. With this kind of international management, with the IMF as a kind of liquidity guarantor, there probably should be a permanent analyst, as there was with current accounts, of what happens with the remit that comes out of QE and it is taken away in order to manage it better. The last thing concerns QE and the bubble. Global market cap in 2000 was USD 53 trillion, USD 78 trillion in 2008, and USD 44 trillion right now, a dramatic decline. We are saving far more than we are growing, consumption and investments are growing, but savings are doing great, but in one or two years this will change.

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE
The rise of China’s economy also raises the question of whether the world is headed towards harmony and co-prosperity – or doomed to fall in the Thucydides Trap. [...] President Xi raised the issue of a new type of major power relationship during the recent Sino-US summit talk. [...] In the global multilateral arena, both sides have common ground on a variety of issues, including combating climate change, anti-terrorism and cutting cyber-crimes. [...] On the contrary, states and entities in the US and China have been engaged in military and territorial disputes in the South China Sea [...], but that agreement by the two presidents to improve maritime-safety and crisis communications are welcomed as good examples of Confidence-Building Measures. [...] People outside of China still have historic complaints. As a rule, only 10% of China’s stock market is open to foreigners. [...] It would be very good if China were a member of the TPP and the US were a member of the AIIB. [...] The rise of China’s economy also raises the question of whether the world is moving towards harmony and co-prosperity – or headed towards conflict and confrontation. [...] When people talk about China-US relations, many argue that the relationship is heading for conflict and confrontation and one can find a lot of conflicts to illustrate that point. However, China and the US are cooperating on an increasing range of issues, at a greater level of depth and importance than usual. [...] The answer to this is that it is no wonder that the countries of the US are so concerned about China. [...].

**Zhang Yunling**

**Park In Kook**

**Jia Qingguo**

**Richard Cooper**
PARALLEL WORKSHOPS

WORKSHOP 3 • SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21 • 16:15 – 19:15

PARALLEL 3 • CHINA

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

Bark Taeho
Professor at Seoul National University, Former Minister for Trade, Republic of Korea

Qiao Yide
Vice President & Secretary General, Shanghai Development Research Foundation

I will share with you a specific European view of the One Belt, One Road Chinese initiative. Yi Dai Yi Lu has three dimensions. The first has to do with the “new normal” in the economic growth and model, an attempt to master an economic transition from the made in China to the made by China and that leads companies to look at new drivers of growth outside Chinese territory, in short to export their industrial overcapacities. The second dimension has to do with the practical concept of connectivity, particularly in Eurasia, and without any precise geographical limits. The previous WPC in Seoul pointed out this aspect since this is the geoeconomics that will shape geopolitical outcomes. The last point is linked to both geo-economics and geopolitics. The Yi Dai Yi Lu initiative is much more than a mental prop – un effet d’annonce. It is much more than that. It is a grand strategy, not away from the European neighbourhood policy and from economic diplomacy, two notions that make sense in France. But the implementation of this very ambitious grand strategy implies China should show more active leadership in reaching high quality FTAs for both CJK FTA and the RCEP. East Asian economies as a group should also consider an idea of integrating their trade relations with the EU in the near future.

I am using the case of exchange rate reforms in August to elaborate the cognition gap between outsiders and Chinese decision makers. The reform is characterized by the new normal in the economic growth and model, an attempt to master an economic transition from the made in China to the made by China and that leads companies to look at new drivers of growth outside Chinese territory, in short to export their industrial overcapacities. The second dimension has to do with the practical concept of connectivity, particularly in Eurasia, and without any precise geographical limits. The previous WPC in Seoul pointed out this aspect since this is the geoeconomics that will shape geopolitical outcomes. The last point is linked to both geo-economics and geopolitics. The Yi Dai Yi Lu initiative is much more than a mental prop – un effet d’annonce. It is much more than that. It is a grand strategy, not away from the European neighbourhood policy and from economic diplomacy, two notions that make sense in France. But the implementation of this very ambitious grand strategy implies China should show more active leadership in reaching high quality FTAs for both CJK FTA and the RCEP. East Asian economies as a group should also consider an idea of integrating their trade relations with the EU in the near future.

The relationship between China and the United States in the areas of trade negotiations and agreements does not seem to be very good. In the Doha Round, the United States and China cannot find much common ground. Also, the TPP concluded last month doesn’t include China. On the other hand, China participates in the CJK FTA and the RCEP negotiations. China and the United States seem to be competing in the regional trade integration in the Asia Pacific. The G20 meeting to be held in China next year might provide a good momentum to revitalize the Doha Round with a new objective and neutral revised agenda. To be consistent with dynamic policy reform directions, China should show more active leadership in reaching high quality FTAs for both CJK FTA and the RCEP. East Asian economies as a group should also consider an idea of integrating their trade relations with the EU in the near future.
LUNCH DEBATE • FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20 • 13:00 – 14:30

Khalid Bin Mohammed Al Attiyah
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the State of Qatar

Last week, we were in Vienna talking about the subject that concerns the entire world today because it is not only an internal issue for Syria or the Syrian people, but it is linked to the whole world. The escalation and the delay in finding a solution for Syria affects the whole world. I am not exaggerating. All of you are well-informed and you see how this is spilling all over the world, whether it is exporting terrorists or whether it is exporting refugees, and this is why we in Vienna were trying to find a political solution. [...] with you, we are the most capable of fighting terrorists in the region and in the world. [...] We have to bear in mind that there are people in Syria. We should not let these people in the middle think about a choice between the tyranny of the regime or the brutality of the terrorists, so we have to keep an eye on these people. These people have been fighting on five fronts for five years now. They did not give up, so they have needs. We have to address their needs and we have to listen to them. This is what we are trying to encourage our colleagues to do. [...] all of us want a solution, but we haven’t have a political roadmap so that everybody knows what the end game is.
When I consider the IEA’s two-degree objective — a target I agree with — it will be the energy mix that will have a major role to play in achieving this aim. The reality is that 60% of the world of energy is based on fossil fuels, 10% is nuclear, that is the reality of the world of energy and of the world in which we are and will be living. At the same time, I am not saying that to defend all companies because I also always start my speeches by pointing out that oil and gas companies like Total are an integral part of the problem: energy accounts for approximately two-thirds of CO2 emissions and oil and gas for 40%. But I am also convinced that some of the solutions are in our hands because energy is our world, and we have the technological and financial means to achieve them. Any energy transition can only take place gradually. A company like Total must always aim to remain one of tomorrow’s energy giants so that it can help to develop gas, renewable energy and energy efficiency and make a commitment — the getting back to geopolitics — to ensuring that oil and gas companies become responsible players, which is what Total has always done. We work together to spearhead a joint initiative with some other oil companies. The future has large unknowns, including climate change. The next 20 years — I would say we think in terms of 20-year timelines — will undoubtedly be crucial for the world of energy and for energy companies. Therefore, we must have our own medium and long-term visions by trying to become stabilizing factors in a world where, unfortunately, short-sightedness and volatility prevail, although there is a good chance of achieving unification.
There is no doubt that the external environment for Europe has got a lot worse over the past few years and we have to look again at some of the assumptions we had about the direction of history. It looks a less benign environment for Europe over the next generation. For a community based on law, which is the European community, that is a particular challenge that we have been struggling to deal with. The institutions and the processes of the European Union are playing a positive, stabilising role in managing the challenges facing and tensions between Member States. But it is true that we are collectively struggling to find positive solutions. In terms of longer term global prospects, we should be basically confident in the values and the strength of Europe and the United States. We have a lot of stock – people concentrate on flows, but our stock is pretty strong. And while the international order we value faces difficulties, we should be basically confident in the values and the strength of Europe and the United States...
NETWORKING

November 20-22, 2015 - Vienna

POLICY CONFERENCE

GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

NETWORKING
Igor Yurgens
Einstein said that the most serious force in the face of Deliver. The WPC is the force of intellectual imponderability; its leader, its Chairman, Thony de Montbrial, is known how to find people. If you find people and you put interest, then it produces a result which cannot be ignored.

Jean-David Levitte
I think this is a very good opportunity to gather together people from different horizons with different experiences. The reason why we work together, why we try to gather together new solutions or ways and means is to think hard in the right direction. This is the forum, probably one of the few, where we attend.

Susan Lautaud
I think it’s an incredible experience. At the beginning of my talk I mentioned Thony de Montbrial’s vision from the speech this time, when he blatantly launched a call to be together because we have to understand all of our thinking and global governance, and I think that the intellectual global governance is ethical decision-making. So this is the direction.

Itamar Rabinovich
I think the WPC is an excellent venue. It is a place where the brain, its having a significant number of knowledgeable, interested and influential individuals. It is not a mass of diversity where one field is lost, and it is not in an gathering of any kind of the same background. It is the force of intellect embodied by its leader, its force of intellect. The WPC is the best forum where you can get an exchange of ideas and take back something.

M.K. Narayanan
What distinguishes the World Policy Conference from most international conferences is that they get some of the best people to be present. Most of them are thinkers, and therefore they bring a great deal of insight as to how to deal with problems. The WPC provides maybe one of the best forums where you can get an exchange of ideas and take back something.

Mariano Monti
The WPC is not an international conference. It is a place that brings together people from different horizons. The world is changing. There is a need for dealing with global issues, including all the production processes. You need people, you need ideas, you need the geopolitical challenges, including very, very fundamental challenges. All of them creates an absolute necessity to have happen global governance.

Jean-Claude Trichet
The WPC is very helpful because it concentrates, at the very beginning, on global governance as the title suggests. We trust, and we feel, that global governance is more important than ever in the current period. We have to have more efficient, more efficient ways of dealing with science and technology, including India and China, Japan and Korea. It is going to be a zero-sum discussion if Japan and China, Japan and Korea cannot intervene and talk to us and them. It is going to be an umpire.

Vuk Jeremic
The role of the participants is really about. They have to work together in very poor paper in one field and in another to put their global governance.

Jim Hoagland
The WPC stimulates new ideas, it stimulates new thinking. It gives us the chance to put forward ideas. It sets debate. It sets pressure of an intellectual, political kind. It is an extremely useful forum, particularly since this is one of the few conferences where you have a real bilingual approach, therefore coming together French and English, European and American alliances.

Manuel Hassassian
I think that the WPC is a big opportunity, but it brings at least the patterns to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. That’s why political accommodation is the only solution in this context.

Yukio Okamoto
I believe that the world is moving towards ethical decision-making and I believe that the linchpin of global governance is that you have to do ethical decision-making in all of our thinking and global governance, and therefore you have to have a terrorist threat for all of us. I think our concerns and our perspective on how the international economic governance systems, which are critical, because least developed countries are thinkers, and therefore they bring a great deal of insight as to how to deal with problems. The WPC provides maybe one of the best forums where you can get an exchange of ideas and take back something.

Charles-Edouard Bouée
The world is changing. There is a convergence between the political role of states and governance, business, and people and culture. This event is the place where you can engage these three different dimensions. From my perspective, that’s why very interesting event.

Junling Zhang
The WPC is a very good platform. If you are involved in the emerging global economic governance, experience tell us, we have to favor internationalism. So I think the WPC is also a very important, active voice, additional thoughts on this issue. These global big issues which we have a common interest.

Mona Makram-Ebeid
The WPC provides a fertile platform to express an important, a very good platform of intelligence, people who have the experience, the experience.

Kemal Derwiz
They choose the topics in a very intelligent and appropriate way. There is local substance, but there is also friendship that presents over the years. I think it is a very small conference, but it is not a huge one either; one does not have to go so deep, not just during the sessions but also during social moments. I like the fact that it lasts one and half - almost three - days again, one finds the time to enter into some depth. Also at panels and conferences are equipped so much in time that you give space for quadrilateral. There is almost place for real discussions.

Kishore Mahbubani
I think the WPC has a unique role in making the leadership a better aware of the knowledge. Of course, the WPC is not attended by ordinary citizens; for that, there are other instruments of communication and opinion-making. Making this for the leaders of countries, of governments, of institutions, and institutions is very, very useful. With the WPC, also on a personal level, a personal contribution towards the formation of internationalism.
KEY DATA

INVITED GUESTS

Participants - Geographical breakdown
(Total: 323 participants from 57 countries)

- EU: 48%
- Africa: 11%
- Middle East: 12%
- Europe outside EU: 11%
- Asia: 11%
- South America: 3%
- North America: 5%

Participants - Breakdown by function
(Total: 323 participants from 57 countries)

- Businessmen: 31%
- Journalists: 8%
- Delegations: 10%
- Experts: 16%
- Former heads of state and members of government: 5%
- Heads of state and members of government: 6%
- International institutions: 4%
- Senators: 2%
- Diplomats: 11%
- Others: 9%

Press review - Geographical breakdown
of main published articles
(Total: 78 articles)

- Middle East: 35%
- EU: 33%
- Africa: 14%
- Europe outside EU: 12%
- Asia: 6%
- South America: 11%
- North America: 3%
Bagger, Thomas

Ambassador of Austria and Permanent Delegate of the German Federal Foreign Office. He served as an advisor in the Office of the Secretary General of the United Nations in New York.

Bederson, Todd

President of REACH. He served as an advisor to the United Nations Secretary-General in New York.

Béchir, Chiraz

Vice-President of the President’s Office for Development and Co-operation, United Nations Development Programme.

Bel, Vincent

Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme.

Benbakhita, Mohamed


Bensouda, Fatou

Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court. She served as a legal analyst at the International Criminal Court in The Hague.

Bergen, Peter

Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. He served as an advisor to the United Nations Security Council in New York.

Birenbaum, Gunter


Bishara, Hassan

Chairman of the Arab League. He served as a representative of the Arab League in New York.

Blair, Tony

Former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. He served as a political advisor to the United Nations Security Council in New York.

Bonnefous, Valérie

Ambassador of France to the United Kingdom. She served as an advisor to the United Nations Security Council in New York.

Bouffard, Guy

President of the Canadian Children’s Foundation. He served as an advisor to the United Nations Security Council in New York.

Boucher, James


Bourgeois, Philippe


Bouziane, Brahim

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria. He served as an advisor to the United Nations Security Council in New York.

Brady, Richard

Former Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. He served as an advisor to the United Nations Security Council in New York.

Brandsma, Eddy

Senior Advisor to the President of the European Commission. He served as an advisor to the United Nations Security Council in New York.

Brinkley, Eric


Brzozowski, Zbigniew


Browne,果


Buchan, John


Buchanan, John


Buchwalter, Brian


Bülent, Taner


Burgess, Andrew


Buser, Antoine


Busby, Raymond


Butt, Ayesha


Byrd, Tim


Cassidy, Martin


Chabrol, François


Chang, Chin-der


Chavez, Hugo


Chavez, Hugo


Chen, Yangtze


Chen, Yangtze


Chen, Yangtze


Chen, Yangtze


Chen, Yangtze


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Chen, Yangtze


Chen, Yangtze

INVITED GUESTS

Dalai, Daniel
Professor, The School of Political and Administrative Studies in Beijing, China. Former Minister of the Ministry of the Central Bank of Romania. Former Prime Minister of Romania.

David, Dominique
Advisor to the Executive Chairman, IFRI, and former Director of the Board of the OIF. Former Executive Vice-President of the OIF. He was in charge of the Security Study departments at the OIF.

Dassas, Pierre
Advisor to the Grand Riad, Ong Foundation (Geneva, Switzerland), Member of The European-Romanian Foundation for Strategic Research, Diplomat (diplômé de l'École nationale d'administration & École nationale d'administration - France), Distinguished Professor at the University of Bucharest and member of the Board of Directors of the Romanian Academy of Sciences.

Dejamet, Alain
Ambassador to the United States, ambassador among others Ambassador to the UK and then to The Hague. Former head of the French delegation in The Council of the Scientific Committee of the Foundation.

Derive, Kermal
Deputy Director and Director of Global Economy and Development at the Development Research Center of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, former Advisor to the Hungarian National Assembly of the Ministry of Economy of Turkey and head of the United Nations Development Program.

Desarás de Montgalrand, Jean
Chairman of the Board of Directors and General Manager. He was, up to the merger between the former group Banque Populaire and the Crédit Mutuel, Chairman of the Executive Committee, President of the Group and member of the Executive Council of the Romanian Academy.

Desflis, José
Low, Prudencia. Wilson.

Desouches, Christine
International School of Paris. She is a former ambassador at the trade attaché of the French Embassy in China and France's top diplomat in the Middle East.

De Saá, Moren
Vice President of the European-Romanian Foundation for Strategic Research, Diplomat (diplômé de l'École nationale d'administration & École nationale d'administration - France), former Director of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey and head of the United Nations Development Program.

Djilea, Zouzou
Chairman of the Board of Directors at the Arab Bank for Development in the Maghreb and former Director of the Arab Bank for Development in the Maghreb for漆. She was in charge of the Bank's projects in the Maghreb and in the Gulf countries.

Drouin, François
Chairman of the Board of the Committee for the future of the Middle East. He was a member of the Board of Directors of the Arab Bank for Development in the Maghreb and former Director of the Arab Bank for Development in the Maghreb for漆. He was in charge of the Bank's projects in the Maghreb and in the Gulf countries.

Duchêne, Sandrine
Deputy Director of the Health and Medical Affairs Division. She was appointed by the President of the French Republic as Minister of Foreign economic policy and public finance.

Ely Aounaoui, Karim
Managing Director of the policy unit of the minister of the Interior and former Director of the Strategic Planning Office of the UK. He was Director of Economics and International Relations at Bank Al-ain.

Elkouch, Hervé
Professor of economics, The School of Management, and member of the Board of Directors of the Romanian Academy. Former Member of the Executive Council of the Romanian Academy.

Emmanuelle, Fauchart
Deputy Director General of the French Foreign Ministry. She was appointed by the President of the French Republic as Minister of Foreign economic policy and public finance.

Elschéková Matisová, Andrea
Director of the Directorate General for Economic and Financial Affairs of the Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development, and Minister for Foreign Trade and Development, and Member for Foreign Affairs, France.

Ekinci, Ahmet
Professor of Economics, Middle East Technical University. He was a member of the Turkish Academy of Sciences.

Elzbieta, Bielawska
Secretary General of OCP. He was Director of Economics and Development at the Assemblée Nationale.

Elshakat, Ali
Senior reporter and war correspondent for Khaled bin Sultan, an Arab League special envoy for Syria and a member of the Crisis Group since 2014. He was advisor to the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran and a member of the Crisis Group since 2014. He was advisor to the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Elschek, Andrea
Senior reporter and war correspondent for Khaled bin Sultan, an Arab League special envoy for Syria and a member of the Crisis Group since 2014. He was advisor to the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran and a member of the Crisis Group since 2014. He was advisor to the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Engelke, Nicolas
Chairman of the Board of Directors at the Arab Bank for Development in the Maghreb and former Director of the Arab Bank for Development in the Maghreb for漆. She was in charge of the Bank's projects in the Maghreb and in the Gulf countries.

Ern, León
Ambassador-at-Large and Policy Advisor in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Singapore. Former Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore.

Esen, Meral
Vice President and General Director of Global Economy and Development at the Development Research Center of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, former Advisor to the Hungarian National Assembly of the Ministry of Economy of Turkey and head of the United Nations Development Program.

Ersöz, Mehmet
President and CEO of the Turkish Economy Foundation. He was a member of the Board of Directors of the Romanian Academy.

Étoile, Sébastien
Member of the Board of Directors of the Romanian Academy.

Étienne, Marcel
Advisor to the former President of the Executive Committee of the Romanian Academy. Former Prime Minister of Romania.

Étienne, Emmanuelle
Member of the Board of Directors of the Romanian Academy.

Étienne, Amélie
Member of the Board of Directors of the Romanian Academy.

Étienne, Stéphane
Member of the Board of Directors of the Romanian Academy.

Étienne, Nicolas
Member of the Board of Directors of the Romanian Academy.

Étiangé, Luc
Chairman of the Board of Directors at the Arab Bank for Development in the Maghreb and former Director of the Arab Bank for Development in the Maghreb for漆. She was in charge of the Bank's projects in the Maghreb and in the Gulf countries.

Étienne, Florence
Member of the Board of Directors of the Romanian Academy.

Étienne, Francis
Senior Advisor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey. He was in charge of the department of economic policy and public finance.

Étienne, Emmanuel
Member of the Board of Directors of the Romanian Academy.

Étienne, Emmanuelle
Member of the Board of Directors of the Romanian Academy.

Étienne, Amélie
Member of the Board of Directors of the Romanian Academy.

Étienne, Stéphane
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Étienne, Amélie
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Étienne, Francis
Senior Advisor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey. He was in charge of the department of economic policy and public finance.

Étienne, Emmanuel
Member of the Board of Directors of the Romanian Academy.

Étienne, Amélie
Member of the Board of Directors of the Romanian Academy.

Étienne, Stéphane
Member of the Board of Directors of the Romanian Academy.
Korsia, Haim
Chief of Staff since 2014. He was a member of the National Congress. He is a member of the Jewish Chatsh of the Army and the Politically Active Branch of the General Chaplain of the Air Force.

Kowal, Pawel
Member of the Board of Directors of the Institute of Political Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Warsaw University. Member of the Executive Committee of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

Lafont, Bruno
Director of the Institute of Lefageschift and Honorary Chairman of Lefageshift and Chairman of the Executive Officer of Lafarge. Member of the Executive Committee of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

Laichchi, MohammediFormer Minister of Labor and Social Protection and Minister of Youth and Sports, Algeria. He also served as Ambassador of Algeria in Romania, Deputy, President of the Finance and Budget Commission at the national Assembly.

Lampe, Otto
Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Switzerland and Liechtenstein. Former Deputy, President of the Finance and Budget Commission at the national Assembly.

Lebron de Wenger, LiliandеAmbassador of France to Liechtenstein. She was Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Economic Relations in addition to being a member of the French delegation to the Federal Assembly of Germany.

Lee, Hye-min
Ga-Sha Repub and Ambassador for International Economic Relations of the Republic of Korea. Former Ambassador to France and Deputy and Chief Negotiator for the Kore-EFTA.

Levitte, Jean-David
Director of the SISW. Brokings Institution and member of the International Advisory Board of the Atlantic Council of the United States. Former Senior Diplomatic Adviser and Special Representative for National Security and International Affairs. Former Assistant Secretary of Defense for Intelligence.

Lukyanov, Evgeny
Director of the Foreign Ministry, Brokings Institution and member of the International Advisory Board of the Atlantic Council of the United States. Journalist, published with the Foundation for the National Security Studies (iran). Research professor at National Research University Higher School of Economics in Moscow.

Lulache, Daniela
Chairman of the National Health Council, the country's health regulatory body. He is also one of the main leaders of the health sector in Romania.

Makram-Echeikh, Mona
Professor of Human Rights and also head of the Human Rights Program at the University of California, Los Angeles. She has been working on the protection of women's rights in the Middle East and North Africa.

Mallier, Hervé
French Foreign Minister, Chairman and Master of Ceremonies. He is the King of the French Supreme Court.

Marion, Hervé
French Foreign Minister, Chairman and Master of Ceremonies. He is the King of the French Supreme Court.

Marian, Hervé
French Foreign Minister, Chairman and Master of Ceremonies. He is the King of the French Supreme Court.

Marojejy, Henri
Chairman of the Committee of Ministers. He is a lawyer and member of the WBCSD.

Maros, Mária
Former Secretary General of the European Union. She is also member of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

Marshall, Susan
President of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (III) and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the III. She was appointed by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

Matsuda, Tatsuo
Professor of the Waseda University School of Economics. He is the Director of the Reinvestment and New Business Development Office.

Maurice, Jean-Claude
Chairman of the Group Management Committee of Société Générale. He is also member of the Executive Committee of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

May, Marielle
Former Secretary-General of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD). She is also member of the Board of Directors of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

Mézard, Denis
Chairman of the European Parliament's Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs. He is also member of the Committee on Transport and Tourism.

Meyers, John
Former Senior Diplomatic Adviser and Special Representative for National Security and International Affairs. Former Assistant Secretary of Defense for Intelligence.

Miller, Michael
Former Secretary of Defense. He served as the Deputy Secretary of Defense and as a member of the Executive Board.

Müller, Christian
Chairman of Nestlé and Honorary President of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD). He is also member of the Board of Directors of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

Nasr, Samir
Former Minister of Justice of Romania, Interim Minister of Justice. He was a Special Advisor to Prime Minister Ion Iliescu.

Nebiolo, Francois
Former Secretary-General of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD). He is also member of the Board of Directors of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

Nigi, Matteo
Chairman of the Global Council for the Economy and the Environment. He is also member of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

Niwa Yamashita, Yukari
Chairman of the Global Council for the Economy and the Environment. She is also member of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

Norris, John
Former Secretary-General of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD). He is also member of the Board of Directors of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

Obeid, Khalil
Former Secretary-General of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD). He is also member of the Board of Directors of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

Okamoto, Yukio
Chairman of the Global Council for the Economy and the Environment. He is also member of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

Oey, Tio
Chairman of the Global Council for the Economy and the Environment. He is also member of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

Oujil, Elie
Chairman of the Global Council for the Economy and the Environment. He is also member of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

Oualalou, Abdellah
Former Secretary-General of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD). He is also member of the Board of Directors of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

Quirinella, Mireille
Chairman of the Global Council for the Economy and the Environment. She is also member of the Board of Directors of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

Roudaut, René
Chairman of the Global Council for the Economy and the Environment. He is also member of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

Rouz-Alezais, Henry
Chairman of the Global Council for the Economy and the Environment. He is also member of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

Sakong, Il
Chairman of the Global Council for the Economy and the Environment. He is also member of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

Schmid, Claudine
Chairman of the Global Council for the Economy and the Environment. He is also member of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).

Schweitzer, Louis
General Commissioner for Investments. Chairman of the French-Indian chamber and special representative of the French minister for international trade. He represented Switzerland as a member of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD).
LUNCH & DINNER DEBATES
OPENING SPEECHES
FULL VERSIONS
Prime Minister Lionel Zinsou. But the fact is that the cynical, hateful and monstrous coexistence of religions is now a major geopolitical issue. We will talk about this with the Charter. In my opinion, this idea is more relevant than ever. Many economic and conference as a sounding board to develop a proposal to update the Helsinki in Europe. Dmitry Medvedev, then President of the Russian Federation, used our after Lehman Brothers collapsed, a context illustrating the need to strengthen global The first WPC took place in Evian at the beginning of October 2008, just a few days after the so-called “Islamic State” committed the terrorist attacks in Paris. The in all its forms that have come down through history, with all its regional environment. I believe in particular that today, as in the past, neutrality has the ability to exert a positive, stabilising influence on the global or at least the contemporary world. I think it is a prime example of the richness of the idea for agreeing to deliver the opening address. Switzerland’s position, stemming from 2014 and the head of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, like to thank Didier Burkhalter, the Federal Councillor, the President of the Swiss of South Korea, gave a landmark speech. This year takes us to Montreux. I would also like to thank Didier Burkhalter, the Federal Councillor, the President of the Swiss Confederation in 2014 and the head of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, for agreeing to deliver the opening address. Switzerland’s position, stemming from an extraordinary history in the heart of Europe, allows it to play a unique role in the continent. I think it is a prime example of the richness of the idea of the Global 2000 and the Global South. In a very real sense, Switzerland, has the ability to offer a position, stabilising influence on the global or at least the regional environment. I believe in particular that today, as in the past, neutrality can still be a major role. In this regard, the experience of the Swiss Confederation in a current conflict is very relevant. The first WPC took place in Evian when it was still taking place. The conflict is not over, but it is evolving. In our 21st century world, crises are no longer the exception but the rule. That in itself is unacceptable — and must be fought — but nobody can change the climate. To meet this challenge, the need for diplomacy has reached a level unparalleled in many years. Diplomacy, especially creative diplomacy, needs to take centre stage. For today the situation looks grim. We are living in uncertain times and governments are almost always operating in crisis mode. Strong dialogue and creative solution can change things. Switzerland offers valuable contributions in this regard. The Lake Geneva area and the city of Montreux, which are hosting us today, is a symbol of that and a amenity. Many peace conferences and diplomatic meetings, public or private, have taken place on the shores of this lake — even in this hotel, which hosted the second peace conference of the Middle East. Switzerland has been a key player throughout. It feels all the more responsible on account of this specific history, while standing shoulder to shoulder with the world. I would like to conclude by thanking you all for your attention to today’s changes the world is facing, and Switzerland’s response to them. ***

Economic challenges are still riding from the Paris attacks. The peaceful coexistence of religions in a major geopolitical issue. We will talk about this with Prime Minister Lionel Zinsou. But the fact is that the special, helpful and numerous political manipulation of Islam by satanic leaders who indoctrinate alienated young people turns to turn from the world into a bitter place. The conditions for this scourge has just ploughed France into remorse, but it can strike anywhere, any time and without notice. However, not only is it calling for immediate action. The situation in France is slowly unfolding. ‘This is not the place to examine political, judicial or intelligence measures as more general and specific measures are needed to deal with this form of warfare, which experts rightly call asymmetrical and low-intensity.’ On the other hand, here we must address the diplomatic conditions necessary to weakening the power of many players, in particular non-State actors such as NGOs, terrorist groups and criminal networks. The world’s increasing economic, social and technological interconnection has strengthened the power of many players, including non-State actors. The world is more interconnected than ever before. Many economic and political events in the world, the increase in interconnection, and the rapid pace of events can change things. Switzerland can make useful contributions in that regard. The Lake Geneva area and the city of Montreux, which are hosting us today, is a symbol of that and a amenity. Many peace conferences and diplomatic meetings, public or private, have taken place on the shores of this lake — even in this hotel, which hosted the second peace conference of the Middle East. Switzerland has been a key player throughout. It feels all the more responsible on account of this specific history, while standing shoulder to shoulder with the world. We will talk about today’s changes the world is facing, and Switzerland’s response to them. ***
Development gaps between the world’s countries are narrowing. The number of people living in extreme poverty in the developing countries has plummeted from 45% in 1990 to 4% today. The proportion has gone down from one in two people to one in seven people in 25 years!

But there’s another side of the coin. Globalisation has also brought about new inequalities. Economic progress remains uneven. China and India have seen the sharpest drop in poverty, whereas sub-Saharan Africa still lagging behind.

The soft spread of ideas, goods and capital, as well as the acceleration of population movements, can have social, economic and political implications. As in numerous other OECD countries, many people in Switzerland are worried about integration and its consequences in terms of integration, space-planning in already densely populated areas and competition for jobs. Matters of identity are a major political issue across Europe today.

Globalisation can be a force for good and offer humanitarian great opportunities. But it must be shaped to maximise the benefits and minimise the drawbacks. As always, a balance must be found: globalisation cannot bring about progress if it is perceived as a risk, if it leaves too many and its benefits only the few.

Making progress, and not merely moving forward, is the key. The agenda of globalisation, then, is to maintain a fair and peaceful order, to ensure the efficiency and legitimacy of national and international institutions and to guarantee the cohesiveness of our societies. Lastly, it is to develop shared responses to the numerous challenges, whether transnational threats or global problems such as climate change, security, water, migration and violent extremism.

The quest to achieve a necessary balance, “to set the world right”, has always been a major challenge. It is even more so today, because of the two trends I mentioned: the return of geopolitics and the resurgence of armed violence.

The return of geopolitics is a side effect of globalisation. A multi-polar world is becoming more complex. It requires more commitment, time and energy.

Yet the great powers seem to define their interests more in a spirit of confrontation than of cooperation. International norms and international law are coming under increasing pressure.

Geopolitical competition is growing not just on the planetary scale, but also in regional contexts.

The existing balance is being challenged in several parts of the world, particularly in East Asia (e.g. the South China Sea), Europe (Ukraine) and the Middle East (sequences of conflict). In all these areas of the globe, we are witnessing the ups and downs of regional balance and the resurgence of situations that had been great powers in a sometimes very remote past, which had made their mark on the world over centuries.

Let us think about the return of China and India: two powers that accounted for the world’s biggest share of GDP until the mid-19th century. Let us think of Iran, Russia and Turkey, bridges between Europe and Asia.

Geopolitics is a matter of government choices. It is not a given fact. Our task is to demonstrate that all of us would be better off choosing cooperative solutions rather than exclusion.

With regard to the Iranian nuclear deal, Iran and the great powers have chosen diplomacy over confrontation. Switzerland is pleased with the outcome and strongly backed the process, which unfolded not only in this region, but, once again, in this very hotel.

Will this spirit of coordination and dialogue – beyond immediate differences – manage to provide order to the situation in the Syrian crisis? Will the international community continue to reach out to the so-called “Islamic State” effectively and on the basis of UN decisions?

Time will tell. But re-establishing consensus and rebuilding a fair and peaceful world order also require recognizing that Western universalism has its limits and that globalisation – briefly the West for over a century – is shifting towards multi-polarity.

The resurgence of armed violence is another obstacle hindering countries from moving forward on the path to development and reaping the benefits of globalisation. Although researchers remind us that the number of violent conflicts is decreasing over the long term, today we must face two trends.

First, the number of victims is soaring. The estimated number of people killed in violent conflicts was set at 54,000 in 2008. That figure rose to 100,000 in 2014. The war in Syria alone claimed 25,000 lives last year. The UN says that in late 2016, there were six million internally displaced persons in the world – a number unprecedented since the end of the Second World War!

The second trend is that instability and violence on Europe’s borders have considerably increased. In the East of Europe, the Islamic liberation has brought war back to the continent, something unthinkable just a short time ago. In the South, the situation has deteriorated in many places. Old, unresolved conflicts, such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and more recent wars in Syria, Yemen and Libya, have plunged the region into deep crisis. And failed States are fertile ground for the growth of jihadist terrorism.

The return of armed violence has had tremendous effects. In areas preyed upon by conflict, human security decreases, economic activity shrinks — today two-thirds of Syria’s population depend on humanitarian aid while over four million people have fled the country — and the prospect of development has been shattered.

Nor is Europe spared.

On the one hand, it must face a major influx of refugees attempting to flee that violence. Crafting an appropriate response to this crisis is one of the greatest challenges Europe has had to meet in decades.

On the other — and we must make a clear distinction between these two issues — Europe has become a more likely target of terrorism. By attacking Paris, the “Islamic State” has taken terrorism to a new level.

The insecurity and instability rocking the Middle East are increasingly affecting the situation in Europe and in Africa.

Time will tell. But, re-establishing consensus and rebuilding a fair and peaceful world order also require recognizing that Western universalism has its limits and that globalisation – briefly the West for over a century – is shifting towards multi-polarity.
Serbia,
suggest constructive solutions to major spirit of tolerance to examine, discuss and and journalists – in a climate of trust and a representatives of civil society, academics – political and business leaders, leading figures from all five continents which is on a human scale, brings together fairer and more respectful of the diversity world that is more open, more prosperous,

The World Policy Conference was founded by the foundation of the International and the London School of Economics and Political Science, which is an independent organisation which aims

Abdollahian made the remarks while in the Middle East and the entire world. bad have worsened the security situation stressed that using terrorism as a tool to serve

A senior diplomat described the potential establishment of “terrorist regimes” as the most serious threat facing the world. “The acts of Daesh [the so-called Islamic State]

The Syria Times, 23.11.2015
Syria, An-Nahar, 24.11.2015
Lebanon, An-Nahar, 24.11.2015

Poland, Warsaw Business Journal (WBJ), 23.11.2015

Lowering interest rates will be unwise and wrong, both will not be a catastrophe, said head of the central bank, Marek Belka. The Monetary Policy Council (KPK) kept interest

Warsaw Business Journal (WBJ), 25.11.2015

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Warsaw Business Journal (WBJ), 25.11.2015

Monetary Policy Council (RPP) kept interest

Monetary Policy Council (RPP) kept interest
Thierry de Montbrial
We never had so deep conversations as we had this time. [...] The fundamental aim of the WPC is to bring the world together and work together. The unique dialogue environment of the WPC is unique in the world. [...] We try to build bridges between all these different opinions and actors in order to have a new approach for discussion, dialogue and political solutions. Never before, in the world of politics, dialogue and action, we have had such a unique opportunity to solve problems and find solutions. In the new world, we need to be open-minded and work together to build bridges. The WPC is a unique forum to bring the world together and work together.

Tatsuo Masuda
I think it is important to be open-minded and to think about the future. [...] We should not be afraid of the future because the future is always with us. We should be open-minded and work together to find solutions. The WPC is a unique forum to bring the world together and work together.

Mostafa Terrab
Food security is part of a global agenda. [...] There is a need to build bridges between different regions and cultures. The WPC is a unique forum to bring the world together and work together.

Saidi Amr Abdollahian
Said Amr Abdollahian is an important country in the region. I personally believe that there are no problems in the relationship between Tehran and Riyadh. We have different ideas about the situation in the region, especially in Lebanon, Iraq, Syria, and Yemen. [...] We are looking for a solution where we can work together to solve the problems in the region.

Haim Korsia
There is a war in South Africa in France, where people are asking for unity. [...] We have to work together to find solutions and work together to build bridges. The WPC is a unique forum to bring the world together and work together.

Didier Burkhalter
We have a very clear opinion on the role of the UN and international organizations. [...] We are working to build bridges between the different regions and cultures in order to have a new approach for discussion, dialogue and political solutions. Never before, in the world of politics, dialogue and action, we have had such a unique opportunity to solve problems and find solutions. In the new world, we need to be open-minded and work together to build bridges.

Mari Kiviniemi
According to the deal, it is a challenge and it also gives a lot of opportunities for academics, business models, and using the data. [...] We should not look out of the dialogue and accept the agreements. The younger generation is important and it is the same for the young generation. We think it is important to work together and find solutions. The WPC is a unique forum to bring the world together and work together.

Elisabeth Guigou
The governance has an effect on this election. [...] We will see voters say “in this world, we need a President who is serious, a President who understands the world and a President who stands for the values that we cherish.” [...] It looks like a consolidation on both sides toward a more experienced, more “serious” candidate. [...] We should be looking at the ability of the United States to look at the issues in the US, since the US is the most influential country in the world.

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Nelson Cunningham
Foreign policy has affected this election. [...] We will see voters say “in this world, we need a President who is serious, a President who understands the world and a President who stands for the values that we cherish.” [...] It looks like a consolidation on both sides toward a more experienced, more “serious” candidate. [...] We should be looking at the ability of the United States to look at the issues in the US, since the US is the most influential country in the world.

Zhang Yunling
People worry about China’s future intentions, future influence and especially the United States. They worry about China’s domination in the whole China Sea. But China has no intention to dominate. It is impossible to dominate such kind of a big area. I call it China’s strategic competition, the US tries to show its influence, but China understands that these issues have to be discussed because this world is still a rather new world for all of us.

Tatsuo Masuda
I think it is important to be open-minded about the future. [...] We should not be afraid of the future because the future is always with us. We should be open-minded and work together to find solutions. The WPC is a unique forum to bring the world together and work together.

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