



WORLD  
POLICY  
CONFERENCE  
December 7-10, 2012 - Cannes, France





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# WORLD POLICY CONFERENCE

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FIFTH EDITION, DECEMBER 7–10, 2012 - CANNES, FRANCE



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## The WPC's mission

The fifth World Policy Conference (WPC) took place in Cannes in December 2012. The identity of the initiative I launched in Evian in 2008 is gradually taking shape. The WPC is an independent organisation which aims to contribute to improving global governance, with a view toward constructing, in the medium- and long-term, a world which is open, fair and respectful of the diversity of States and nations. Its annual meeting, which is on a human scale, brings together leading figures from the five continents, on an equal footing and in an environment of trust and a spirit of tolerance which encourages in-depth thought and constructive debate. Any and all collective problems implying a search for global solutions are up for discussion.

In Cannes, the WPC once again brought together, in a pleasant setting and welcoming environment, top-ranking political and economic leaders, experts and opinion leaders to debate and promote ideas adapted to the major challenges of our times. By consulting this brochure, as well as our website ([www.worldpolicyconference.com](http://www.worldpolicyconference.com)), the reader may be persuaded to get involved in our adventure and to contribute to its long-lasting success.

**Thierry de Montbrial**  
Founder and chairman



## Good governance

Good governance is mainly based on inspiring confidence, sharing responsibilities, quality of execution and using information wisely to make decisions and analyse their consequences.

For States, good governance is also democracy and freedom of opinion and expression. It requires a good public service and good management, achieved by attracting the best to the civil service. To have rule of law you need agents who receive a decent salary and are honest and devoted. The media plays a vital monitoring role. It was noted that corruption is very widespread, but to differing degrees in different States. It is even found in France. It must not be tolerated.

An international governance system was gradually set up after the two world wars. In a crisis, governments tend to withdraw into themselves and international governance either stops developing further or regresses. Developing countries are less inclined to respect the rules to protect their immediate interests. Globalisation requires more global governance, but the major obstacle to this expansion is the lack of a base of common values. In terms of public opinion, an excellent suggestion is to use the potential of social networks to catalyse a form of universal conscience, a feeling of planetary belonging for civil societies, without which all forms of global governance run the risk of never becoming a reality. For the future, some dream of tripartite global governance, with a first college elected democratically and responsible for short-term problems, a second made up of academics and political figures who are available and competent, and a third made up of exceptional figures, capable of thinking in the long-term. In any case, we must come up with new ideas for developing satisfactory global governance.

For companies, good governance means inspiring confidence, through openness, knowledge of others, and dialogue. It's also about getting publically involved in the programmes recommended by major authorities, for example, complying with the OECD's guiding principles on corruption and money laundering. It's about applying the same rules throughout the world, and even being a step ahead of official regulations. When a company is a leader in terms of commitment, it can pull along other companies. It can even import standards of good governance into the countries in which it operates, which can then spread to other levels of society. Companies, whose presence is greatly dependent on the authorities, are creators of wealth, jobs and growth. But governance of the private sector, like

all other sectors, is not always exemplary, with problems relating to transparency, non-compliance with rules, illegal transfers of funds and tax evasion.

## Governance and geopolitics

### 1. G2

A G2 was mentioned as the major world axis, consisting of the United States and China and able to take major decisions. These two countries have shared interests, such as supporting economic growth, maintaining an open system, peace and prosperity in Asia, nuclear non-proliferation, controlling climate change and combatting terrorism. Their economies are highly interconnected and a confrontation would be extremely detrimental to them. In addition, China depends on America's technology, its market and its education. But we must not forget that their political systems are fundamentally different, that they are in strategic competition in Asia, and that such a structure would not be welcomed by key neighbours such as India and Russia or by the US's regional allies, such as Japan, South Korea, India and Australia. It is therefore unlikely that a G2 will be created.

### 2. Europe

Europe is in crisis because it didn't follow its own rules and because some countries in southern Europe are in deficit and not competitive enough. Conversely, the countries of northern Europe and Germany introduced structural reforms fairly quickly. They are very competitive and for the most part profit-making with 530 billion dollars. Overall, the Eurozone has a significant surplus of 100 billion dollars. In the short-term, the obvious solution would be to act in solidarity, something which is difficult for the richest countries to accept but which would benefit everyone in the end. During the critical phase, bodies like the ECB, the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF) and the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) were created or used. Monetary union was completed through budget restrictions and structural reforms. For the time being, to avoid bankruptcy and recession, every country affected must apply the rules decreed and clean up its public finances, but at a suitable rhythm which is socially and politically bearable. It should be noted that Italy, thanks to a coalition government which is unique in Europe, was able to apply essential structural reforms quickly and bring about an impressive budgetary recovery and, despite a recession, increase its revenues thanks to an effective fight against tax evasion.

To face up to large countries like China or the United States, Europe must be strong and united. Its members must not compete with each other, even if the crisis has revived protectionist tendencies and nationalist reactions in some. If it is to last, monetary union should be completed with fiscal and social harmonisation, which at this stage is still hypothetical. And in the long term there needs to be a rebalancing of competitiveness. All of this needs to be done to re-establish confidence. Then private-sector and corporate surpluses will once again be used for investment, a necessity if unemployment is to be reduced. In addition, citizens must receive more information about what the EU does, the part it plays and its legitimacy if they are to be persuaded that it is needed. Through efforts such as these we will be able to fight the nascent Euroscepticism. If the EU's very existence does not seem to have to be called into question, the major political issue will be knowing how far countries want to go with the European idea and the transfer of competences. Should we move towards federalism and political union or stop at economic union, as the UK wants? These decisions will take time.

### 3. Asia

Asia has fallen behind Europe in that it hasn't resolved its problems relating to territory and fishing zones, problems which have been exacerbated for economic and nationalist reasons. In December Japan elected a nationalist government which has seemingly decided to oppose China and Russia over territorial issues and to reconsider Japan's apologies to Korea. Russia is unbending on the Kuril Islands. Some think that the United States have stirred up tensions. Asia's smaller countries are worried. These tensions show that the region's leaders do not have a long-term vision. But armed conflict seems unlikely, for various reasons: the problems are not serious enough, war against Japan would also be war against the United States, there is the nuclear deterrent, and, first and foremost, China needs a peaceful environment in order to resolve its serious internal problems. Since the crisis, China has been developing its internal market to maintain growth. In terms of governance, China's leaders believe that Western-style democracy is currently unsuited to such a large country. But an intermediary revolution is likely since the democratic ideal is spreading there, as it is everywhere. Despite their disagreements, many Asian countries do not want to remain isolated from each other. Free-trade and investment agreements are expected between China, South Korea and Japan, which would strengthen their ties. Even Taiwan and the United States are ploughing investment into China. The ASEAN + 3, launched after the Asian financial crisis of 1997-98, brings together the ten countries of the ASEAN as well as China, South Korea and Japan. In addition, three other Eurasian countries –

Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus – will join an EU-inspired customs and economic union in January 2013. Russia intends to expand this union to other countries in the region and even to join forces with China. The idea of creating a trans-pacific security zone exists but is blocked by those who would prefer China to remain apart. There is opposition between Slavophiles and Westerners in Russia. Some in Russia believe that Europe is in decline and that their country would greatly benefit from turning towards Asia. But 80% of the population considers itself to be European, and China and Russia are not natural allies.

### 4. Middle East

The Middle East is still an unstable and dangerous zone. For Iran, having the nuclear bomb means having a shield against all attempts at destabilisation, whether political or military, and asserting its status. Iran threatens to destroy Israel. If Iran gets the bomb, other countries in the region will want it. Some believe that the current economic sanctions have the paradoxical effect of accelerating the nuclear program. The issue of nuclear proliferation is at stake. President Obama will probably toughen the economic sanctions against Iran in the hope of bringing about social unrest against the regime, and he will try to relaunch negotiations in the best possible way. But what should be discussed in the negotiations? If they don't get results, he will have to make an extremely unpleasant choice. If he manages to get Russia and China on board, then others will be prepared to sign up and things will be easier. If not, he either lets Israel strike on its own or he decides to strike. And a one-off military action would only postpone the creation of the bomb by a few years.

The war in Syria is a humanitarian and geopolitical tragedy because the country lies at the heart of the Arab world. This kleptocratic and authoritarian regime rules through political repression. It is ineffective and has failed in education and employment. But it has considerable and sophisticated weaponry supplied or financed by Russia and, according to some, Iraq. Westerners do not want to intervene directly due to both the risk that their help will be redirected to benefit Islamists and also the opposition of Russia and China, which, as a matter of principle, are against supporting rebellions. In addition, Russia has significant interests in Syria, including a naval base. The development of the rebellion in big cities like Aleppo and Damascus may lead one to believe that the regime is doomed and that it is only a matter of time before it falls. However, the divisions within the opposition augur badly for the future, just when preparations should be underway to safeguard, if such a thing is still possible, the equilibrium which existed between the various communities making up the country, and to forestall dominance by the Islamists in the country. That is a major challenge.

The Israel-Palestine conflict has been poorly managed by the United States. They have been too supportive of Israel, mostly for domestic political reasons. So long as the conflict is not resolved, there will not be stability and security in the Middle East. The recognition of Palestine as an observer

State at the United Nations gives it a new legitimacy but the Israeli government stands firm in its position on bipartisan negotiations. Resolving the problem will require each party to reduce their demands and probably the extensive involvement of the United States. It is also possible that, if the real Arab spring emerges, better understanding between Israelis and Arabs will be established. In any case, Israel has no choice but to find a solution, if only because, if it wants to remain a Jewish, democratic State, it must consider the fact that Israel's Arab population will exceed its Jewish population in an estimated 10 to 20 years.

Six months after his election as the first President of post-revolutionary Egypt, the Head of State, Mohammed Morsi, has used the constitutional declaration to assume exorbitant powers that even the former President didn't have. This action has been contested by the majority of young people and intellectuals of all persuasions. The popular, spontaneous revolution which resulted in the change in power had no other plan than the hope of the rule of law for all Egyptians, respect for the dignity of citizens and social justice. The divisions among the non-Islamists since the revolution, due to the appetite for power and highly-developed egos, certainly favoured the victory of the Muslim Brothers and their allies in the elections. The current situation highlights the existence of two Egypts: one marked by years of repression and whose idea of democracy is limited to majority rule; and another which harks back to a liberal, modern past and the influence which Egypt has exercised over the region since Napoleon and the reign of Muhammad Ali, and wants a democratic, modern and egalitarian civil state. The future is uncertain.

### 5. Africa

Africa has grown at an average of 5% per year for more than 12 years, and is only moderately dependent on commodities. Six African economies were among the ten fastest growing economies in 2011-2012. Economic and social improvement is expected as a consequence of rapid urbanisation, the development of information and communication technologies, progress in education, healthcare and gender equality, and the emergence of a middle class which already accounts for one-third of the population. However, the future of Africa is still uncertain. Democracy has developed in the continent, but this development has stalled since 2006. There remains much progress to be made. We should highlight the persistence of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, which does its utmost to encourage Africa's progress and improve its governance. Africa is dependent on the international markets for food because it has too little agricultural production, primarily because of the policies which have been imposed on it for the past 20 or 30 years and the agricultural subsidies granted to rich countries. Land issues need to be resolved in order to allocate land to the people who live on it and prevent foreign companies from buying it. SMEs, as creators of jobs, are a powerful force for structuring, qualification, improving living conditions, and bringing about political and social stabilisation. Many are created

but not enough, due to corruption, excessive taxation, a lack of facilities and infrastructure, and a lack of investors. Foreign investors hesitate to get involved in Africa, as they don't know whether it will be an Eldorado or a quagmire. However, the rate of foreign investment has grown tenfold in ten years, with massive investment, particularly from China, India, Brazil, Malaysia and Turkey. Half of the African population is under the age of 20, which is both an advantage and a problem. These young people must be better educated and better trained. However, population growth will create a need for more resources, such as water, agriculture and various infrastructures. At the current rate of growth, by around 2045 Africa will have an economy the size of China's today. But China is one country and Africa is 54, and this multiplicity creates problems with efficiency and consistency. Without a union, Africa does not have any weight in the international context or against the major entities like the United States, China and the EU. Overall, there is reason to be quite optimistic about the general development and economic success of Africa in the coming decades.

## Global governance and major challenges

### 1. Finance

The reputedly infallible financial system has turned out to be very vulnerable. The crisis developed in three phases. From 2007 to 2008, we had the subprime crisis in the United States, which led to the failure of Lehman Brothers and the start of the collapse of the whole international financial system. Since 2009-2010, a third episode in the crisis has developed: the sovereign risk crisis which is affecting numerous countries and in particular the Eurozone.

Among the many causes of this crisis, we can pinpoint the financial industry's involvement in high-risk portfolios, the major mismatch between short-term loans and long-term loans, and poorly planned and over-valued acquisitions. To these was added the issue of overly close links between banks' balance sheets and sovereign debts, which we now know are no longer risk-free. Moreover, although the integration of the capital markets is a powerful driver of global growth, when it leads to significant global imbalances it creates negative phenomena of wide-ranging moral hazard. The imbalances propagate throughout the system. To give two examples of economically unjustified anomalies: countries which have accumulated surpluses and which are tempted to loan to countries which do not use these funds productively, or capital flows going from poor countries to rich countries. Ratings agencies and high-frequency trading can distort the economy and should be controlled. One of the causes of the debt crisis is, of course, the absence of political consensus between States, with each one pulling in a different direction. And this problem is likely to be around for a long time.



We have avoided a major depression, but not a major recession, thanks to the concerted, energetic and extraordinarily far-reaching actions of central banks and States which, using unconventional measures, in stages, have contributed liquidity, recapitalisation and guarantees to make up for the deficiencies of the private sector. In the UK we have seen the near nationalisation of the main banks. During and after the crisis, there were attempts at international coordination and regulation of the financial system at the reformulated G20 summits. These resulted in the Basel III agreements of 2010, with prudential measures such as the increase in liquidity ratios which should increase banks' resilience. These measures will be applied gradually. Compensation rules have been changed. Financial leverage has also been reduced. The idea is to separate the investment banks from the retail banks. Some economists think that the answer lies not in increasing capital but rather in encouraging long-term investment, which stimulates growth. But for investments to return to normal, confidence has to return. To this end, the G20 created the Financial Stability Board to supervise and monitor financial institutions.

Despite all the measures taken over the past four years, we can't yet say that the financial industry has been cleaned up for good. It would be fair to say that we are at the halfway point in the work to draw up concepts and rules for regulating and supervising this sector. The hastily created G20 must be improved. It would be advisable to institutionalise it through a permanent executive committee responsible, at the very least, for ensuring that its directives are followed and increasing its representative character and legitimacy so that it becomes a recognised instrument of global governance. The performances of international institutions and their directors could be evaluated to increase their efficiency. Some complications remain: the issue of the link between the banks and sovereign debts has not been resolved, the quantity of toxic assets is not widely known and a large number of reforms have been started but we don't know how to assess their results and the consequences for investments. The procyclical impact has been reduced but has not disappeared. Concentration of the banking sector has accelerated with the risk of banks failing. The regulation of "shadow banks" has barely been discussed even though their share is increasing, but the role of these institutions has not been entirely negative during the crisis.

The current risk lies in believing that the lull means there is no need to continue efforts, even though everything indicates that, on the contrary, we need to continue down the road of international cooperation by implementing structural reforms and harmonising

regulations. But there is no agreement on the potential regulatory system, on accounting standards, leverage, retail banks, etc. Harmonisation appears very difficult due to the diverse range of cultural and institutional practices which are reflected in divergences in policies, interests, value priorities, definitions and applications. We should therefore concentrate on coordinating the macroeconomic policies of the main economic powers. The countries which have withstood the crisis, such as Sweden, Canada and Germany, are countries which faced enormous problems 20 or 30 years ago and subsequently implemented major reforms. It seems obvious that we should not spend more than we earn, to allow a return to confidence, growth and job creation.

The euro is still with us, despite the alarmist consensus of the Anglo-Saxon world. The eurozone has a balanced current account. The annual consolidated deficit is lower than that of the United States, the UK and Japan. The euro is higher against the dollar than its entry level. The determination to strengthen European integration and implement long-term measures is a good sign for the EU. The rise in wages in Germany should have a positive effect on the European economy by reducing imbalances within the eurozone.

In conclusion, there has been some progress in coordination and a certain reduction in imbalances. We need a global economy. We must not allow nations to withdraw into themselves, something which would bring about an enormous loss of wealth. Developing countries have benefited from globalisation and in the future advanced economies will benefit from the development of these countries.

## 2. Energy and the environment

Oil and natural gas are fossil fuels available in limited quantities, although we don't know when they will run out. Their use releases CO<sub>2</sub>, a greenhouse gas considered to be the main cause of global warming. Rich countries have produced two-thirds of these greenhouse gases. In developing countries, rapid urbanisation and population increases will require a shift from traditional energies, taken from biomass, towards fossil fuels. Development of nuclear energy, called into doubt after Fukushima, has started again in some countries, but it is another non-renewable energy.

The emergence of shale gas changes the traditional energy game, with significant economic and strategic implications. It is extracted in North America, but all continents have large reserves. For the US, extracting the gas brings

many benefits: employment for hundreds of thousands of people, increased competitiveness for industry and a decrease in greenhouse-gas emissions. Production on this scale will bring down the prices of natural gas and oil everywhere. This will harm large producers such as Russia, both financially and in geostrategic terms. It is even foreseeable that the US will export some of this gas. Its increasing independence makes it far less dependent on the Gulf monarchies. But we can anticipate that, for strategic reasons, it will continue to ensure the stability of this region by its presence. Asia will form closer ties with the Middle East for its oil requirements.

Two things can be done to reduce global consumption of fossil fuels: improve energy efficiency and make greater use of renewable energies, but the latter are still very expensive and, moreover, are only sporadically produced; they only represent 3% of consumption. In India, 12% of electricity comes from renewable energies thanks to an incentivising policy with private producers. Subsidies and research are still needed to develop these energies and storage methods permitting a continuous supply. Solar energy has the advantage that it can be produced locally and is easier to store, in the form of heat. On a large scale, solar electricity could be produced in the Sahara and transported to Europe by high-voltage lines for not too high a cost. Generally speaking, only national energy policies exist. They are drawn up to serve national ends and without much consideration for regional consequences. More often than not they ignore sustainability, reduction of the greenhouse effect or the decrease in carbon energies. The European Union has a climate policy and has created a European emissions-trading system, but it grants exemptions to encourage competitiveness. It allows members to choose their own energy mix. So the European energy market is very fragmented and inefficient with, for example, 27 different policies relating to subsidies for renewable energies. To compensate for the closure of its nuclear plants, Germany imports American coal, the price of which has fallen since the advent of shale gas.

There is no global governance exercising authority over energy and environmental problems. Consumption of fossil fuels is constantly increasing, energy prices remain high, except for gas in the US, CO<sub>2</sub> emissions continue to increase; it seems clear that we need a change of direction. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change dealing with this issue sets targets for reducing greenhouse-gas emissions and preparing us for the foreseeable effects, but its recommendations are applied in different ways. We are supposed to reduce emissions by 60% by 2050. It could be useful to involve the G20 and other international forums to bring about progress in this

matter. We could also consider having an international agency, such as the IEA, carry out an audit of energy policies, taking into account all accessible parameters, such as damage to the climate and the environment, and the social or economic costs or benefits. We need to raise awareness among the public, because as long as climate change does not appear to be a real threat, public opinion will pay it no heed.

A major obstacle to the reduction of greenhouse-gas emissions is that it results in costs and therefore harms competitiveness. Reducing this effect requires concerted action. The cap and trade system for allocating emission permits equitably is an initial response to this; it affects 12,000 companies in Europe. But it is a bit biased in favour of some companies affected by international competition. The US has rejected a project which was similar but had a protectionist aspect. The solution would be for emissions to cost the same throughout the world.

But we need to go even further in our management of the planet, with a view to moving from a "linear" economy to a "circular" economy. We will have to change our belief that we will always be able to fashion the world according to our needs alone, by asking the earth for more than it can sustainably supply. In eight months, we consume what the earth produces in one year. Each European consumes 16 tons of diverse products per year, six of which are rejected in the form of waste. A circular economy begins with recycling, which is currently at a very low level, and makes it possible to greatly reduce the need for energy and volumes of waste. Global incentivising measures will be required to disassociate economic growth and energy consumption, to make efficient use of resources, to encourage systematic recycling, to prioritise all things sustainable and to reduce the use of non-renewable resources through taxation.

## 3. Major risks

Numerous risks that can be classified as major have been mentioned. They affect diverse domains and, depending on what type they are, can be anticipated and resolved to a greater or lesser extent. Briefly, these include: cyber-attacks, food security, ageing, climate change, demographic growth and associated migration, lack of mineral resources, energy requirements, freshwater requirements, the deterioration of the ecosystem, ocean acidification and aerosol pollution. Politically, there is reason to fear an escalation of nationalism, and ethnic and religious separatism. There are social risks due to the excessive gap between the rich and the poor, the consequences of which are multiple and dire. Only some of these risks, considered to be the most immediate, were discussed.

The risks of cyber-attacks, led by governments or terrorists, have long been neglected. And yet they can target countries' critical systems with incalculable consequences. Given the presence of the internet in every sector, an attack

could, for example, change the proportion of chlorine in drinking water, disrupt air traffic or even put major banks out of action. Recently the Stuxnet worm penetrated the most secret codes of industrial plants and propagated itself silently, by creating serious malfunctions, primarily in Iran. The Shamoon worm destroyed the hard drives of 30,000 computers at the company Aramco. It is estimated that 25% of computers are infected in one way or another. Defences are starting to be organised, especially in the military sphere, but they are complex to implement.

The second risk is food security, which means two very different things. In countries in the North, it relates to food hygiene, which we can now consider to be achieved. In countries in the South, it relates primarily to malnutrition caused by poverty: 870 million people suffer from it and 2.6 million children die from it each year. The FAO is not really tackling this problem; it is only helpful in urgent situations. There is no global agricultural policy. The real risk is that we fail to properly feed the global population, which is continuing to rise and which will reach 10 billion people in 2070. That is the biggest challenge of the 21st century. Solutions must be planned at the global level, or coordinated, at the very least, at the regional level. We will have to double global agricultural production within two generations and this will have to be financed.

The third risk, also foreseen but paid little heed, is ageing. There is linear growth in life expectancy; every day, our life expectancy increases by six hours. This development is a benefit for individuals but a risk for the planet. The population wrongly thinks that social security can take charge of all the ills relating to age, disability and loss of independence. In the UK, it has been estimated that in the near future 10% of people aged 65 and over will need very expensive care of more than €120,000 per person per year. Funding will have to be reviewed everywhere. The solutions envisaged, or even already applied in some countries, include implementing private or mixed insurance. We may have to go so far as compulsory private insurance. One positive aspect of ageing is the positive economic consequences resulting from the need for care and services.

Climate change was also mentioned in this workshop. Science cannot make completely reliable predictions about such a complex subject but it is certain that the temperature will continue to increase. However, we will need to envisage different responses depending on whether the temperature rises by 2 or 4 degrees. In any case, rising sea levels will have serious consequences in some regions.

Generally speaking, governments are reluctant to tackle major risks: for global risks, because they affect the whole world and action by an individual would be ineffective and could make the country less competitive; for more national risks, because they hesitate to take long-term measures, which are expensive and affect their chances of being re-

lected. So we need to circumvent individualism and turn once again towards global governance on these subjects, harnessing the global bodies which already exist. But we note that for the moment, as regards natural risks, major countries such as the US, China, Russia and India do not want treaties for various national reasons. Thus, despite the evidence of climate change, we are not really progressing towards an international agreement. The longer we wait, the greater the costs of the fight for the whole world. We must push politicians to act.

S.N.K.



## Friday, December 7

19:30 WELCOME COCKTAIL

20:00 DINNER DEBATE  
**“Establishing and operating a business in a conflict zone”**  
**Christophe de Margerie**, Chairman and CEO of Total

## Saturday, December 8

09:00 – 10:00 OPENING SESSION

Message from **François Hollande**, President of the French Republic  
**Thierry de Montbrial**, Founder and chairman of the WPC  
**Alassane Ouattara**, President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire

## MESSAGES

**H.A.H Bartholomew 1st**, Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch  
**H.S.H. Prince Albert II**, Sovereign Prince of Monaco  
**Herman van Rompuy**, President of the European Council

10:00 – 10:15 **Najib Mikati**, Prime Minister of Lebanon

10:15 – 10:30 COFFEE-BREAK

10:30 – 12:00 PLENARY SESSION 1  
**“Global economic governance”**

Speakers: **Benoît Cœuré**, Member of the ECB's Executive Board  
**Kemal Dervis**, Vice President, Brookings Institution and Member of the Executive Committee, Istanbul Policy Center, Sabanci University  
**Angel Gurría**, Secretary-General of the OECD  
**Il Sakong**, Chairman of the Institute for Global Economics, Former Finance Minister of Korea  
**John Lipsky**, Distinguished Visiting Scholar, International Economics Program, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Former First Deputy Managing Director, IMF

Moderator: **Jim Hoagland**, Contributing Editor to *The Washington Post*

12:00 – 12:45 PLENARY SESSION 2  
**“G2 ?”**

Speakers: **Robert Blackwill**, Henry A. Kissinger senior fellow for U.S. foreign policy, Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)  
**Wang Jisi**, Dean of the School of International Studies, Peking University, and director of the Center for International and Strategic Studies, Peking University

Moderator: **Han Sung-joo**, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea

12:45 – 14:00 LUNCH DEBATE

**“Democracy in Europe”**  
**Sylvie Goulard**, Member of the European Parliament for the West of France

14:15 – 15:00 PLENARY SESSION 3  
**Mario Monti**, Prime Minister of Italy

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

15:00 – 16:30 PLENARY SESSION 4  
**“The future of the EU”**

Speakers: **Joaquín Almunia**, Vice-President of the European Commission  
**Karl Kaiser**, Harvard University; Former Director of the German Council on Foreign Relations  
**Radosław Sikorski**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland  
**Hubert Védrine**, Former French Minister of Foreign Affairs  
**Pierre Vimont**, Executive Secretary General, European External Action Service (EEAS)

Moderator: **António Vitorino**, President of Notre Europe – Institut Jacques Delors, Former Defense Minister of Portugal and Former European Commissioner

16:30 – 18:00 PLENARY SESSION 5  
**“Good governance and economic success”**

Speakers: **Chang Dae-Whan**, Chairman of Maekyung Media Group  
**Mo Ibrahim**, Chairman of Mo Ibrahim Foundation  
**Donald J. Johnston**, Founding Partner, Heenan Blaikie; Former Secretary-General of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)  
**Bruno Lafont**, CEO of Lafarge group  
**Ana Palacio**, Member of the Spanish Council of State, Former Senior Vice President of the World Bank, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain

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

20:00 COCKTAIL

20:30 GALA DINNER  
with **Pascal Lamy**, Director-General of the WTO



## Sunday, December 9

09:30 – 12:30 PARALLEL WORKSHOPS

## 1. Finance

Chair: **Jean-Claude Trichet**, Former President of the European Central Bank

Speakers: **Josef Ackermann**, Chairman of the Board, Zurich Insurance Group Ltd; Former CEO, Deutsche Bank  
**Marek Belka**, President of the National Bank of Poland  
**Jeffrey Frieden**, Professor of government at Harvard University  
**Jacques Mistral**, Special Advisor at Ifri  
**Riad Toufic Salamé**, Governor of the Lebanese Central Bank

## 2. Energy and environment

Chair: **Christophe de Margerie**, Chairman and CEO of TotalModerator: **William Ramsay**, Senior Advisor of the Center for Energy, Ifri; Former Deputy Executive Director, International Energy Agency (IEA), Former US Ambassador in Brazzaville

Speakers: **Richard Cooper**, Professor of International Economics at Harvard University  
**Jacques Lesourne**, President of the Scientific Committee of the Energy program at Ifri  
**Jean-David Levitte**, Distinguished fellow, Brookings Institution ; Former Diplomatic Advisor and Sherpa of President Nicolas Sarkozy  
**Alexander Likhotal**, President of Green Cross International  
**Anil Razdan**, Former Power Secretary of India  
**Kevin Sara**, Chairman and CEO of Nur Energie  
**Maria van der Hoeven**, Executive Director of the International Energy Agency (IEA)

## 3. Major risks

Chair: **Lionel Zinsou**, Chairman of PAI Partners

Speakers: **Godefroy Beauvallet**, Head of the AXA Research Fund  
**Philippe Chalmin**, Professor of Economic History and Director of the Master of International Affairs at Paris-Dauphine University  
**Dominique Moïsi**, Special Advisor at Ifri  
**Qu Xing**, President, China Institute for International Studies  
**Luc-François Salvador**, CEO of Sogeti  
**Tadakatsu Sano**, Former Chief Executive Assistant to Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama  
**Raphael Wittenberg**, Senior Research Fellow at the Personal Social Services Research Unit (PSSRU) at the London School of Economics and Political Science  
**Igor Yurgens**, Chairman of the Management Board of the Institute of Contemporary Development, Moscow

12:30 – 14:30 LUNCH DEBATE  
**“Trust”**

**Josef Ackermann**, Chairman of the Board, Zurich Insurance Group Ltd; Former CEO, Deutsche Bank  
**Jean-Claude Trichet**, Former President of the European Central Bank

14:30 – 16:00 PLENARY SESSION 6

**“The future of the Middle East”**

Speakers: **Edward Djerejian**, Founding Director of James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Former US Ambassador to Syria  
**Manuel Hassassian**, Ambassador of Palestine to the United Kingdom  
**Jean-David Levitte**, Distinguished fellow, Brookings Institution ; Former Diplomatic Advisor and Sherpa of President Nicolas Sarkozy  
**Mona Makram Ebeid**, Former Member of Parliament, Egypt, Distinguished Lecturer, American University in Cairo, Member of the National Council for Human Rights  
**Meir Sheerit**, Member of Parliament, Former Minister of Internal Affairs, Israel

Moderator: **Mehmet Ali Birand**, editor in Chief of CNN Turk and Chief Anchor for Kanal D main news

16:00 – 16:30 COFFEE-BREAK

16:30 – 18:00 PLENARY SESSION 7  
**“Africa”**

Speakers: **Mo Ibrahim**, Chairman of Mo Ibrahim Foundation  
**Hakim Ben Hammouda**, Special Advisor to the African Development Bank Group (AfDB)  
**Edem Kodjo**, President of PAX AFRICANA, Former Prime Minister of Togo, Former Secretary General O.A.U (A.U), A.U Peace Ambassador  
**Jean-Michel Severino**, CEO of Investisseurs et Partenaires

Moderator: **Lionel Zinsou**, Chairman of PAI Partners

20:30 DINNER DEBATE  
**Adil Abd al-Mahdi**, Former Vice President of the Republic of Iraq

## Monday, December 10

08:00 – 09:00 REPORTS FROM PARALLEL WORKSHOPS

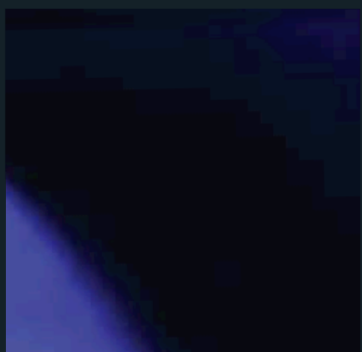
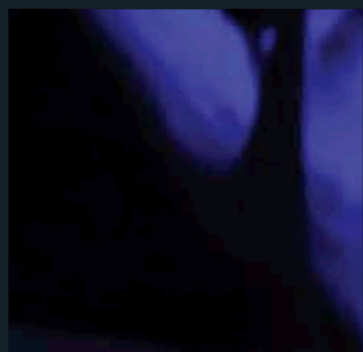
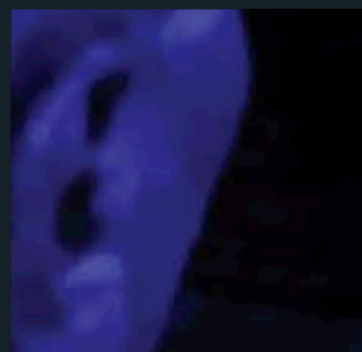
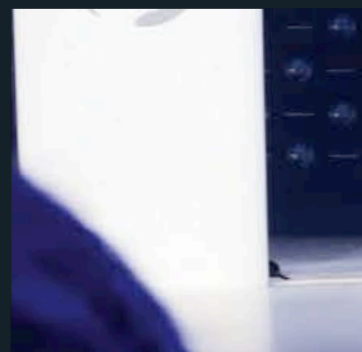
09:00 – 11:00 PLENARY SESSION 8  
**“General debate”**

Speakers: **Jim Hoagland**, Contributing Editor to *The Washington Post*  
**Han Sung-joo**, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea  
**Donald J. Johnston**, Founding Partner, Heenan Blaikie; Former Secretary-General of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)  
**Serguei Karaganov**, Chairman of the Presidium of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy  
**Wang Jisi**, Dean of the School of International Studies, Peking University, and director of the Center for International and Strategic Studies, Peking University  
**Igor Yurgens**, Chairman of the Management Board of the Institute of Contemporary Development, Moscow

Moderator: **Dominique Moïsi**, Special Advisor at Ifri

12:30 LUNCH AND DEPARTURE

OPENING  
SESSION





# Message from François Hollande

President of the French Republic



“

... the future of the eurozone... The message from France is simple: debt reduction is, of course, essential, but it is not enough on its own. We need growth (...) only the departure of Bashar al-Assad will make it possible to end a conflict which affects the security of the entire region. We also urgently need to get Iran to renounce its nuclear ambitions, and to achieve this through dialogue and peaceful sanctions. Lastly, we urgently need to find a solution for Israel and Palestine which is recognised by all. (...) the unavoidable fight against the establishment in Mali of terrorist groups... how important this cause is to France and how determined it is to see the solution driven by local actors, with the support of regional and international organisations. (...) These challenges cannot be separated from each other. And they cannot be considered in relation to one country alone. In response to so many challenges, uncertainties and hopes, we need collective answers. I hope that your debates at Cannes contribute to defining these responses.



See the full speech in video

# Thierry de Montbrial

Founder and chairman of the WPC



“

The nature of interdependence has changed as a result of globalisation. (...) more than ever before, tiny a priori causes can have significant and fundamentally unpredictable effects. (...) Extended global governance can only ensure the viability of the international system overall if it is sufficiently *legitimate* and *efficient*. This objective is not currently impossible, given that the world, although *heterogeneous*, is not *revolutionary*, as Europe was at certain times in its history. (...) International relations remain principally, but no longer exclusively, *interstate relations*. (...) In many domains, today, governments can only take the correct decisions by conferring or negotiating with other active units whether public or private (...) In a rapidly changing context there has clearly arisen the need to identify and manage what can be called “global public goods”, despite the fact that, strictly speaking, the notion of public good cannot be separated from that of political unity. (...)



See the full speech in video



## Alassane Ouattara

President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire



Despite the risk of a deterioration of the situation in Europe, the overall picture for Sub-Saharan Africa is very encouraging. (...) The return on investment in Africa is one of the highest in the world. Africa attracts private capital flows which now exceed foreign aid. (...) Africa's trade with the rest of the world has increased by 200% since the year 2000. (...) In addition, the African continent could fully benefit from the "demographic dividend", just as Asia did 30 years ago. (...) This growing integration of Africa in the global economy could not have happened without increased political stability, good governance, democratic change of government and the gradual setting up of robust institutions. (...) Africa should not therefore be on the fringes of the Security Council and global governance. Indeed, international security and peace are now heavily reliant on the African continent. (...) I will continue to do my utmost, with the help of my peers, to prevent conflicts and ensure respect for the foundations of democracy. I am optimistic and I have faith in Africa, which is a continent of the future.



See the full speech  
in video

# H.A.H Bartholomew 1st

Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch



“

The unification of humanity, that eternal ideal, seems ever more distant today, when the major global equilibriums are being redrawn, when conflicts and tensions are increasing and when a fragmented, multipolar world is emerging.(...) What can guide us through these storms? Undoubtedly, a sense of history, the ability to discern the different, intersecting cycles to which our daily lives belong. (...) The collective memory is an essential resource.(...) we think that all governance must take into consideration the complexity of the world, by giving it back the tools needed to protect its pluralism. First among these tools is dialogue, which is the only one likely to curb the phenomenon of fragmentation which we are faced with. We therefore put ourselves forward as participants in this dialogue in order to facilitate meetings, discussions and sharing of collective memories.



See the full speech  
in video

# H.S.H. Prince Albert II

Sovereign Prince of Monaco



“

Global governance covers a great many areas, including sustainable development, a subject in which I am particularly interested, which is now recognised as a genuine priority since the signs of a deterioration in the situation are now clear (...) The present situation really requires a gradual but profound change in our lifestyles, with the aim of moderation, solidarity and justice. That is why I have committed my government to encouraging energy programmes, investing in very high performance insulation and heating solutions, encouraging the use of public transport and promoting electric vehicles. (...) Moderation is not an objective in itself; it defines the way for a new relationship with nature and man thanks to a better balance between our lifestyle and our relations with others, including our contemporaries in the most disadvantaged regions. With you, I believe in the promise of a new horizon founded on the commitment of everyone to give our Earth and mankind a future full of confidence.



See the full speech  
in video

# Herman van Rompuy

President of the European Council



“ We are slowly leaving the existential crisis mode. There is an increasing confidence in the Eurozone future, a growing sense that we will get there. (...) With the crisis, for the very first time, European citizens are confronted with the hard fact that some costs come alongside the benefits of our Union, for instance to defend a common currency during a financial crisis. Citizens are also realizing for the very first time that they are in this together, and that what happens in another country with banks, bubbles or budgets affects them too. Realizing this is one thing, drawing all the consequences is quite another. And being jointly responsible for a common European good can be a painful discovery for people who are struggling in their own country to find a job or make ends meet. But I strongly disagree with those who conclude hastily that the crisis has killed solidarity between European countries. The crisis has revealed what it takes to be in the Union. In fact this is the very first real test of solidarity in the history of the Union. (...) We need results in terms of stability, grows and jobs to convince our citizens that European Union and the Euro is not part of the problem but part of the solution.



See the full speech  
in video

# Message from Najib Mikati

Prime Minister of Lebanon

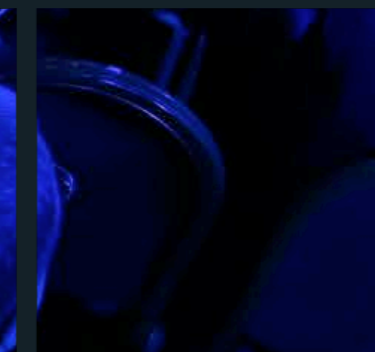
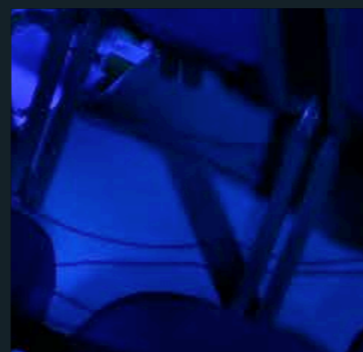
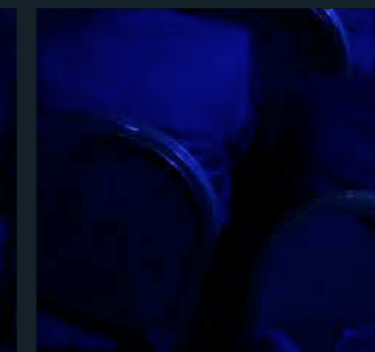
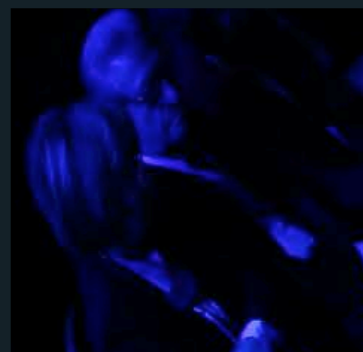
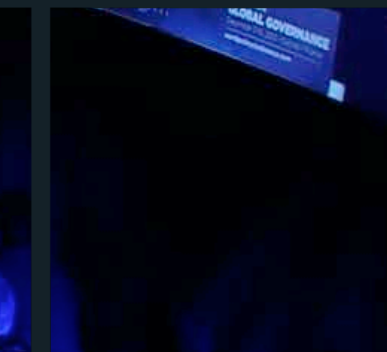
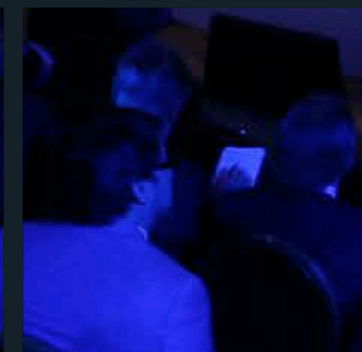
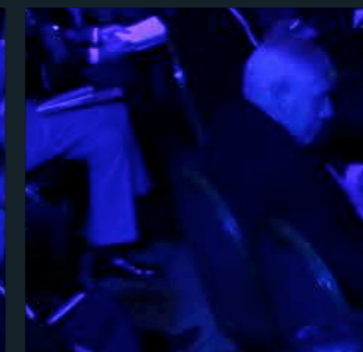
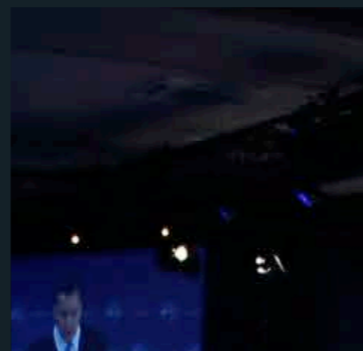
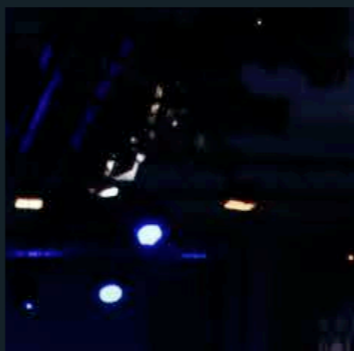


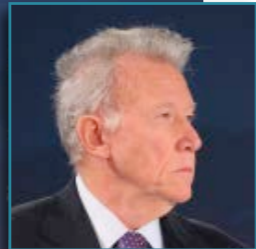
“ Periods of great change are also periods of major conflict and, unfortunately, the sabre-rattling is insistent, but in our region this time: the «Middle East powder keg» has replaced the «Balkan powder keg» of the start of the 20th century. In this respect, the figures of the Global Militarization Index are alarming: of the ten most highly militarised countries in the world, six are in the Near East. (...) we must be aware that establishing real democracies in the Arab world will take a long time and require a lot of effort. Therefore, before being able to tackle the challenges necessitated by the setting up of political or economic governance, our region must first go through a transitional phase which will force civil societies to engage in self-analysis to find the most appropriate model to ensure their stability and prosperity. (...) in order to protect the gains made by the revolutions in the Arab world, to avoid civil societies falling into fundamentalism and extremism, and to lead them, instead, onto the path of good governance, a plan must quickly be put in place to increase the level of education and create jobs. Because never forget that more than half of the population of the Arab world is under the age 25, something which could be an opportunity or a calamity... depending on how we act.



See the full speech  
in video

# PLENARY SESSIONS





MODERATOR:  
**Jim Hoagland**  
Contributing Editor to  
*The Washington Post*



**Angel Gurría**  
Secretary-General of the OECD

As far as strengthening the global economic system, international coordination is once again key. For this to happen, the support of international institutions is critical. We have been encouraged to work together to support the G20 mandates. We have done so, successfully, and this has created synergies and maximized the benefits from our individual expertise. The OECD has indeed been actively involved in most of the G20 “charters”, collaborating actively with the FAO, the ILO, the World Bank, the IMF, etc. This spirit of cooperation and coherence is in itself a contribution to more effective global governance. (...) Let us not forget that together we could have a formidable voice. This voice is needed to identify challenges and risks as they emerge and best advice countries to avoid future crisis. (...) the OECD has developed, over the years, a method called “peer review” mechanism, whereby countries’ commitments are collectively discussed and agreed, and thereafter examined and reviewed by peers on a non-adversarial basis. This could help building the global governance of tomorrow.

## Global economic governance



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

The global economy was able to avoid another Great Depression, (...) it owes primarily to the G20’s concerted macroeconomic policy endeavour and their commitment to a standstill on protectionist measures. (...) The process of reforming these formal institutions needs to be accelerated and at the same time, the G20 needs to establish formal working relationships with these institutions, not just on an ad hoc basis. (...) I have my own disappointment with the G20, (...) the G20 has yet to prove itself, and that is a steering committee for the global economy (...) “Does the G20 need a steering committee?”, is definitely, yes. It needs to strengthen its own governance by further institutionalisation. (...) To keep institutional memory for consistency and continuity, the G20 needs to further institutionalize its own governance system. (...) it can better structure the currently existing Troika system. In this G-Zero or no polar world, (...) The G20 can be a useful source of that collective leadership.



**Kemal Dervis**  
Vice President, Brookings Institution  
and Member of the Executive Committee,  
Istanbul Policy Center, Sabanci University

The country that has the highest current account surplus in the world in the 12 months to October 2012 is Germany, not China. Moreover, if you aggregate Northern Europe and put in the Scandinavian countries, their current account surplus over the last 12 months has been close to USD 530 billion. The Eurozone as a whole has a surplus in the current account that is approaching USD 100 billion. In that context, the emerging markets are being asked via the IMF to help Europe (...) I am not saying that the IMF should not cooperate with European institutions on helping Europe. The emergence of Europe from the crisis is very important, not only to Europe, but to the world economy, but the way the IMF and the emerging markets are being pressured to go along with a programme that they do not believe in is quite unacceptable. (...) If you want to adjust and have a more dynamic equilibrium, Northern Europe has to contribute much more than it has done so far. (...) I think that France has an absolutely vital role to play because, if we performed an experiment of removing France from the map of Europe, we would have two Europes: Southern Europe and Northern Europe. And the connections, the understanding between the two parts of Europe, would be minimal. There is real danger of a break-up.



**Benoît Cœuré**  
Member of the ECB’s Executive Board

In my view, the rise of emerging market economies has made international cooperation both more desirable and also more difficult, and this is the challenge that we face now. It is more desirable because there is more interconnectedness. (...) It is also more difficult to coordinate because the number of players has increased. There are more players around the table, which we can see from the G20, and it is a more diverse group of players. (...) There are different views on political legitimacy around the table because political systems are different. There are different views on efficiency, mainly because the income levels are different. There is a different time horizon, or as economists would say, there are different time preferences. (...) Europe too has to be more efficient and more legitimate. We have to be more efficient by strengthening European institutions, and in particular those institutions that manage the single currency, and when needed by creating new institutions. (...) We can increase Europe’s legitimacy by the basic principle that any additional sovereignty transfers or sovereignty sharing at area level has to go along with political accountability



**John Lipsky**  
Distinguished Visiting Scholar,  
International Economics Program,  
The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced  
International Studies, Former First  
Deputy Managing Director, IMF

Notwithstanding the incomplete state of the financial sector reform process, some important shifts are taking place in financial markets. In particular, an historic shift in European markets appears to be underway, with large, financially- and commercially-solid firms increasingly turning to securities markets for funding, instead of traditional bank loans. In the long run, this should make markets more efficient. (...) Several key post-crisis shifts are underway - especially in the advanced economies - that will help to set the stage for stronger future growth, but that are not directly dependent upon shifts in global economic governance. Improved financial sector prospects also would help support stronger growth, and in this area, governance changes are critical for success. (...) The principal conclusion is that a renewed focus on the reform of global economic and financial governance will be required if the basic reform goals are to be achieved. Failure to do so risks leaving the global system in a halfway house of uncompleted and still-problematic institutional change.



MODERATOR:  
**Han Sung-joo**  
 Former Minister  
 of Foreign Affairs of  
 the Republic of Korea

## G2 ?



**Robert Blackwill**  
 Henry A. Kissinger senior fellow  
 for U.S. foreign policy, Council  
 on Foreign Relations (CFR)



**Wang Jisi**  
 Dean of the School of International  
 Studies, Peking University, and director  
 of the Center for International and  
 Strategic Studies, Peking University

My basic theme about the G2 will be that the bilateral relationship of the United States and China is both more stable than might be thought and worse than might be thought. (...) At an abstract level, the United States and China share some important foreign policy goals: (...) Does that mean that there will be an evolving and strengthening G2? No, and a decisive no. (...) You will notice the disconnect between the general abstract ideas on US-China cooperation and the failure of the two countries to work together on policy actions. (...) what really matters in international affairs is not whether countries can make speeches at the United Nations (UN) General Assembly about cooperation but rather work day by day on acting together in a collaborative way. There are virtually no examples of that today between the United States and China. (...) Sino-US relations are both cooperative and competitive. Competition between the two is inevitable but conflict is not.' Therefore there will be no G2. US-China relations in the future will be plagued with these strategic and policy differences, but at the same time it will likely be relatively stable. (...) We all depend on a level of competence and skill from both Beijing and Washington to avoid the worst case.

The G2 as an idea is controversial in China. The Chinese leadership's attitude is one of denial and resistance, for three major reasons. Firstly, the leadership knows very well that China's power and national capabilities are still a long way behind those of the US. (...) The second reason is that the promotion of the idea of the G2 could have negative international repercussions. It could generate jealousies from countries such as Russia and India (...) China also does not want to take the responsibilities that are imposed on it if you talk about China as another superpower because China is still poor and underdeveloped. (...) Despite all those strategic suspicions, the general direction of China's foreign policy towards the United States and other parts of the world will remain pragmatic and modest. The first reason why China will remain pragmatic is because we are faced with a lot of domestic priorities that we need to deal with. China therefore wants to secure a peaceful environment. China is also promoting more trade and investment with the United States (...) There will be a lot of common ground if we look beyond Asia and China's immediate neighbouring countries, and more opportunities for cooperation.



WORLD  
POLICY  
CONFERENCE

5<sup>th</sup> EDITION  
GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

December 7-10, 2012 • Cannes • France



MODERATOR:  
**Thierry de Montbrial**  
Founder and chairman  
of the WPC



**Mario Monti**  
Prime Minister of Italy

(...) For one year we were able to lead a budget recovery effort that European authorities confirm has put Italy on a course to structurally balance our books in 2013. Other countries have put off this objective. We have made structural reforms that neither party, not the centre right nor the centre left, could have accomplished on its own. And I hope that we are also giving new impetus to the European debate process as far as the role Italy can play. (...) In my view, the European Council and the European Union overall, including first and foremost the Parliament and the Commission, have made belated but considerable progress on drawing the lessons from interdependence. (...) I think that the root of the unquestionably relevant deficiencies in the EU political process lies mostly at the national level where, in virtually all member states, the political process is polluted by a very high degree of short termism. Much more awareness has been acquired at the EU level in 2012 that we need to have a longer-term horizon. (...) It has therefore been recognised that we cannot avoid even short-term disruptions in market behaviour unless we have a longer-term view and act convincingly and coherently so as to demonstrate to the market that European leaders believe in this.





MODERATOR:  
**António Vítorino**  
President of Notre Europe – Institut Jacques Delors, Former Defense Minister of Portugal and Former European Commissioner



**Joaquín Almunia**  
Vice-President of the European Commission

(...) Despite public opinion tending towards the negative, those of us who work within the European institutions on a daily basis are more optimistic... We have initiated lots of reforms... We have made major decisions to strengthen our governance and to equip ourselves with tools... We are working much better than at the start of the crisis, and we are starting to see positive results. (...) If the exit from the crisis is accompanied by backtracking on policies which were integrated and applied community-wide before the crisis, we will have lost the battle. This risk of backtracking is apparent in financial systems and translates into, for example, the risk of re-nationalisation of some financial regulators in certain Member States of the eurozone. (...) We need to complete economic and monetary union, strengthen the internal market and strengthen the European voice so that it has an influence on globalisation. We can't complain about globalisation while at the same time trying to increasingly split up the response of European countries to our interlocutors in the large emerging countries or other large industrialised countries.

## The future of the EU



**Karl Kaiser**  
Harvard University; Former Director of the German Council on Foreign Relations

We are living in a media environment extremely critical of the EU... in the public discourse outside the EU, we see a general under-estimation of the political will to carry the EU forward and save the euro... the EU as a whole is moving in the right direction. The public perception of the EU does not pay adequate attention to this fact... the domestic difficulties of governments are often also under-reported and under-estimated. In a democracy governments naturally have to reconcile solidarity on the one hand with the wishes of voters on the other hand... we have a fatal combination of rising economic powers, arms races, territorial disputes, rising chauvinism and historical mistrust that was the origin of conflict in Europe, as well as an absence of institutions to deal with the conflict. The day will come when Europeans can no longer afford to concentrate only on a comfortable commercial strategy towards Asia but that the question will also arise for Europe on what position it will take on potential future conflicts... Europe has to revive its efforts to produce a common defence.



**Radosław Sikorski**  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland

(...) Five years ago, we had 80% consensus in Poland for joining the euro zone. In other words, we could have joined without paying a political price. We now have 30% support for joining, which means that as politicians we will have to expend significant political capital on a course of action whose outcome is uncertain in terms of our advantage. (...) I have already made the argument in the Polish Parliament that for political reasons it is useful for us to join because we want to be at the core of Europe and among the decision makers. I think that we are moving to systems where the euro zone will be at the crossroads of all the circles of integration, with the euro zone, the Schengen group and then perhaps a defence union... we can maintain our Schengen freedoms securely provided that we strengthen the external border more effectively than hitherto has been the case. (...) We should have patrols that are composed of border police officers from all member states so that there is a feeling of shared responsibility and mutual control.



**Hubert Védrine**  
Former French Minister of Foreign Affairs

(...) I am relatively optimistic about the situation in the eurozone, but not very optimistic about European politics in general... stabilising public finances, of course it has to be done, but at an intelligent speed which is socially and politically bearable... I'm not very optimistic about political matters because there is still the same division between the elite and the ordinary population... the ordinary European population, in almost every country, has become "Eurosceptic"... We'll make them change back if they see a concrete demonstration of the effectiveness of the European system on a subject which affects them... the treaty is important, of course, so that things work well, but it's not the only answer... Relaunching a mechanism leading to a new treaty would be a major political error because in the countries where a referendum would be necessary, the answer would be no... We have to be honest with the European people or we'll never get them back. My whole argument comes down to that: how can we bridge the gap, which is turning into a chasm, between the elite and the people... (..)



**Pierre Vimont**  
Executive Secretary General, European External Action Service (EEAS)

The number of requests that the EU has had has been increasing, whether it would be on bilateral basis or on multilateral basis (...) in spite of what I read time and again about the sort of competition and difficulty one could face between the national member states diplomatic action and the EU action at the level of the EU, I think this complementarity in fact has been working rather well, and more smoothly and more naturally than is usually said. (...) member states having their own interest and their own way of doing things, the EU finding in a rather natural way its own role and its own place... but when we talk about the European foreign policy, why can we have this feeling that something is still missing there? I think there are 3 reasons for that. The first one is about communication: maybe we need to communicate a little bit more about some of the success stories we have had so far (...) if I had to end with a personal conclusion, I think if you want to move ahead and to improve the European integration, at this stage, it would be less about new reforms of our institution but more about having more self-confidence and more trust in what we have been doing so far and how to use the incredible resources we have had already put together in the recent years.



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



**Bruno Lafont**  
 CEO of Lafarge group

What's most important in governance is what we do, not just the rules we decree.(...) Economic success is not only linked to the governance of a company or a State, but also to the governance of relations between companies and States, between companies and public players. (...) Governance isn't just about applying existing rules, it's about applying the same rules throughout the world, and being capable of getting a head start on official regulations. That's why Lafarge, for example, committed to reducing its CO<sub>2</sub> emissions even though there wasn't any obligation to do so.(...) When a company is a leader in its sector and a leader in terms of commitment, it can pull along other companies.(...) Companies create wealth, they create jobs, they're the ones who create growth. And it's the State, governments, the programmes and strategies implemented by local councils, which will make this growth possible.

## Good governance and economic success



**Mo Ibrahim**  
 Chairman of Mo Ibrahim Foundation

In our view, good governance is the basis of any development or any civilised society.(...) we also need to discuss the issue of governance in the private sector because it seems that there are a number of issues there, which are causing a lot of problems. We are concerned about transparency, illicit financial transfers and rents, especially in natural resources. It is time to switch on the light to see what is happening there. It is very interesting. In the UK last month, there has been a huge outcry against Starbucks, JP Morgan and other big companies, which do big business, make a lot of profit and do not pay any taxes. I read yesterday that Starbucks promised to pay £20 million as a contribution. JP Morgan is about to pay 400 million or 500 million towards taxes that should have been paid, but went offshore. There are a lot of these kinds of stories. It is interesting that in hard times here in Europe, people are starting to look at these issues.



**Chang Dae-Whan**  
 Chairman of Maekyung Media Group

As smart phones and social media have spread all over, less and less people want to be governed, so whoever wants to govern others needs to think about this new trend in society.(...) How are we going to promote efficient and good governance for everyone? We need to open our minds and we have to have open society. We need to put more emphasis on how we are going to deliver results to everyone. The scope and the speed of governance must be considered. The speed of economic decision making is much slower in Europe than in the Far East. That has something to do with governance structure. Europe is highly democratised, but in Asia, we have many different political regimes. Japan has an emperor, a kingdom, and China has a communist regime. North Korea has a harsh militaristic control system. How are we going to manage all these different types of political governance?



**Donald J. Johnston**  
 Founding Partner, Heenan Blaikie;  
 Former Secretary-General of the  
 Organisation for Economic Cooperation  
 and Development (OECD)

(...) The multinationals often accused of being villains have actually exported good governance to countries by basically applying standards of behaviour in many areas. For example, as I recall, the World Business Council for Sustainable Development has a principle that says when you are in another country, you will apply the higher of the environmental standards of your country of origin, or the standards of the foreign country where you are operating. What better way to speak to the positive interrelationship between the corporate world and developing countries? I think that corporations deserve a lot more credit in this regard in also applying the LO standards. These are very important initiatives that have been spread around the globe through the multinational networks. (...)



**Ana Palacio**  
 Member of the Spanish Council of State,  
 Former Senior Vice President of  
 the World Bank, Former Minister  
 of Foreign Affairs of Spain

Populations all over the world understand governance in a very different sense. They want that government, public institutions, and big companies integrate the concepts of justice and fairness.(...) This awareness also means that, from China to Europe, in different minds and in different places, we find the notions of law and rule.. What we know now is that self-regulation, ethics, codes of conduct and soft law are necessary, but not sufficient.(...) Today it is about distribution, social concern and the sustainability of growth, which means institutions and the rule of law.(...) I think we are at the beginning of a new era, with a breakthrough, which is this quest for the rule of law, and for international institutions. As in all mutation moments, we face a fantastic opportunity, and at the same time, we face many risks.



MODERATOR:  
**Mehmet Ali Birand**  
editor in Chief of CNN  
Turk and Chief Anchor  
for Kanal D main news



**Jean-David Levitte,**  
Distinguished fellow, Brookings  
Institution ; Former Diplomatic Advisor  
and Sherpa of President Nicolas Sarkozy

Iran's leaders think that having bomb is building a shield against all attempts at destabilisation, whether political or military. It's also about asserting Iran's status.(...) It is, while under the protection of this shield, wanting to assert the dominance of Iran over its environment. (...) In the face of these very strong motivations, the first one being the protection of the regime, I think that the current economic sanctions have the paradoxical effect of accelerating the nuclear program. Are negotiations out of the question? (...) I think that if we limit diplomatic activities to just negotiations on Iran and the nuclear weapon, we will be heading straight for disaster. I therefore suggest that we add the Israel-Palestine conflict. (...) In short, President Obama would suggest to his key partners that together they build the new collective political order that the world needs in the 21st century.

## The future of the Middle East



**Meir Sheetrit**  
Member of Parliament,  
Former Minister of Internal Affairs, Israel

I believe that peace is in the interests of Israel, without connection to anything. We would very much like to arrive at peace with the Palestinians. I believe that the best way to make peace with Israel is to talk through the Arab Initiative, which can make peace, not only with Palestinians, but with all the Arab states.(...) There are different governments of Israel. I was a member of many governments that supported peace with all of our hearts.(...) I accept the fact that we should give the Palestinians the possibility to establish a Palestine State on the basis of the '67 borders. To me, it is not literally the '67 borders, but the same quantity of territory, with swaps.(...) We cannot allow a situation where Iran has nuclear weapons. We do not want to be the one who attacks Iran. If this option should be used, it should be used by the international community.



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

Who takes over and how will a political transition in Syria evolve? That is what we should be thinking about, because remember that Syria – and certainly the French know Syria very well – is a multi-confessional society of Muslims, Christian, Kurds, Druzes and Jews.(...) Therefore, how do you preserve this culture and not have the worst-case scenario, which will affect the whole region in a very serious way? If Syria implodes into real sectarian warfare, then Lebanon, Turkey, Iraq, Jordan, and Israel will all immediately be impacted. I think the time has come for the Europeans and our friends in the Middle East to start preparing a coherent policy for post-Assad. How do we put together a structure, a political transition, that will end up representing Syria's multi-confessional society.



**Manuel Hassassian**  
Ambassador of Palestine to  
the United Kingdom

For the 20 years we have embarked on this peace process with nothing coming into existence except the abortion of the two state solution, which the United States embraced, by which the United States convinced the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to give up armed struggle and to try, more or less, to seek peace through negotiations. Today, we are stuck between the historically inevitable and the politically impossible. (...) if we do not solve the Palestinian-Israeli issue, I do not think we are sure to create a stable and a secure Middle East. A stable and a secure Middle East requires extensive and strenuous efforts by a big power like the United States that can have political leverage with Israel. It is the only country that could really pose some political weight to make Israel change its attitude in the Middle East.



**Mona Makram Ebeid**  
Former Member of Parliament, Egypt,  
Distinguished Lecturer, American  
University in Cairo, Member of  
the National Council for Human Rights

Today we are faced with two Egypts which are no longer able to communicate, which refuse to recognise each other and which don't listen to each other.(...) Fatal confrontations between supporters of the government and opponents of all persuasions have plunged the country into mourning since 27 November.(...) the grave responsibility for the first deadly confrontations between Egyptians since the revolution will lie with Morsi.(...) The world should not forget that Egypt is the region's pivot country and that, from the late 1970s on, it opened up the path to peace with Israel.(...) we are faced with two Egypts whose ideas of the future are hard to reconcile. One is marked by years of repression and clandestineness, and its idea of democracy is limited to majority rule. It is convinced that the election winner should be authorised to govern on its own. The other, which is us, harks back to a liberal and modern past, and wants a civil, democratic, modern and egalitarian State. Will these two Egypts be able to coexist and find common ground one day?



WORLD  
POLICY  
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GLOBAL GOVERNANCE  
December 7-10, 2012 • Cannes • France



MODERATOR:  
**Lionel Zinsou**  
Chairman of  
PAI Partners



## Africa



**Mo Ibrahim**  
Chairman of Mo Ibrahim Foundation

Africa did very well over the last 10 years in the area of education and health, and there was a marked improvement in gender equality. (...) Unfortunately, after major improvements in democracy and participation between 2000 and 2006, stagnation has appeared between 2006 and 2011 in the area of democracy. It seems that the economic success somehow was interpreted by some of our leaders as an excuse to forget about democratic development. (...) It is not right that the progress in Africa is only seen by the top 1% or 2% in the country. That creates stresses in the society fabric. (...) To be sustainable, development needs to be equitable. That is really important. (...) African continent median age is 20. This is completely different from what we see in Europe, China and everywhere else. That trend is accelerating. How are we going to deal with this huge bulge of young people coming forward?



**Hakim Ben Hammouda**  
Special Advisor to the African  
Development Bank Group (AfDB)

Ten or so African countries are among the top performers internationally, in terms of growth. (...) we should highlight the significant advances in good governance in Africa. With the Arab Spring, I am convinced that North Africa is heading in a direction where democracy, the role of the private sector, the role of growth and lastly of the market, will be important elements. These will be difficult years but I am convinced that the right path will be found. (...) I think of a re-born Africa, an Africa which is emerging, an Africa which is taking its place in the world, an Africa which is increasingly becoming a land or destination of hope, but an Africa which remains fragile and which in part, depends a lot today on global governance and the resolution of a certain number of issues connected to global governance. (...) there really is a new Africa which is being set up, which is emerging, where there is much more self-confidence than in the past.



**Edem Kodjo**  
President of PAX AFRICANA, Former Prime  
Minister of Togo, Former Secretary General  
O.A.U (A.U), A.U Peace Ambassador

71% of young Africans live on less than 2 dollars a day. (...) The events and developments of the "Arab Spring" have confirmed that solutions must be found as a priority to the legitimate preoccupations and worries of the majoritarian component of society that young people are, and which is becoming ever poorer, ever more discontented, and at times even, increasingly militant if not radicalised. (...) Our countries, whether taken individually or collectively, must urgently move towards a coherent and above all proactive agricultural policy, supported by an industrial vision of development, sole capable of providing the required quantity and quality of jobs for these young people. (...) Africans are fully aware of the fact that the territorial political unity of the Continent is the first condition of its genuine development, its greatness and its strength. It is therefore their intention to increasingly strive to bring about this unity.



**Jean-Michel Severino**  
CEO of Investisseurs et Partenaires

Do not underestimate the fact that the African economy is building its internal market and that the real opportunities are on this internal market (...) The continent is liable to be politically volatile because civil societies are under extraordinary stress due to the processes of demographic growth, internal migration on the African continent and urbanisation, and the political classes find it incredibly difficult to manage these situations. (...) by around 2045 Africa will have an economy the size of China's today. It will have nearly 2 billion inhabitants. But of these 2 billion inhabitants, around 850 million will live on less than \$1.25 a day, in other words much more than today. And in addition, while about 75% of the African continent will live in towns and cities, more people will be living in the countryside than today.



MODERATOR:  
**Dominique Moïsi**  
Special Advisor at Ifri

## General debate



**Han Sung-joo**  
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs  
of the Republic of Korea

The territorial disputes are about more than energy, more than fishing rights, and more, even, than geopolitics. It portends great danger, if unchecked, of a kind that Europe had to deal with before the Second World War. (...) I will say there is a politics of what I will call prefix 're'. There is the resurrection of major power by China. There is an attempt in Japan to restore their normal state status. There is the reaction or reorientation of the other countries, including Korea and South East Asian countries. There is a re-pivoting of the United States from a focus on other areas to Asia. There is a return of Russia to North-East Asia. All these things considered, we have, necessarily and almost inevitably, the rise of nationalism and the rise of territorial disputes. (...) There is no enlightened, robust, long-range looking leadership in Asia in sight.



**Jim Hoagland**  
Contributing Editor to *The Washington Post*

Every conference that has established itself over the years has a particular culture. One of the most important parts of the IFRI world policy conference is the human factor. Listening to President Ouattara of the Ivory Coast was a great experience. I had watched events in the Ivory Coast out of the corner of my eye over the past few years, but in listening to President Ouattara explain with the simple decency that he projected, I understood immediately (...) Similarly Mario Monti demonstrated grace under pressure...Hemingway's definition of courage... He gave us the impression of a man who was well aware of the enormity of the problems that he faces, but who was not overwhelmed by them. I will carry those two impressions away, very much, from this conference. (...)



**Donald J. Johnston**  
Founding Partner, Heenan Blaikie;  
Former Secretary-General of the  
Organisation for Economic Cooperation  
and Development (OECD)

For example, we are told that the motives behind territorial disputes in Asia are not related to resources. It is about nationalism...I say to myself, how can we conceive of military conflicts as a road to resolution of these very minor territorial issues? (...) The Russians, the United States, and China should be able to resolve those issues. It should be resolved at the leadership level and it should be resolved quickly, because this risk is creating, in my view, a further escalation of the arms race in the Far East. (...) What I am most worried about is climate change. It requires global action now. Of course this has been repeatedly said for many years. It has not happened. (...) On the whole, let me just conclude by saying that despite some concerns and worries I am still optimistic about both the possibilities and the probabilities, but the probabilities must be turned into realities.



**Serguei Karaganov**  
Chairman of the Presidium of the Council  
on Foreign and Defense Policy

In conclusion, the conference has been a great success, first of all, because it did not deal with geopolitics. However, it is all about geopolitics – geopolitics is back. It was also a success because it brought us good news. That is exactly why this conference has been so successful. It brought Africa to us, which has become successful and is not a basket case but a hope. Presidents from Africa and people who are thinking and doing in Africa have been quite an eye-opener for many of us who have heard about Africa but had not yet witnessed what was happening there. That was a great success of the conference and something new that I will bring back home to think about.



**Igor Yurgens**  
Chairman of the Management Board  
of the Institute of Contemporary  
Development, Moscow

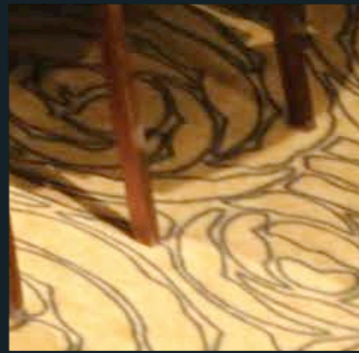
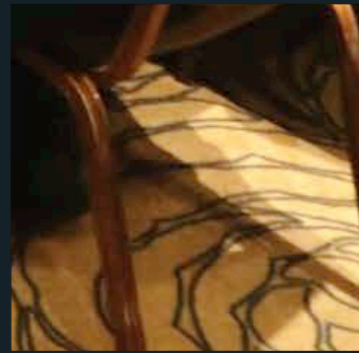
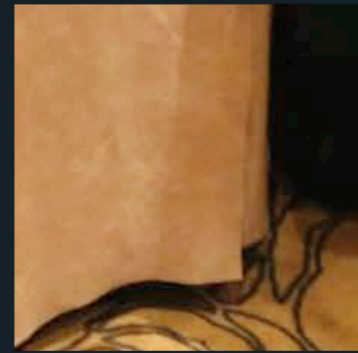
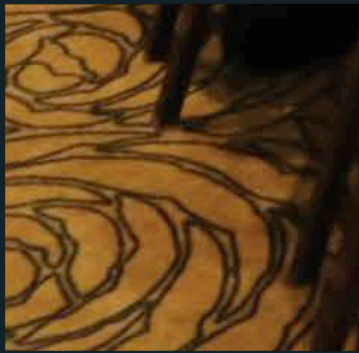
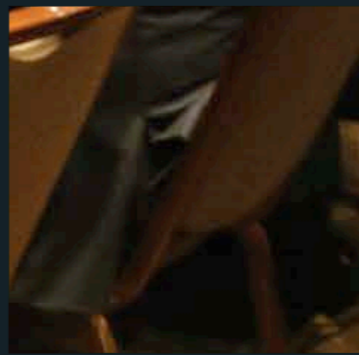
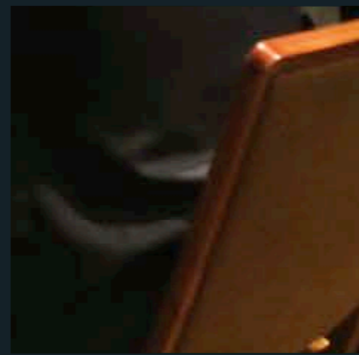
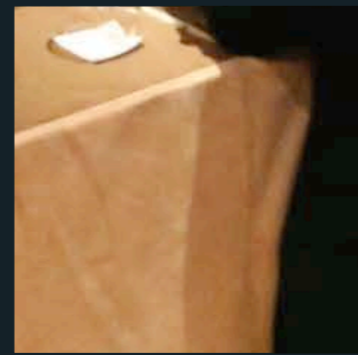
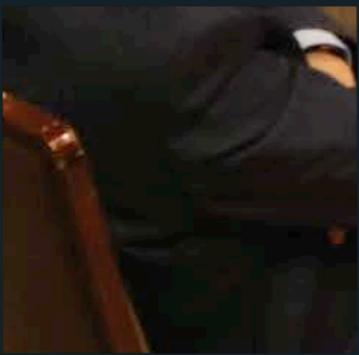
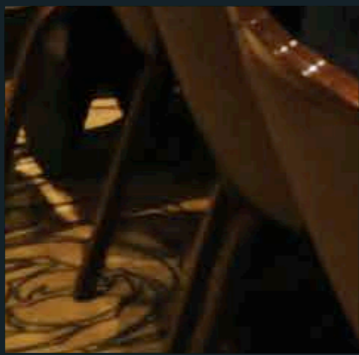
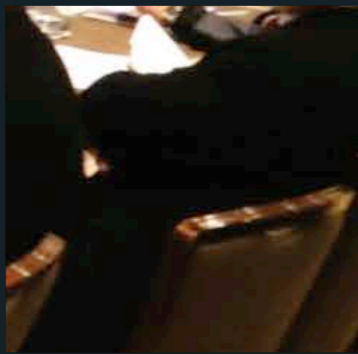
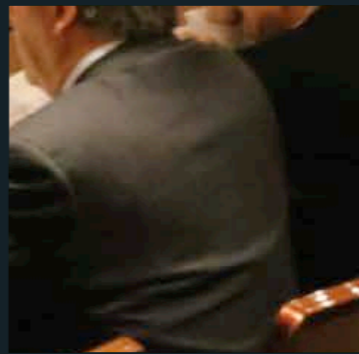
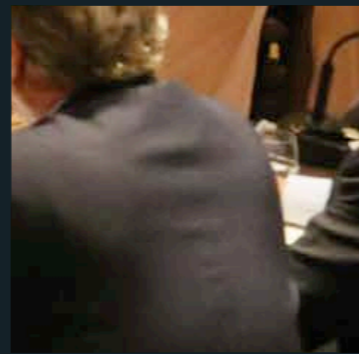
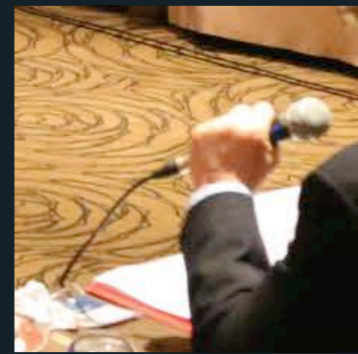
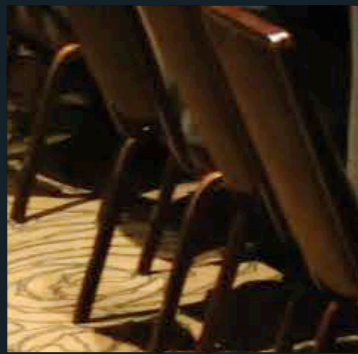
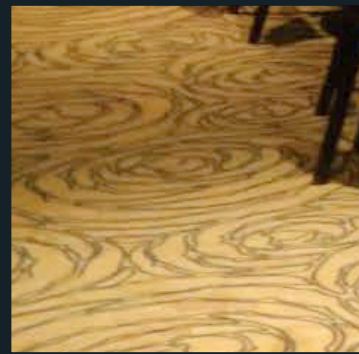
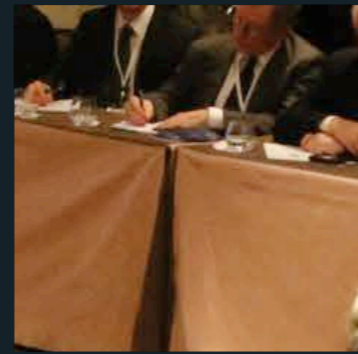
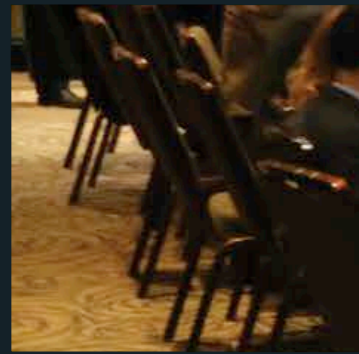
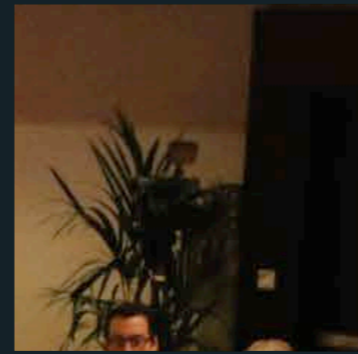
We need to find a solution for the long-term governance of the world from three things, as I see it. Firstly, we definitely have to rely on democracy and public opinion. This is short term. It is the way that the people will always say how they want those that are governing them to run them. Secondly, there is the knowledge of people who understand the geopolitics and history of where they come from. This is academia and those politicians who are outside the electoral cycle. Thirdly, there are people with the highest intelligence quotient (IQ) who think long term and understand the cosmos and space and where the place of this universe is in a grander environment. Therefore three chambers of our world parliament are absolutely essential and would be a challenge for many years to come.



**Wang Jisi**  
Dean of the School of International  
Studies, Peking University, and director  
of the Center for International and  
Strategic Studies, Peking University

I can give three reasons for why we are in this shape rather than in the same kind of moment that we see in Europe and the Middle East. Firstly, we are still modernising. You are post-modern (...) Secondly, it is difficult to tell the Chinese that they have to be concerned about the Middle East or Europe or the fiscal cliff in the United States because we have so many domestic priorities that we need to solve. We are a continent ourselves. (...) a lot of people in China today are asking what the point is of establishing your kind of democracy when there are so many problems in these democracies in Europe and the United States (...) we are faced with similar problems in different stages of development and therefore need to seek different solutions to our problems.

PARALLEL  
WORKSHOPS



# 1. Finance



CHAIR:  
**Jean-Claude Trichet**  
Former President of the European Central Bank

The full financial system of the advanced economy proved to have a fragility that was both unexpected and totally unacceptable, and this triggered a strong sense of obligation to make the system as a whole much more resilient. (...) there was a dramatic change of global governance on this occasion. (...) The G7 passed the baton to the G20! (...) We had an absolutely dramatic change in the handling of cooperation between various nations (...) to avoid the collapse, in mid-2009, we in the ECB computed that around 27% of the GDP of taxpayer risk was taken by the governments and the parliaments on both sides of the Atlantic (...) a kind of “blanket political guarantee” was given by the heads of state and government of all major advanced economies (...) In some cases, this blanket political guarantee materialised. In the UK, there was quasi-nationalisation of big banks. In continental Europe, we had several institutions that were rescued. It was not an empty promise. (...) Our taxpayers do not want to put themselves in such a situation again.



**Josef Ackermann**  
Chairman of the Board, Zurich Insurance Group Ltd;  
Former CEO, Deutsche Bank

I would say that the system has become more resilient. Investment portfolios must be supported by capital, leverage has been reduced, a lot of things have been done which go into the right direction. But there are some caveats. (...) we still have the nexus between sovereign risk and bank risk, (...) No-one, to this day, knows the cumulative impact of all the regulatory changes. (...) the operational risk for banks has increased. You would not believe how the definition of risk rate, the definition of Basel III and many other things are so different from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. (...) My last point is something that never comes up to my surprise: concentration risk.



**Marek Belka**  
President of the National Bank of Poland

One of the lessons that we drew from the recent crisis is that even if financial institutions, one by one, look healthy, it does not mean that the whole system is not in danger. You need to have instruments to be applied to pre-empt the crisis. What are the instruments of macroprudential policy? (...) The instruments are capital ratios, leverage ratios, debt-to-income ratio, etc. (...) when macroprudential bodies are being set up, central banks play a leading role – as they do in the euro zone, with the ECB. (...) in my opinion, the national sovereignty over macroprudential instruments is needed most within currency unions – like within the Eurozone.



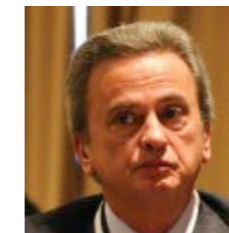
**Jeffrey Frieden**  
Professor of government at Harvard University

(...) the principal lesson of the past decade is that international financial flows, while desirable, can create serious problems, both for individual countries and for the international financial and economic order more generally. We want to sustain financial openness, but we want to avoid another collapse. And I believe that the best and, perhaps the only feasible, way to do so is to undertake systematic attempts to achieve a meaningful coordination of macroeconomic policies among the major economic centres.



**Jacques Mistral**  
Special Advisor at Ifri

The Eurozone sovereign debt crisis has been the epicentre of global financial problems for two years. But we never faced a crisis of the euro: the exchange rate between the euro and the dollar always remained close to 1.30. The reason of this stability is that the management of the financial challenges facing the US (shutdown of the government, debt ceiling) proved as problematic in the eyes of international investors as what we have witnessed in Europe. For the future, the Eurozone has entered calmer seas and the most serious risk now would be complacency. In the US, the coming fiscal cliff could be a major opportunity to finally deliver a workable solution to the financial and political Washingtonian mess we have witnessed under the last Congress.



**Riad Toufic Salamé**  
Governor of the Lebanese Central Bank

We have also seen actions by the ratings agencies that have aggravated certain crises previously. Sometimes, their movements are unexpectedly deep and unexpectedly strong, whereby they can bring down, without any recourse, a country, a product, or an institution from investment grade almost to a failure grade. These operations are not really being followed or controlled by anyone. (...) Today, one of the responses to neutralise the effect of rating agencies is to maintain the stature and the respectability of the Central Bank, so that it can counteract or neutralise the reactions that might be created by these ratings agencies.



## 2. Energy and environment



MODERATOR:  
**William Ramsay**  
Senior Advisor of the Center for Energy, Ifri; Former Deputy Executive Director, International Energy Agency (IEA), Former US Ambassador in Brazzaville



**Maria van der Hoeven**  
Executive Director of the International Energy Agency (IEA)



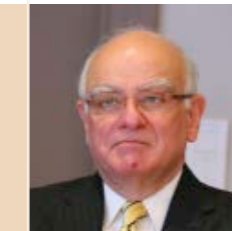
CHAIR:  
**Christophe de Margerie**  
Chairman and CEO of Total

The global energy landscape is changing rapidly and these changes will recast our expectations of the roles of different countries, regions and fuels over the coming decades.(...) Falling costs and innovative applications are already accelerating the deployment of renewables, such as wind and solar, and that trend is here to stay and it will prompt new electricity market developments in terms of grid infrastructure and regulatory reform.(...) However, the future of new nuclear energy is less certain (...) The amount of global natural gas will grow by about 50% up to 2035 and the price relationships between regional gas markets will strengthen as a more integrated global market starts to emerge. New crude sources and demand patterns are accelerating a switch in direction of international oil trade, with an increasing share of Middle-Eastern exports going to Asia.(...) International energy performance cannot be dominated by the energy balances of the 1970s, that is to say neither by a few producers and consumers nor by very simplistic definitions of interest.

Our new perspectives on unconventional resources today are changing the landscape. These new resources will bring about changes, not only at a global level but also at a country level. To this regard, what happens in Canada and the United States will be interesting to analyze. The relationship between those two countries might be more conflicting in the years to come with the US producing a lot and Canada not able to export anymore. The impact on petrochemicals and power generation, including refining, will also be important in those countries and we can expect that the picture of the North American environment and industry will be totally different in 7-10 years time. This will of course have an impact on Europe. Moreover, unconventional resources are also a challenge for the industry regarding the aquifer production, water management, footprint and interaction with civil society. A lot has already been done in these areas even if a lot of work is still needed. The new perspectives on unconventional resources today means that there is energy available, which is good news both for the industry and for customers. We should however expect major changes linked to their developments: on geopolitics but also on global prices and to an extent that we cannot yet predict.



**Jacques Lesourne**  
President of the Scientific Committee of the Energy program at Ifri



**Anil Razdan**  
Former Power Secretary of India

(...) energy policies both in OECD countries and other parts of the world are very often inconsistent or even contradictory (...) On the international level after the long list of conferences on climate change, from Copenhagen to Cancun, from Cancun to Durban, from Durban to Doha, the results are disappointing.(...) I shall make just one recommendation, which might be a dream, that a neutral agency, which for the OECD might be the IEA, with a mandate from the G20 for a broader set of countries could audit energy policy, but in the following sense, which is not the most common. It could consider the future costs incurred by these policies, adding the cost of the damage to the climate and the environment, but also taking into account the effect of learning curves for new technologies and also the economic and social profits. I think we would learn a lot from comparative audits of this kind about the reality facing governments, and understand better where we are in view of the policies which have been adopted, the announcements that have been made, and what could be done in order to improve the appropriateness of the fight to preserve the climate.  
Jacques Lesourne

(...) I see that a long-term goal of per capita emissions converging to a band could ensure that no country is locked into an unequal share of the atmospheric concern. This is the only way to move away from the present climate change cold war. We have been engaged in a cold war, with two camps deciding to obstruct each other's moves. Unless we accept the principle of equity, there will be no breakthrough. (...) Pollution from the transport sector is the fastest growing pollution. Yet, it is the aspiration of every developing country, whether China or India, to move from smaller to bigger private vehicles. This must stop, and mass rapid urban transport must be put in place before any new urbanisation takes place. We have to ensure that people do not get into the habit of buying individual cars and other modes of transport. Once they invest in these modes, it is very difficult to turn the clock back. (...) The most important thing is that the developed world has to provide the cash and incentives to make this happen, otherwise I assure you it will not happen.



**Kevin Sara**  
Chairman and CEO of Nur Energie

Why renewables? It has been said again and again; it is basically about the transition to a low carbon economy, and also a sustainable solution for the energy supply. We have mentioned peak oil, and we do not know when it is, but it is a finite resource. The other solution to a low-carbon future was seen as nuclear, but it becoming a post-Fukushima scenario, and just on a cost basis alone nuclear looks far less likely as a solution. Why are renewables still only 3%? It is because they are still very expensive, and they are considered to be more expensive than conventional sources. It depends of course on how you count; some environmentalists will say that, if you count the externalities and the cost of pollution, renewables are already competitive today. (...) There is a whole new geopolitical situation that needs to be rethought, and there will be new countries like Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco who will all of a sudden become energy players, because they have very rich solar and wind resources, they are very close to Europe, and it is not that expensive to transport this energy to Europe and have it become part of the European energy mix.



**Alexander Likhotal**  
President of Green Cross International

The Earth Overshoot Day - the day when we have consumed the sustainable portion of resources - was reached on 27 September 2012. (...) The world increased its fossil fuel use over the 20th century by a factor of 12, whilst extracting 34 times more material resources. (...) by 2030, at the current rate of harvest, we will have only 10% of tropical forest standing. 90% of the big fish in the sea is gone (...) there is no possibility of proving the linkage between economic activity and natural disasters, but the frequency and intensity of the natural disasters have so increased in recent decades that it would be a little incautious to deny such a link. (...) There were 78 recorded disasters in 1978; last year there were 385 (...) in the ten years of this century, 80,000 EU citizens were killed by natural disasters, and these natural disasters cost the EU economy EUR100 billion. (...) What we need today is a transition to a circular economy. (...) A first important step in the direction of a circular economy would be recycling.



**Richard Cooper**  
Professor of International Economics at Harvard University

(...) We do not actually have many parts of the world today that have a climate policy (...) If their government imposes the costs of reducing emissions on them and other governments do not impose the costs on their international competitors, they have a problem of competitiveness in world and even in home markets. (...) policies to deal with climate change will be extremely sensitive, in all countries, to the issue of competitiveness and how this affects each country's firms. (...) There is tremendous tension between the WTO framework of trade rules and what we are thinking about doing for climate change. (...) If we move ahead on climate change in the way we are doing so far, there will be tremendously damaging side effect if the trading system is undermined by climate change policy. (...) we need to price greenhouse gas emissions into the atmosphere, and everyone who emits them pays the same price. That will create some tension between conventional notions of equity and what I think will be tolerable from the point of view of competitiveness in world markets, so it is something we need to think a lot about. (...)



**Jean-David Levitte**  
Distinguished fellow, Brookings Institution; Former Diplomatic Advisor and Sherpa of President Nicolas Sarkozy

(...) I think we are facing the re-emergence of the American economy, in part because of the shale and oil gas revolution. (...) the US is no longer dependent on the Middle East, because it is again the number one producer (...) you have more and more jobs created from the shale and oil gas revolution, at least 600,000, and, soon to come, the insourcing of the energy intensive industries because of the difference in prices and the competitive advantage for American industries. (...) The shale gas revolution has already had a huge impact on the Russian situation (...) what we see in America is certainly not a blessing for the future of Russia in economic, social or political terms. (...) despite their lack of dependency on the Middle East, the US will remain the ultimate guarantor of the security of Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States and the sea lanes (...) 70% of oil and gas imports from the East Asian countries come from the Middle East, and this will not only remain but will probably increase in the future. (...) energy will certainly remain a key element in the geopolitical landscape in the years and decades to come (...)

### 3. Major risks



CHAIR:  
**Lionel Zinsou**  
Chairman of PAI  
Partners



**Godefroy Beauvallet**  
Head of the AXA Research Fund



**Qu Xing**  
President, China Institute  
for International Studies

The AXA Research Fund designed a very simple heuristic to help leverage the science-policy dialogue to tackle major risks. There are three core responsibilities of decision makers: first, they shall make sure, at any point in time, that there exists a central scenario known to civil society and based on the best and latest scientific data available. Yet decision makers cannot afford to be blinded by any single scenario and ignore alternatives which may have extreme consequences. So their second responsibility is to make sure those alternatives are explored scientifically and publicly debated. Policy makers' third responsibility is to act upon this knowledge and prevent, prepare and mitigate accordingly.

Concerning an overview of the global trends, I have seven relatively affirmative trends. First, the configuration of multi polarised balance of power will continue to deepen. Second, ethnic separatism is on the rise and religion will resurge. Third, the political participation of individuals and small groups will increase. Fourth, the population growth in the world will be imbalanced, aging severe, and emigration unprecedented. Fifth, there will be an increasingly serious problem of resource shortages. Sixth, there will be an intensified imbalance of global economic development. Seventh, there will be an accelerated development of a low-carbon economy.(...) In terms of the contingences with potentially strategic influences, we can see that in the next 20 years, there will still be various kinds of unexpected non-traditional security threats and abruptly changing traditional security problems in the world, especially the regime change which would restructure the geopolitics.



**Tadakatsu Sano**  
Former Chief Executive Assistant  
to Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama



**Igor Yurgens**  
Chairman of the Management Board  
of the Institute of Contemporary  
Development, Moscow

Let us start with the great earthquakes, the tsunami, and the Fukushima nuclear power plant. The government has no way to predict this kind of catastrophes (...) In just two hours after the earthquake, we had 15 to 20 metres high wall of water coming in. It overcame all the old areas in the river side area XE «river area»; it was completely covered by the water.(...) I came up here to listen to all the people including Mario Monti so that, I could get kind of perception and some kind of confidence from them. We cannot get that through the media or through the Internet.(...) Media has lost the ability to collect its own information... There is no really creative information among the media.(...) Where is society going? This is something I like to define as a major risk in the world right now. You can point out a lot of predicable risks, but the important thing is that we are moving toward the Internet-based society, I do not know how to tackle, there is fragmentation and individualization of society. How can you make society attractive? That is the big issue and it is our task to discuss it.

Sustainable development must be risk free or, at least, those risks should be minimised. Such sustainable development is divided conceptually into social, economic, environmental and institutional dimensions, or, in our case, risks.(...) The logical assumption is that our need to manage systemic global risks and to protect our common living space calls for better global governance.(...) Even the best of our democratic leaders cannot handle long-term risks, because they have to win elections.(...) the collective action needed to address challenges across national boundaries is frustrated by the absence of integrative, trans-disciplinary categories that would allow us to understand them properly as well as by the divergence of interests and the way in which values are prioritised in different societies. The fraud debate in Europe over the best means to maintain the EU in conditions of economic and social stress reflects these tensions.



**Luc-François Salvador**  
CEO of Sogeti

What is more disturbing is the criminal use of networks and technologies which happen a million times every day. Cyberspying is also becoming usual. Yet non existing about cyber terrorism is only a matter of time before it happens.(...) The main issue of cyber warfare is the Breach of Trust in our IT systems. Not even speaking about a breach of operability on SCADAs which would be the worst scenario. Simply the hacking of a bank or the social security website would cause the breach of trust from consumers, users, or citizens throughout our modern societies. State authority would be at stake under the pressure of citizens' mistrust and dissatisfaction. Taking into account our ever-increasing use of technology, not to say technology dependence in every aspect of our economic and social environment, our world is a lot simpler to put an end that we with think. We are potentially dealing here with a global breach of trust that requires constant diligence and awareness in order to be prevented.



**Philippe Chalmin**  
Professor of Economic History  
and Director of the Master  
of International Affairs  
at Paris-Dauphine University

Food security has, in fact, two significations. If you are in the north, you are talking and thinking about food security as food safety. The second signification of food security is food availability.(...) I do think that the biggest challenge of the 21st century is to feed the world on a long-term basis (...) That will probably make it necessary to multiply by two world agricultural production, just for food needs.(...) This is, I would say, a structural fact that we have not devoted enough money for agriculture and farm policies around the world.(...) FAO, the food agricultural organisation in Rome, is part of the problem and not of the solution.(...) the world food programme is really effective, but only in urgent situations.(...) We have no world governance in agriculture.



**Raphael Wittenberg**  
Senior Research Fellow at  
the Personal Social Services Research Unit  
(PSSRU) at the London School  
of Economics and Political Science

Societies clearly face the fiscal sustainability risk relating to funding care. The costs of care are surely likely to rise faster than the capacity of economies. Flowing from that, these are some of the policy issues which countries, and supranational organisations as well, will face. How do we fund the projected rise in long-term care? What is the position on fiscal sustainability? What is the most equitable way of funding? How do we most equitably distribute the risk between the individual and the State? (...) It is clear, that public expenditure on care will need to rise faster than countries' economies. Therefore countries will need to consider how best to handle these risks. There is a need for further policy debate on these issues, and perhaps particularly, there is a need for evidence from research, not only to be produced, but also to feed into the policy discussions at local, national, and supranational level.



**Dominique Moïsi**  
Special Advisor at Ifri

One could consider the inability of governments to take risk the major risk facing humanity right now, the inability to make reforms in time, to impose reforms in time, to explain these reforms. We have seen that in the Arab world not long ago. We may see that in other parts of the world tomorrow. (...) to oppose the short-termism of western democratic societies, with the long-termism of non-western, non-democratic societies.(...) The Chinese are making 100-year plans, for example, for the organisation of their cities. They are thinking in the very long term. However, are Chinese leaders today willing to take the risks which are probably necessary to reform, in the short term, their political system? You have to face the present.(...) The tradition within democratic regimes is to say today, quoting real politicians, I know what I have to do for my country and my citizens, but I do not know how to do it, and be re-elected tomorrow.(...) the major risk, at the end of the day, is the refusal to take risks when they are needed.

LUNCH  
& DINNER  
DEBATES





## Establishing and operating a business in a conflict zone



**Christophe de Margerie**  
Chairman and CEO of Total

What is the best way to conduct your business in high-risk countries when you are a responsible industrial company? Total operates in countries that can at times be difficult, in particular in the area of safety and security. Our role is to supply our clients with power in every corner of the globe, which is why we operate in 130 countries – some of which are not always as friendly, or as democratic, as they could be! Our first priority in this context is to guarantee the safety of our employees, whether they are French or not, and our installations. What role does a company have to play in these difficult zones? A company cannot take the place of politicians or diplomats, but it can, by its presence, help to bring about change, as can be seen from what has happened in Burma. Our role as company directors is to act responsibly and to make our business acceptable. Political leaders, on the other hand, must endeavor to be consistent. It is by improving mutual understanding that we can move things forward. It is by working together, transparently and with no pretence, that we can make a difference.





# Democracy in Europe



**Sylvie Goulard**  
Member of the European Parliament  
for the West of France

In international organisations and other global forums, democracy is the poor relation. Thus, the G20, which is an interesting platform for discussions and for exchanging ideas, is largely lacking in the minimum democratic legitimisation required. Apart from the fact that some G20 countries are not democracies, a lot could be said about the criteria used to select its members – entrance into the global “cockpit” is governed by a strictly economic logic, which excludes entire swathes of the world. (...) Of course, these institutions and the States that comprise the Union do at times make the wrong decision (as is evidenced by the euro crisis) but they are testimony to an effort that is unique in the world to exercise sovereignty by sharing it, whilst at the same time asserting the rule of law. (...) the key issue is precisely this – is the Nation the only framework in which I can exercise my political rights? Or should we consider adding an international democratic level of debate to the national level? Not only is it necessary, in order to legitimise the global (or European) policies that we now need, but it is in fact quite possible. (...) What is at stake in our attempt to create a united Europe is far more than just Europe. This was clearly explained in a number of excellent articles by Paul Krugman published during the crisis. The success or failure of a new democratic model that can then be adopted at the global level is being played out in Europe.





## Trust



### Josef Ackermann

Chairman of the Board, Zurich Insurance Group Ltd; Former CEO, Deutsche Bank

To instil new trust into the future here in Europe we need a united Europe. (...) For business people as well as politicians the most effective way to restore trust - now and in the future - is job creation. Unemployment rates of over 50% of young people in Spain and Greece and 30% or 40% in Italy are unacceptable by any means. They are jeopardising the stability and security of the region and the goal of a united Europe. But if we do it right, if we overcome this present crisis, the overindebtedness and the unemployment, and I think we can, then for the first time Europe will have achieved something big together, will be a winner. (...) That is why it is so important to win. Nothing is more successful in building trust than success.

### Jean-Claude Trichet

Former President of the European Central Bank

That is the clear message that the Central Banks, through their own means and channels in all our democracies, are conveying to the other partners, public and private, namely 'We are trying to do the job and preserve confidence in our own domain as we always do as anchors of confidence, but please do your own job'. This is said, even in advanced economies cultures where it was not customary. For example, contrary to a solid and old tradition in continental Europe, in the US and the UK it was not customary for the Central Bank to tell governments: 'Please correct the fiscal imbalances'. Now it has been said on both sides of the Atlantic: the situation is very grave and exceptional and has called for the Central Banks themselves to be as active as possible, including in sending out those messages. It is what indeed the ECB Governing Council for its part has done since its inception, even before the start of the global financial crisis and, I think, for good reasons.







**Adil Abd al-Mahdi**  
Former Vice President of the Republic of Iraq

The uprising in the Arab world is a very positive development and we can already see the results. This is a historic change. There are no ideological slogans. We did not see them in Tunisia, Egypt or Yemen. People are asking for their rights, but this process will not be an easy one. What is required is not a coup d'etat, like what took place in the 1930s and 1940s; otherwise, the issue could have been settled fast. (...) We will have to wait to see. It may take years or it may take decades, but the Middle East will probably reach that desired outcome, but it will go through difficult times in the process. (...) We might see more and more local authorities growing instead of one unitary state with full souvergain authority on its integral territories. Maybe we will see radical forces emerging, which I think is understandable and expected. International actors and all political forces in Arab countries must look at this objectively and try to contain this. We have to work at it together, secular ideas with religious ones. We have to do it by respecting the continuity and rupture principles.



GALA DINNER  
& NETWORKING





# Pascal Lamy

Director-General of the WTO



“After all these years spent in venues dealing with global governance I have reached the conclusion that what is lacking in order to move forward is a bedrock of common values capable of bringing about a shared ambition for civilization. The challenge of building such a platform is unquestionably a considerable one.(...) Because it will no longer draw solely on the dominant cultural models in each continent it will be difficult to convince the public that are reluctant by nature.(...) I nonetheless believe that tackling the north face of global governance has now become unavoidable. I know that fundamentalist adherents of the basic tenet of the ever-lasting interests of the State believe neither in the need for an anthropology of globalization nor in the constructivism of values, and that they will need convincing. But we have to give constructivists their due in recognizing that we owe them whatever progress has been achieved in making the world less bad than it was.



See the full speech in video





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**Vasile Iuga**

"I have enjoyed this conference very much. It has had quite an impact on my thinking in a number of areas."

**Donald Johnston**

"The size of the conference was perfect: big enough to be representative of small trends and restricted enough to make it exclusive."

**Ana Palacio**

"The conference was truly a complete success in all respects. The size and format is really fantastic"

**Susan Liautaud**

"Your WPC #5 was a remarkable event, for its density of topics, its timeliness and its gracious conduct."

**Steve Howard**

"Exceedingly interesting and intellectually rewarding, as well as providing a welcome opportunity to see other old friends again"

**William Pfaff**

"One of the most important parts of the World Policy conference is the human factor"

**Jim Hoagland**

"Every single department of the conference was so brilliantly and flawlessly organised and delivered - wonderful job!"

**Narendra Taneja**

"I have learned a great deal from the conference so far...everything I have heard is relevant to my current research project"

**Wang Jisi**





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President of Cheniere Supply & Marketing, a 100% subsidiary of Cheniere Energy, Inc. Former Executive Vice President for Supply, Trading & Marketing at Gaz de France (now GDF Suez).

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Chairman of the Board of Directors of Zurich Insurance Group Ltd and Zurich Insurance Company Ltd, member of the International Advisory Board of the National Bank of Kuwait. Former Chairman of the Management Board of Deutsche Bank AG.

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Honorary Consul to Burkina Faso in Nice (France). Journalist and writer, author of *De la Haute Volta au Burkina Faso : Tradition et modernité au Pays des Hommes intègres* (ed. Albatros, Paris, 1993).

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Managing Partner and Founding Member of Global Intelligence Partner. Author of *Intelligence Economique et Guerres Secrètes au Maroc* (ed. Koutoubia, Paris, 2009).

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**Barrault, François**  
Chairman and founder of FDB Partners, an investment and consulting firm in TMT, renewable energy and publishing. Former CEO of British Telecom Global Services and of Lucent EMEA.

**His All Holiness Bartholomew 1st**  
Elected in 1991 Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch. He is working to bring about reconciliation with Catholic and Anglican Churches and also with other faiths.

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European Chairman, Global Subsidiaries Group, Global Banking, for Citigroup and Governor of the American Hospital of Paris and member of its finance committee. Former Citi Country Officer for France and Executive Vice President and Management Board member of Banque Indosuez.

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Ambassador of the Plurinational State of Bolivia to France. Former Head of the Graduate Program in “Public Policy and International Relations of the European Union”, at the Catholic University San Pablo of La Paz.

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Enterprise Director at the Chamber of Commerce French Riviera. Former General Delegate at France Chine 2000, Managing Director at Territoires, consulting firm specializing in economic strategy.

**Gurría, Ángel**

OECD Secretary-General. Former Mexico's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Finance and Public Credit, Chairman of the International Task Force on Financing Water for All, World Water Council.

**Halalal, Traian**

President of The Export Import Bank of Romania. Former Chief Financial Officer of ING Bank in Romania and member of the Board of Administrators with several institutions inside ING Group Romania.

**Han, Sung-Joo**

Chairman of the International Policy Studies Institute of Korea, Professor Emeritus at Korea University. Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the United States and Acting President of Korea University.

**Hassassian, Manuel**

Ambassador from Palestine to London. He served the Palestinian people with distinction for twenty five years and has been a representative at the Ministry of Higher Education, at the Association of Arab Universities and among other international academic organizations.

**Hendrix, Cullen**

Assistant Professor of Government at the College of William & Mary and research associate at the Peterson Institute for International Economics, the Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law.

**Hie, Henri**

Head Alliance in China at Air France, member of the Board of the Comité France Chine. Former Vice president of routes, Americas at Air France.

**Hoagland, Jim**

Contributing Editor to *The Washington Post*. Former Associate Editor and Chief Foreign Correspondent of *The Washington Post*. He was awarded two Pulitzer prizes and other journalism honors. Author of *South Africa: Civilizations in Conflict*, published (1972).

**Howard, Steve**

Founding Secretary General of The Global Foundation, Chair of the Editorial Panel for Australia Network, Australia's international television service. Former private advisor to

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**Hur, Kyung-Wook**

Chairman of the OECD Pension Budget and Reserve Fund Management Board. Ambassador of Korea to the OECD. Former Vice Minister for Strategy and Finance, Senior Economist for the IMF.

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Expert in mobile communications and founder of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, which aims to support good governance and great leadership in Africa. Former founding Chairman of Celtel International.

**Sakong, Il**

President of the Institute for Global Economics. Former Minister of Finance of the Republic of Korea, Special Economic Adviser to the President, Chairman of the Presidential Committee for the G20 Summit and of the Korea International Trade Association (KITA).

**Iuga, Vasile**

Country Managing Partner of PwC Romania and Managing Partner of PwC for South-Eastern Europe (SEE). He joined PwC upon its incorporation in Romania (1991). Former Vice-President of the American Chamber of Commerce in Romania.

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Secretary-General of the Franco-Austrian Center for European Economic Convergence. Former Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs, Permanent Representative to the United Nations and to the OECD.

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

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**Johnston, Donald J.**

Founding Partner, Heenan Blaikie. Former Secretary-General of the OECD, Minister of State for Science and Technology, Minister of State for Economic and Regional Development, Minister of Justice and Attorney General (Canada).

**Kabbaj, Mohamed**

President of Lafarge Morocco and President of Spirit of Fes Fondation. Former Advisor to His Majesty the King Mohammed VI of Morocco, Minister of Finance and Foreign Investment and President of the Development Committee of the IMF and the World Bank.

**Kaiser, Karl**

Adjunct Professor at the Kennedy School and Director of the Program on Transatlantic Relations of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. Former Director of the German Council on Foreign Relations, Bonn/Berlin.

**Kamhawi, Labib**

Spokesman/ Member of the Executive Board, National Reform Front/Jordan, Chairman and CEO of CESSCO, Chemical Supplies & Services Co. and Delta Energy Services Co. Former Vice-President of Arab Organization for Human Rights in Jordan.

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

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Professor of Economy and Health Management at the Conservatoire

National des Arts et Métiers and Co-Director of the Pasteur/CNAM School of Public Health, member of the French Academy of Technology. Former Consultant to the OECD.

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President and founder of Pax Africana, Foundation for peace and development in Africa. Former Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU, now the African Union), Prime Minister of Togo and Governor at the IMF.

**Lablanchy, Jean-Pierre**

Medical Doctor, registered in Paris and in London (General Medical Council). Former personal M.D. for President Abdoulaye Wade, associate professor, Medical University Paris XIII and Consultant for France Televisions Foundation.

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Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Lafarge Group, Chairman of the Energy & Climate Change Working Group of the European Roundtable of Industrialists (ERT), Board Member of EDF and ArcelorMittal. Former Group Executive Vice-President of Lafarge.

**Lamy, Pascal**

Director-General of the WTO. Former Chief of staff for the President of the European Commission, CEO of the bank Credit Lyonnais, Commissioner for Trade at the European Commission.

**Landaburu, Eneko**

Ambassador, Head of the European Union Delegation in the Kingdom of Morocco and member of the Board of Directors of the think tank Notre Europe. Former European Commission's Director-General for External Relations.

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Partner at global private equity firm, The Riverside Company and Chairman of the EVCA (European Private Equity and Venture Capital Association). He started his career

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**Lee, Hye-Min**

Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to France. Former Ambassador to the Republic of the Philippines, Deputy Minister for Trade and Chief Negotiator for the Korea-EU FTA.

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Member of the Board of Bruno Kreisler Forum for International Dialogue, of International Law Institute, Chairman of the Board of CARE Austria. Former Special Envoy for Africa of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria.

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Executive Vice President, Sustainable Development and Environment at Total. Former Vice President Exploration in Norway, Vice President Geosciences in the United States, Vice President R&D Exploration & Production at Total.

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French industrialist and economist. Founding member of the Académie des technologies (France), President of the Scientific Committee of the Energy Program, Ifri. Former Director of the OECD Interfutures Project, Head of the Department of Economics at CNAM, Paris.

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Professor at Sciences-Po, Distinguished 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, Ambassador to the United States.

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Affiliate Emeritus Professor at Paris-Dauphine University, non-executive Chairman of *Les Echos*, Chairman of the Fondation du Risque and the Institut Louis Bachelier, Vice President of the Institut Europlace de Finance. Former CEO of Paribas Group.

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Founder of Susan Liautaud & Associates Limited (SLA), a consultancy in ethics matters internationally and of Imaginer Consulting Limited. Visiting Scholar at the Stanford Center of Philanthropy and Civil Society.

**Likhotal, Alexander**

President of Green Cross International, member of the Club of Rome, councillor at the World Future Council and the Club of Madrid. Former lecturer at the Moscow State Institute for International Affairs, Deputy Spokesman and Adviser to the President of the USSR.

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Distinguished Visiting Scholar of International Economics at Johns Hopkins University Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). Former First Deputy Managing Director of the IMF and Special Advisor to the Managing Director, IMF.

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Senior Vice President Public Affairs, Total. Former Senior Vice President International Relations, Total, Managing Director Total E&P Angola and Deputy Director, Hydrocarbon Division at the French Ministry of Industry.

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Mediation consultant at Ince & Co LLP, founding member of the Centre for Effective Dispute Resolution (CEDR), member of the JAMS International panel and Honorary Consul to Cape Verde in London.

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Consul General of the Republic of Indonesia in Marseille (France). Former Deputy Director for South

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Research Director at the CNRS, Director of the Centre for International and European Studies and Research (CERIC) and co-director of the Master 2 of International and European Environmental Law at the University of Aix-Marseille.

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Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Total. He joined Total in 1974 where he served in several positions in the Group's Finance Department and Exploration & Production division.

**Mariton, Hervé**

Member of the French Parliament, rapporteur spécial (spokesman) for the budget of Transport, Political Adviser of the UMP Party in charge of Defence. Chairman of the French-Russian Friendship Grouping at the Assemblée nationale.

**Merlin, André**

Executive President of MEDGRID, President of the supervisory board of RTE, the company responsible for running the French electricity transmission system and of ERDF, which manages the public electricity distribution network in France.

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Vice-chairman of Rothschild Europe. Former General Partner of Rothschild & Cie, Managing Director of Lazard Frères & Cie, advisor to the Delegation for territorial planning and regional action (DATAR, part of the French Prime Minister Office).

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Prefect of the department of Alpes-Maritimes (France). Former Prefect of Savoie, Deputy General Secretary and Director of Modernization and Territorial Action at the Ministry of Interior, Overseas Territories and Territorial Collectivities.

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Senior Adviser at Ifri. Visiting Professor at Harvard University. Columnist for *Les Echos*, and *Project syndicate*. Author of *Between Silence and Secret* (2011).

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Prime Minister of Italy. Former President of Bocconi University, Milan, member of the European Commission, in charge of the Internal market, Financial services and Tax policy and then of Competition.

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

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Professor of Economy at the University of Aix-Marseille, Deputy Director of the School of Economy of Aix-Marseille, member of the scientific board of the IRD, member of the scientific board of social and economic sciences (SAE) at INRA.

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Head of Basic Research (Erste Group) and Senior Fellow at the Hamburg Institute of International Economics (HWWI). Former consultant for the European Commission, the OECD and the World Bank.

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Head of Project, Institute of Strategic and Interregional Studies under the President of Uzbekistan. He graduated in Business Administration and received a Master's Degree in International Business and Management, both from the University of Westminster.

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President of ECE Capital and Chairman of the National Investment Guarantee Corporation. Former consultant at the OECD, co-founder and Chairman of the Economic Department at the Lebanese University.

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Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry France India. Founder of the India Trade Centre. He worked in the high-tech and internet industry, holding managing positions for technology leaders such as Netapp and Enitron.

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Chairman of Centaurus Capital, a private investment management company in Europe, Asia and the emerging markets, Director of Natixis, and of Tigers Alliance (Vietnam), member of the Supervisory Board of HLD.

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Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to France. Former Chief of Protocol at the Ministry of Foreign





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President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire. Former Deputy Managing Director of the IMF, Governor of the Central Bank of West African States (BCEAO), Director of the African Department at the IMF.

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Honorary Consul of the Republic of Kazakhstan, founder of PROMSTAN Asia (Kazakhstan), Founding President of PROMVOST (Russia), Managing Director of PROMEST/COOPINVEST. Former Managing Director of TECHNOFI.

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Member of the Spanish Council of State, founding partner of Palacio y Asociados. Former Senior Vice-president and General Counsel of the World Bank Group, Foreign Minister of Spain and Member of the European Parliament.

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Journalist and Columnist in the *The New York Review of Books*, *The New Yorker*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Commentaire*. Political columnist in *The International Herald Tribune* in Paris.

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Consul General of the Russian Federation in Marseille (France). Former Minister Counsellor at the Embassy of the Russian Federation to France and attached to the Russian Security Council.

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President and founder of Alcen, group composed of high technology companies in the fields of defense, energy, medical machines and aeronautics. Former Senior Vice President, Matra Group.

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President of the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS). Professor at China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU). Former Vice President of CFAU and Minister to Chinese Embassy to France.

**Radu, Rasvan**  
Chief Executive Officer of UniCredit Tiriac Bank România, Executive Vice President of the C.E.C. Bank, Retail Executive Vice President of the Raiffeisen Bank in Romania. Former President of the Advisory Board of the Prime Minister of Romania.

**Ramsay, William**  
Senior Advisor of the Energy Program at Ifri. Former Director of the Energy Program at Ifri. Former Deputy Executive Director at the International Energy Agency (IEA). Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State at the US State Department.

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Former Power Secretary of India. Energy expert and international negotiator. Former Indian representative to the World Energy Council. Chairman of the global study Energy for Mega Cities.

**Roux-Alezais, Henry**  
Managing Director of Sogeric, President of the Institut de la Méditerranée, President of the humanitarian association Santé Partenaires. Former President of the Autonomous Port of Marseille (PAM).

**Salamé, Riad Toufic**  
Governor of the Banque du Liban, Lebanon's Central Bank, Governor for Lebanon at the IMF and the Arab Monetary Fund (AMF). Former Vice-President and Financial Adviser at Merrill Lynch in Paris.

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Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Sogeti and member of Capgemini Group Executive Committee. Former Vice Chief Executive of Cap Gemini France, Vice Chief Executive Officer of Cap Gemini America and Deputy Director of Cap Gemini Ernst & Young Group.

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Attorney-at-law at Jones Day. Former Director-General of the Trade Policy Bureau and Vice Minister for International Affairs at the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry of Japan. Former Chief Executive Assistant to Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama.

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Honorary Consul of the Republic of Mauritius in Marseille (France), lawyer at the Bar of Marseille.

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Head of the "Turkish Studies" program at the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri), co-Director of the Middle East part of the yearly report RAMSES 2009.

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President of Initiative France, member of the board of BNP-Paribas, L'Oréal and Veolia Environnement. Former Chairman and CEO of Renault, President of the French High Authority to Fight Discriminations and Promote Equality (HALDE).

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President of the Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI) and Board member of Barcelona Centre for International Affairs (CIDOB). Former President of CIDOB, Vice-President of the Spanish Government, Minister of Defence.

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Chief Executive Officer of Investisseurs et Partenaires (I&P), member of the Académie des technologies, General Inspector of Finance. Former Vice-President of the World Bank for Asia and CEO of France's International Development Agency (AFD).

**Sheetrit, Meir**  
Member of the Israeli Knesset for the Kadima Party. Former Minister of the Interior, Minister of Housing and Construction, Minister of Finance, Minister of Justice, Minister of Transportation and Minister of Education, Culture and Sports.

**Sikorski, Radoslaw**  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Chairman of the Committee on European Affairs and Vice-Chairman of the Civic Platform party. Former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Honorary Chairman of the Foundation for Assistance to Poles in the East.

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President of the National Science and Art Foundation. Professor of modern literature at the University of Bucharest, PhD in Philological Sciences. Former President of the Romanian Academy.

**Simionescu, Maya**  
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Ambassador of France, Chairman of Eurafrrique Stratégies SAS. Former

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Policy advisor at the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Former General Delegate of the European Think Tank Confrontations-Europe.

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President of Club România. Former Under Secretary of State for Foreign Trade, personal advisor to the Secretary of State for the Romanians Abroad and to the Minister of Tourism.

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President and founder of Grampet Group, the most important Central and East-European actor in the field of railway transport and logistics services. President of the Romania-Kazakhstan Business Council.

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Agrégé in Public Law, Emeritus Professor of Public Law at the University of Paris Panthéon-Assas. Former Deputy Director of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), in Geneva and ad hoc Judge at the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

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Executive Director of The Better Hong Kong Foundation. Former Deputy General Manager of the Chinese Television Network, General Manager of the Hongkong Telecom IMS, Director of Multimedia Services and of E-commerce under the Hutchison Whampoa Group.

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**Trichet, Jean-Claude**  
President of SOGEP, Chairman of the Group of Thirty and Chairman of the Board of Bruegel Institute and Honorary Governor of Banque de France. Former President of the European Central Bank.

**Tycinski, Wojciech**  
Consul General of Poland in Lyon (France). Former Director of Polish Communities Abroad Department

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**Védrine, Hubert**  
Founder of Hubert Védrine Conseil, a public affairs consultancy that specializes in foreign, economic, and geo-political affairs. Former French Minister of Foreign Affairs, diplomatic Advisor, Spokesman, and Secretary-General of President François Mitterrand.

**Veret, Amalric**  
Chief Executive Officer of Laboratoires Pronutri (development, production and distribution of food supplements) and Laboratoires Activa (micro-granule technology).

**Villepelet, Serge**  
President of PricewaterhouseCoopers France, a member firm of the worldwide network of PricewaterhouseCoopers International (PWC). In 2007, he set up the PricewaterhouseCoopers France Foundation for Culture and Solidarity.

**Vitorino, António**  
President of Notre Europe – Institut Jacques Delors and associate at the law firm Cuatrecasas, Gonçalves Pereira & Associados. Former Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister of Portugal and European Commissioner for Justice and Internal Affairs.

**Voinea, Liviu**  
State Secretary at the Ministry of Public Finance of Romania and Non-Executive Board Member of Banca de Import Export a Romaniei – Exim-Bank SA. He received the prestigious "Virgil Madgearu" Romanian Academy Award for economics for his book *Transnational corporations and global capitalism*.

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**Wasserman, Christopher**  
President and co-founder of the Zermatt Summit Foundation, which organizes an annual meeting on the subject "humanizing globalization". President of the Ecophilos Foundation (Switzerland) and founder and President of the TeroLab Surface Group.

**Wat, François**  
Senior Partner, Co-Head of Global Equity Advisory, Rothschild Paris. Former Managing Director at Deutsche Bank, Chairman of Equity Capital Market, Asia Pacific, based in Hong Kong.

**Weymuller, Bruno**  
Member, Total Professeurs Associés, Director of Déinove and Kvaerner ASA, and member of the board of directors at Coe-Rexecode. Former Executive Vice President in charge of Strategy and Risk Assessment at Elf Aquitaine.

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Professor and Senior Research Fellow at the Personal Social Services Research Unit (PSSRU) at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Former Senior Economist at the Department of Health of England.

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Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Poland to the OECD. Former Minister of Finance and Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, responsible for economic cooperation and development.

**Woschnagg, Gregor**  
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Director of the Coordination and Analysis Center for Foreign Policy Researches (KATSVI) in Uzbekistan. Expert in the field of International Relations, specialist in Central Asia.

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Chairman of the Management Board of the Institute of Contemporary Development, member of the Presidential Council for Civil Society Institutions and Human Rights (Russian Federation).

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Chief Executive Officer of the Private Equity firm PAI. Former General Partner at Rothschild & Cie. Former Corporate Development Director and then CEO of the grocery division at Danone. Former lecturer in economics at Paris XIII University.

**Zinsou, Marie-Cécile**  
Founder and President of Fondation Zinsou that aims to promote contemporary Art in Africa and leads cultural, educational and social actions as well as a microfinance program.

### Thierry de Montbrial

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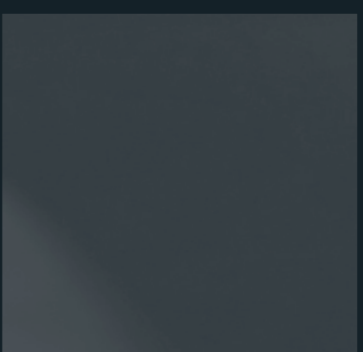
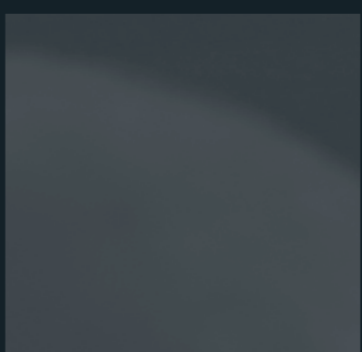
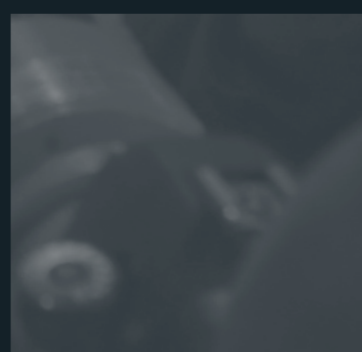
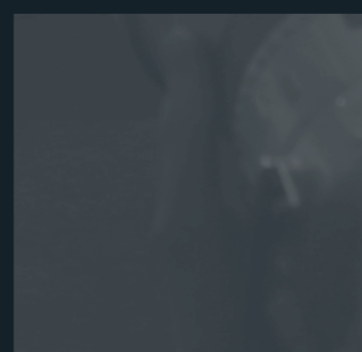
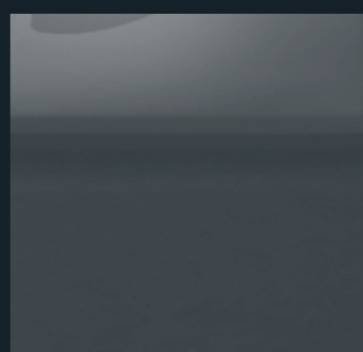
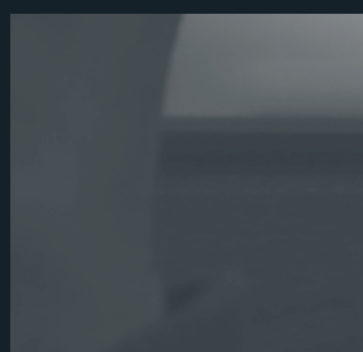
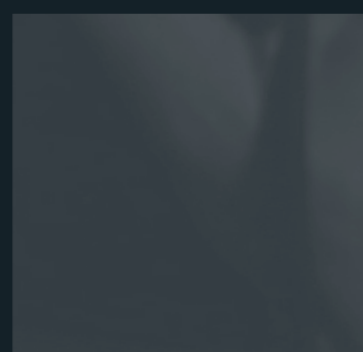
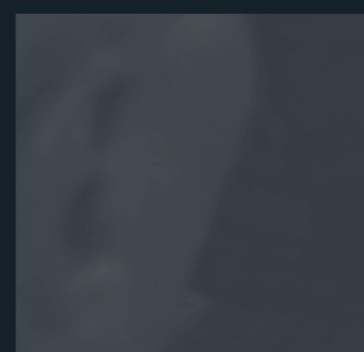
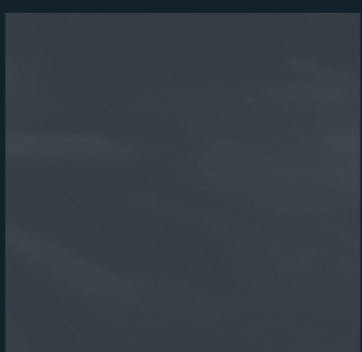
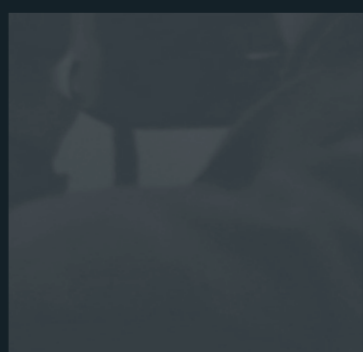
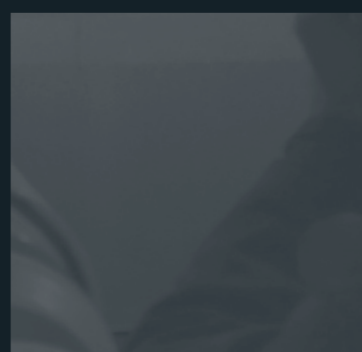
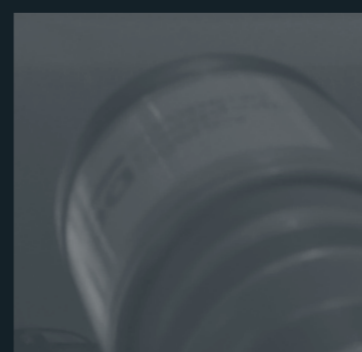
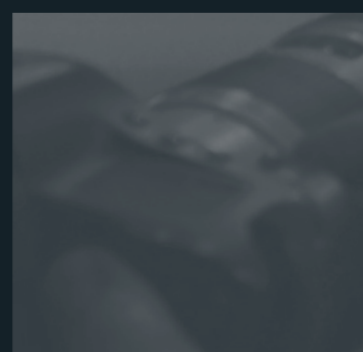
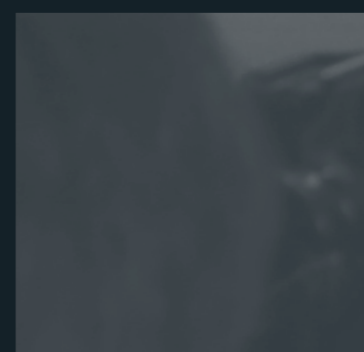
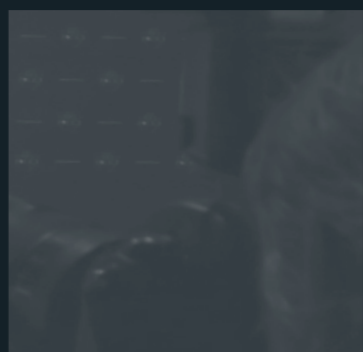
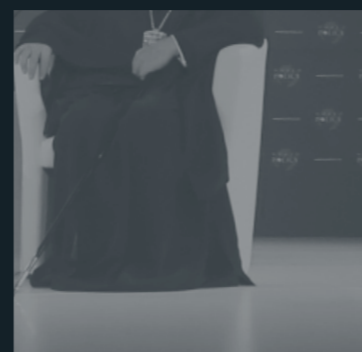
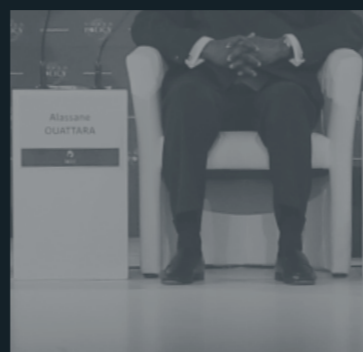
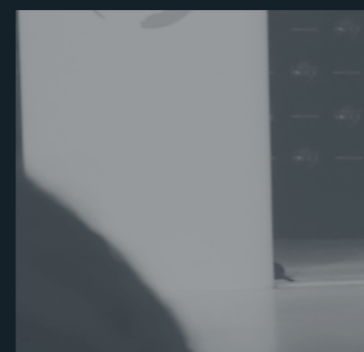
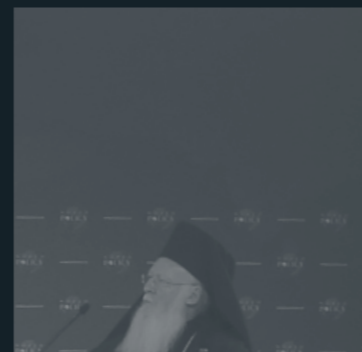
He serves on the board or advisory board of a number of international companies and institutions. Thierry de Montbrial chaired the Department of Economics at the Ecole polytechnique from 1974 to 1992. He was the first Chairman of the Foundation for Strategic Research (1993-2001). Entrusted with the creation of the Policy Planning Staff (Centre d'analyse et de prevision) at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was its first director (1973-1979). He has authored eighteen books, several of them translated in various languages. He is a Commandeur of the Légion d'honneur and a Grand Officer of the National Order of Merit and has been awarded many other state honors by the French and foreign governments. He holds nine *honoris causa* doctorates.

Thierry de Montbrial is a graduate of the Ecole polytechnique and the Ecole des mines, and received a PhD in Economics from the University of California at Berkeley.





**OPENING  
SPEECHES**  
Full versions





Opening speech  
François Hollande

Ladies, Gentlemen, Heads of State and Government,  
Mr President,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I want to thank you for choosing Cannes as the location of the fifth World Policy Conference, where issues essential to our joint future are discussed. You have decided to tackle four subjects, four urgent issues of our times. The first is international economic governance – indispensable if we are to leave behind several decades of instability born out of a demand for hyper-profitability and speculation. This is the purpose of the action led by France to strengthen the role of the G20, to introduce regulatory mechanisms for the markets, to fight against tax havens and to act for better coordination of economic policies worldwide. It is also the approach we are adopting to reach a climate agreement at the conference taking place in 2015.

The second subject you are discussing is the future of the eurozone. There has been considerable progress in terms of cohesion and trust in recent months. The message from France is simple: debt reduction is, of course, essential, but it is not enough on its own. We need growth: that is the aim of the pact adopted in June. At the same time, we also need greater solidarity: that is the aim of the proposed banking union and budgetary union within the framework of deeper political union in Europe.

The third subject is the Middle East. Day after day, a tragedy is unfolding in Syria, where a bloodthirsty regime is killing its own people. France, along with others, has chosen to recognise the coalition of opposition forces as the representative of the Syrian people. I repeat: only the departure of Bashar al-Assad will make it possible to end a conflict which affects the security of the entire region. We also urgently need to get Iran to comply with its international obligations, that is, to renounce its nuclear ambitions, and to achieve this through dialogue and peaceful sanctions. Lastly, we urgently need to find a solution for Israel and Palestine which is recognised by all.

The last subject you are dealing with is Africa, and one aspect in particular: the unavoidable fight against the establishment in Mali of terrorist groups whose ideology and behaviour are challenges to the universal conscience. You know how important this cause is to France and how determined it is to see the solution driven by local actors, with the support of regional and international organisations.

These challenges cannot be separated from each other. And they cannot be considered in relation to one country alone. In response to so many challenges, uncertainties and hopes, we need collective answers. I hope that your debates at Cannes contribute to defining these responses.

Opening speech  
Thierry de Montbrial

To open this fifth *World Policy Conference* I would like to very briefly develop three points and review some of the ideas that led to its creation.

First point – the nature of interdependence has changed as a result of globalisation. It has become “non-linear”, as can be seen from the examples of the financial and economic crisis since 2007–2008, and the “Arab Spring”. In other words, more than ever before, tiny *a priori* causes can have significant and fundamentally unpredictable effects. This is what is commonly referred to as the butterfly effect.

There are numerous potential risks – for example, criminality and terrorism in all their forms, such as in the Sahel the threat from AQIM (Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb) or cyber-attacks. This explains why, therefore, in order to preserve the opportunities and benefits offered by an open world, it needs to be better organised and global governance needs to be strengthened in all areas.

In practice, such global governance is at present based on the forms of organisations or institutions as illustrated below.

First of all, existing institutions – the UN, regional organisations (such as the African Union, the ECOWAS, the Arab League), the WTO, the IMF, the World Bank and the Regional Development Banks, the network of central banks, etc. These institutions obviously need to adapt.

Second example, informal “mini-lateralism”, based on flexible political or economic coalitions with a variable geometry, in line with the interests and abilities of each.

Third example, an improved G20 capable of constituting an efficient *steering committee* at least in so far as concerns economics.

These examples are not limitative. Extended governance can only ensure the viability of the international system overall if it is sufficiently *legitimate* and *efficient*. This objective is not currently impossible, given that the world, although *heterogeneous*, is not revolutionary, as Europe was at certain times in its history. The postures of countries such as North Korea or Iran are exceptions. For all that, the conditions of legitimacy and efficiency are in part contradictory. And in some cases, heterogeneity can cause *crises in the system* although not necessarily *systemic crises*. This is currently the case with Syria, as a result of points of view that are proving difficult to reconcile within the Security Council. Among the permanent members – the USA, the UK and France are on one side, with China and above all Russia on the other side. To all this is added the question of trust, which is not just a combination of legitimacy and efficiency. Thus it can be maintained, since the sudden appearance of sovereign debt crises in Western countries, that on the economic level global governance is at the moment suffering from a serious lack of trust. Within the European Union for example, Member States appear at times to be unable to implement decisions, even though they took them collectively.

Second point – international relations remain principally, but no longer exclusively, *inter-state relations*. States are in effect the main political units, i.e. the main expressions of collective life. In times of crisis, peoples turn towards States. We have seen it in recent years. But globalisation has weakened the power of governments. This explains the problem of global governance. In many domains, today, governments can only take the correct decisions by conferring or negotiating with other active units whether public (other States or international organisations), or private (companies, trades-unions, etc). Generally, international



Opening speech  
Alassane Ouattara

*Honourable guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, dear friends,*

I would like to start by wholeheartedly thanking Thierry de Montbrial, President-Founder of the World Policy Conference, for honouring me with an invitation to speak before this gathering of eminent persons.

Mr de Montbrial suggested that I give you a few thoughts on the global situation and governance and then speak to you about Africa and my country, Côte d'Ivoire. A considerable task, I'm sure you'll agree! But fear not, for Mr de Montbrial has given me 20 minutes to perform this tour de force!

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

This conference is taking place at a time when the whole world has just learned the names of the leaders of the two super powers, with the re-election of His Excellency President Barack Obama in the United States of America and the appointment of His Excellency Xi Jinping to the post of General Secretary of the Communist Party of China. Two leaders whose future decisions taken on behalf of their countries, both in relation to the economy and international relations, will have a significant impact on the future of humanity. Of course, we hope that the wisdom of these two great peoples will allow us to have a calmer world.

The world today is facing turbulence. Forecasts recently published by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development expect «a hesitant and uneven recovery», with growth rates cut to 1.4% in 2013 instead of 2.2% as was initially forecast. Not to mention the «fiscal cliff» which could make the US lose 5% of growth in 2013 and anaemic growth in Europe.

Meanwhile, the Middle East is in crisis due to the contrasting consequences of the jasmine revolution. At the UN, Palestine has just been recognised as a non-member observer state by a majority of member countries of the United Nations General Assembly. We must hope that a lasting peace agreement between Israel and Palestine can finally be reached in this region wounded by so much suffering.

In Africa, the economic take-off is growing stronger despite the consequences of the Libyan revolution in the Sahel.

Our planet's ecosystems are suffering the consequences of rampant pollution caused by huge energy consumption. This development leads to unprecedented climatic imbalance. Poor management of public resources by some public and private multinational companies has contributed to the catastrophes which have struck several regions of the world, such as the Land of the Rising Sun, the Gulf of Mexico and the Sahel.

relations have become much more fluid as a result of the revolution in information and communication technologies. One of the paradoxical risks of the modern world is that these realities and the resulting difficulties lead to *nationalist and protectionist reactions*. When times are difficult people are always tempted to turn in on themselves and the current period is no exception. This risk is real and could lead to new systemic crises. This explains the importance, for all institutions in charge of global governance, of *maintaining a coherent and credible stance* on the opportunities that an open world represents *for all*, provided that it is organised in a suitable manner. We thus return, at an even deeper level, to the theme of trust. It should be noted that, in the world in which we are living, diplomats would appear to be guaranteed a bright future!

And finally the third and last point. In a rapidly changing context there has clearly arisen the need to identify and manage what can be called “global public goods”, despite the fact that, strictly speaking, the notion of public good cannot be separated from that of political unity. However, the world is not ready to be constituted as *a* political unit. We can not therefore count on “global” political unity to define and handle global public goods. Nor can we even rely totally on governments, that are largely bogged down in current affairs. This explains why it is important to gradually create a “global civil society”, generating pioneering researchers who act as a driving force for the benefit of systems of public and private deciders, what I have called “decision making factories”. The networks of *think tanks* have adopted this approach, which is also, but in a different context, the approach adopted by the *World Policy Conference*. Our aim is, via substantive work, to contribute to the furthering of global governance, by bringing together States, particularly medium-sized and small states, companies and other active units from civil societies, and more generally those, of all origins or nationalities, that want to help to create – albeit in a very pragmatic and gradual manner – a form of “global” political unit compatible with current and future technological and scientific development. It is not a dream for us to start to prepare the world of the XXIInd century.

For this fifth WPC, we have chosen to focus on certain major concrete aspects of global governance, rather than on institutional architecture. I will not go into them in detail here, as they are described in the booklet and the programme that you have received. To finish, I will add a final remark that could be considered banal but the importance of which can not be overestimated. Thanks to improvements in the means of transport and information and communication technologies, leaders can now see each other, talk to each other, meet with each other. There are now greater opportunities for establishing relations between them and eliminating misunderstandings. Depending on their domains, they form themselves into clubs. This represents perhaps the best chance for moving global governance forward. My wish is that the WPC shall *gradually* become a genuine *transversal club* for the benefit of this governance and that it shall contribute to making sense of a world that has become senseless. We only need examine recent history to see that the most dramatic situations have resulted from a monumental failure in communication. Saddam Hussein was isolated from the world. Bachar el-Assad travelled, received people and telephoned a bit, but he was and remains the prisoner of an apparatus that, for its part, lives behind closed doors. Ayatollah Khomeiny only receives foreigners whose support he can count on. And what can we say about the Communist dynasty in North Korea? The lesson that I take – we should never be afraid of opening ourselves up to the world, of giving and receiving. Identities are not dissolved, on the contrary they flourish, in a climate of welcoming and generosity.



*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

These observations raise a number of questions:

- Is the economic model which has ruled the world since the Industrial Revolution showing cracks?
- Have the external effects of growth described by the famous British economist James Edward Meade, winner of the 1977 Nobel prize for economics, been sufficiently considered in our growth models?
- Has governance become a concept stripped of all substance, for the benefit of a few specific interest groups?
- Is growth in the world sustainable? Will we continue to damage the environment by consuming energy produced from non-renewable resources?

In this respect, it is interesting to highlight that one of the major directions of the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China is to encourage the creation of an ecological civilisation. An example which is undoubtedly worth emulating, in line with the specific characteristics of each country.

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

The map of new balances of power which is being drawn up before our eyes requires us to thoroughly strengthen global governance. It must better reflect the reality of this new world and meet the aspirations of populations. We need improved representation in international organisations, including on the UN Security Council and the Board of Directors of the IMF and the World Bank. The major challenges of the 21st century make it a necessity.

For my part, I am convinced that globalisation of trade, the effects of economic growth, unlawful transactions and cross-border terrorism require increased cooperation between states. We also need to strengthen and adapt surveillance rules in a world which is being completely transformed. Lastly, unprecedented scientific discoveries require us to reinforce ethical rules internationally in order to safeguard integrity and human dignity.

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

After this opening statement on global governance, I would like to take the opportunity which has been offered to me today to speak to you about the African continent.

As noted in a recent World Bank report, since 2000 Africa has had more than a decade of economic growth. This is the longest period of expansion in a half-century. Sub-Saharan Africa has maintained an average growth rate of between 5 and 6% in the last decade, despite the repeated crises experienced by the US and the European Union.

This growth rate places Africa behind Asia and in front of all other regions of the world. Several African countries are among the most dynamic in the world. According to the

experts at the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the medium-term prospects for our continent are positive.

Despite the risk of a deterioration of the situation in Europe, the overall picture for Sub-Saharan Africa is very encouraging. This is partly due to the specific features that numerous countries have in common with emerging countries. In other words:

- rapid urbanisation,
- the rise of a significant middle class,
- the rapid development of information and communication technologies,
- better governance and a better business environment,
- increasingly transparent elections and the emergence of the rule of law, with institutions growing stronger.

I also note that the rate of foreign investment has multiplied tenfold over the past decade, with huge investment, in particular from China, India, Brazil, Malaysia and Turkey. As was the case at the start of the Asian economic miracle 25 years ago, relatively low growth in the rate of investment in Africa can produce very high gains in productivity. The return on investment in Africa is one of the highest in the world. Africa attracts private capital flows which now exceed foreign aid.

So there can be no doubt that Africa is increasingly integrated in the global economy. Its increasingly diverse partners are opening up unprecedented new development opportunities. Having gained independence in the 1960s, African countries are today forging their economic independence. They are becoming less dependent on their traditional partners. Thus China is now overtaking the US as main partner.

Africa's trade with the rest of the world has increased by 200% since the year 2000. Trade with Brazil, China, South Korea, India and Turkey, which represented only 1%, is today estimated at more than 30%, and is expected to reach 50% by 2030. Regional trade between African countries is also booming, due to cuts in import tariffs and restrictions on trade.

In addition, the African continent could fully benefit from the «demographic dividend», just as Asia did 30 years ago. The African population today stands at around 1 billion people and should reach 2 billion people by 2050. The average age is 20, compared to 30 in Asia and 40 in Europe. According to the World Bank, poverty on the continent has fallen at a rate of more than 1 point per year.

This growing integration of Africa in the global economy could not have happened without increased political stability, good governance, democratic change of government and the gradual setting up of robust institutions. The majority of African countries today have elections deemed «satisfactory» by the international community. However, there is still a lot of work to be done before African countries become true democracies. Indeed, democracy cannot exist without strong institutions and checks and balances. Democracy is not something you decree. It is built out of respect for the rule of law.

**Africa's established integration in the global economy is also due to the implementation of joint standards on the fight against climate change, international trade and international security.**

**Africa should not therefore be on the fringes of the Security Council and global governance. Indeed, international security and peace are now heavily reliant on the African continent.**

*Honourable guests,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

I would now like to talk to you about my country. The Côte d'Ivoire is in the process of writing a new page in its history. The Côte d'Ivoire has returned to peace, security and stability. After years of crisis, the Côte d'Ivoire is full of hope and resolutely faces the future. It is reviving its traditional warm welcome and hospitality.

Security has returned to the whole country. Our defence and security system is being reorganised.

After the setting up of the National Security Council and the creation of the Authority for Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration, Security Sector Reform will be accelerated with a view to ensuring the unity, modernisation and efficacy of our security apparatus. Particular attention is being paid to training our reunified forces, with a view to instilling in them the need to respect human rights when carrying out their duties. National reconciliation is progressing thanks to the diligent work of the Dialogue, Truth and Reconciliation Commission. In addition, following free and transparent legislative elections, the new Parliament is currently legislating. Joint municipal and regional elections are scheduled for early 2013. A new government has just been set up with a precise roadmap. Each day, our democracy becomes more ingrained, calmer and more united with the gradual implementation of the rule of law and strong, impartial institutions. This is an opportunity to once again thank all our partners, and particularly France, for their assistance during the post-election crisis.

The Côte d'Ivoire is also having a successful economic take-off. We have returned to macroeconomic stability and external debt, after reaching the completion point under the HIPC initiative in June 2012, is now only 18% of GDP. Economic results in 2012 are far better than expected. For the second year in a row, the IMF has revised its growth forecasts for the Côte d'Ivoire upwards. With a rate of 8.6% in 2012, the Côte d'Ivoire is now among the countries with the highest growth rates in Africa and the world.

We have adopted a National Development Plan for 2012-2015 which defines powerful engines of cross-cutting and horizontal growth. Its implementation will enable us to achieve high, steady growth based on solidarity. This growth will respect the environment and create jobs for young people in particular. Our goal is to lay the foundations for Côte d'Ivoire to be an emerging country by 2020 and to halve the poverty rate by 2015. The growth rate for the next three years should be around 9% in 2013 and 10% in 2014-2015. These results are due to the substantial increase in private and public investment, judiciously made in growth sectors.

The Consultation Group for financing the National Development Plan, held in Paris on 4-5 December, was a great success and our partners have decided to support our economic take-off by substantially increasing their aid. As such, bilateral and multilateral partners, sovereign funds and development NGOs have confirmed their commitment of some 7 billion euros (8.6 billion dollars), in other words, more than double the financing expected.

Moreover, priority public/private partnership projects of strategic importance in the infrastructure, mining, energy, petrol, telecommunications, education and healthcare sectors, among others, have drawn the interest of more than 300 private international investors. Buoyed by this support, we will tirelessly continue our efforts to: be one of the best-placed African countries in the UNDP Human Development Index; to completely, or nearly, achieve the Millennium Development Goals by 2015; to create one of the best business environments in Africa; and lastly, to join those countries which are models of good governance and anti-corruption.

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

The Côte d'Ivoire is once again finding its place in the subregion. Its growth rate has a significant impact on all of the countries in the subregion, in particular the landlocked countries of the Sahel.

As current ECOWAS President, I will do everything I can to consolidate our regional integration. I will continue to do my utmost, with the help of my peers, to prevent conflicts and ensure respect for the foundations of democracy. I am optimistic and I have faith in Africa, which is a continent of the future.

*Honourable guests,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,* may your discussions be fruitful and, above all, may you reach conclusions which bring hope to humanity.

Thank you.



Opening speech  
H.A.H. Bartholomew 1st

*Mr President of the European Council, Herman Van Rompuy*

*Mr President of the French Republic, François Hollande*

*Mr President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, Alassane Ouattara*

*Your Serene Highness Prince Albert II of Monaco*

*Mr President of the World Policy Conference, Thierry de Montbrial*

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

*Esteemed participants,*

*Dear friends,*

If there is one certainty that our era can offer us, it is that it will provide plenty of material for the historians of the future. They will be able to draw parallels with the first globalisation which led to the internecine wars of the 20th century, or with the turn of the 17th century which, with the end of the religious wars, was marked by the start of Europe's rise to power. In any case, there is a good chance that the future historiography will view our period as a collapse.

The confusion which prevails today supports this hypothesis. The subjects to be discussed at the conference over the next few days are therefore questions rather than answers, doubts rather than certainties.

Twenty years after the collapse of the communist system, the economic crisis has shattered any certainties about the self-regulating capacity of the capitalist system. Economic governance seems therefore to be a necessity. That said, it is hard to see how global economic governance can be implemented without political power at the same level. The unification of humanity, that eternal ideal, seems ever more distant today, when the major global equilibriums are being redrawn, when conflicts and tensions are increasing and when a fragmented, multipolar world is emerging.

In this context, old alliances which seemed so solid just a few years ago are beginning to weaken. Europe and America seem to be on diverging paths. The European Union itself is in deep crisis. Incapable of guaranteeing its citizens a privileged place among the societies of the world, it is witnessing its materialist cement crumble, which only makes its spiritual deficit more visible.

To the east, tensions are growing in the Middle East, site of one of the cradles of Western civilisation. The region is one of the major geopolitical challenges of our time. The descent into hell of the guardian of a large part of the history of our civilisation is resulting in the destruction of some of the deepest roots of the European experience. On another, more global, matter, the concerns that have been felt for several years about the environment are on the increase. The economic crisis monopolises attention by turning it to the short term and diverting it from medium- or long-term concerns. And yet it is primarily on these two time-scales that these questions can be asked.

So what can guide us through these storms? Undoubtedly, a sense of history, the ability to discern the different, intersecting cycles to which our daily lives belong.

That said, a purely intellectual approach will be insufficient. Historical knowledge must be part of a broader theme, concerning many. It must be open to the collective memory. In these times of transition and collapse, the collective memory is an essential resource. And yet, for the past century, humanity has destroyed memorial resources more quickly than natural resources. Consider, for example, the geography of populations in the Eastern Mediterranean as it is today and according to the accounts of barely a century ago. The religious and linguistic complexity which characterised it, the mosaic of peoples, the diversity of landscapes, all of that has been eroded - and with it the memory of the succession of States, migrations and invasions, the splendour of civilisations, the tragedies of a turbulent history. This memory that can still be found here and there, in the monuments of cities or in local storytelling, was and still is a living school of collective behaviour in the face of the vagaries of geoeconomics, geopolitics and geostrategy. It is vital that we protect it. In these deep wells of collective memory, religions play a fundamental role. In addition to the long historic line to which they belong, religions have the considerable advantage of being intended for everyone, rich or poor, learned or illiterate, urban or rural.

Among the major religious institutions, the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople occupies, due to its history, a unique position. Through the enormous, and often traumatic, upheavals that it has had to contend with over the course of two millennia, our Patriarch has always been active, proof, if any were required, that it is possible to survive and to provide an account of civilisation down the ages. By its very existence, our Institution contributes to giving meaning and hope to today's anguished world as it tries to find its way. Consequently, we think that all governance must take into consideration the complexity of the world, by giving it back the tools needed to protect its pluralism. First among these tools is dialogue, which is the only one likely to curb the phenomenon of fragmentation which we are faced with. We therefore put ourselves forward as participants in this dialogue in order to facilitate meetings, discussions and sharing of collective memories. The basic principle of all good governance is not so far from the words of Christ, who said: «In everything, do to others what you would have them do to you» (Mt 7, 12).

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

By inviting us to explore these ideas in depth at the opening session, the organisers of the World Policy Conference have highlighted the fundamental importance of collective memory when considering global political affairs or, in other words, ecumenical issues. The Ecumenical Patriarch thanks them, and wishes them the utmost success in their undertaking.



Opening speech  
H.S.H. Prince Albert II

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I would first like to thank Mr de Montbrial for giving me this opportunity to speak to you, despite my being far from the principality, at the opening of the 5th World Policy Conference. Mr de Montbrial founded this conference to enter into wide-ranging discussions on the highly topical subject of new methods of global governance. He presides over these meetings with perspective and expertise, and I send him my warmest greetings.

Global governance covers a great many areas, including sustainable development, a subject in which I am particularly interested, which is now recognised as a genuine priority since the signs of a deterioration in the situation are now clear: climate disruption manifested primarily by milder winters in some parts of the world, harsher droughts in the African continent and record ice melt in the Arctic in the summer, an increase in the frequency and strength of extreme climatic events and flooding, pollution of freshwater reserves, intensive urbanisation and a decrease in cultivated land, and biodiversity under threat and imbalanced. All this means that we have to come up with new lifestyles, aimed at respecting carefully thought-out conservation.

We also need to cooperate, since only by establishing trust can we dispel the fears caused by ambitions of sovereignty expressed in a given region sought after due to its energy resources. Similarly, faced with the prospect of a global population of nine billion humans by 2050, we must develop sustainable agriculture, which requires the implementation of good agricultural practices, primarily taking the form of converting farmland to organic farming, something which is still happening too slowly. However, progress is being made in certain respects with, for example, the establishment of the green and blue infrastructure which aims to connect land and aquatic ecosystems and to develop protected marine areas. As you know, my country has traditionally, and especially since the reign of my great-great-grandfather, the oceanographer Prince Albert I, focused its activities on ocean conservation.

Today, the oceans have suffered extensive damage due primarily to intensive fishing, increased maritime transport and all kinds of pollution. Ecosystems have been weakened, some species have disappeared and others are heavily threatened, while populations are now deprived of the resources they get from the sea. However, when drastic measures are taken, species under threat of extinction can be saved. In other words, it is our responsibility to protect the oceans and the riches they contain. Indeed, the Johannesburg summit on sustainable development expressed it clearly ten years ago: there will be no reduction in hunger and poverty, no improvement in health, without protection of the oceans and in particular coastal zones.

Today, the public has a clear understanding of the part mankind plays in heightening global warming. The joint goal of limiting global warming and the statement of solidarity to achieve it, the start of financing to help poor countries to protect themselves against climatic impacts and to ensure that development causes less pollution through the protection of forests in particular; all this surely constitutes progress. This goal is only fair for those inhabitants of the poorest regions and the generations to come.

My foundation is conscious of this and works to this end by giving its support to numerous projects. The European continent must influence the implementation of the global governance which you so desire and which you are going to work on at this conference, as well as the correction of international injustices. The present situation really requires a gradual but profound change in our lifestyles, with the aim of moderation, solidarity and justice. That is why I have committed my government to encouraging energy programmes, investing in very high performance insulation and heating solutions, encouraging the use of public transport and promoting electric vehicles. Moderation is not an objective in itself; it defines the way for a new relationship with nature and man thanks to a better balance between our lifestyle and our relations with others, including our contemporaries in the most disadvantaged regions. With you, I believe in the promise of a new horizon founded on the commitment of everyone to give our Earth and mankind a future full of confidence.

Thank you.



Opening speech  
Herman Van Rompuy

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a pleasure to say a few words at the opening of this fifth World Policy Conference. You have an intensive program ahead of you and let me briefly share with you some reflections on one specific challenge for the European Union overcoming the economic and financial crisis. Until not very long ago, it was the focus of global attention, not always positively, but that pace is behind us now. That is my main message. We are slowly leaving the existential crisis mode. And people are realizing this more and more. There is an increasing confidence in the Eurozone future, a growing sense that we will get there.

The latest decision on Greece, 10 days ago, shows how we are moving into common waters. And I am glad to say as President of the European Council, without emergency summits, but we are not at the end of the road, and all countries and institutions are continuing to work, reforming our economies, making sure we can withstand shocks, defining a longer-term plan for a stronger Eurozone, and that is why I was submit to December European Council roadmap for a genuine economic and monetary Union. Without going into details, let me just stress one point, and you may think that is all very well, I am sure they can come up with technical solutions, but in the end will European citizens follow, a key question indeed, and I am obviously aware of some of the doubts, but I am confident about the public support for our Union in the end.

We must put things into perspective. With the crisis, for the very first time, European citizens are confronted with the hard fact that some costs come alongside the benefits of our Union, for instance to defend a common currency during a financial crisis. Citizens are also realizing for the very first time that they are in this together, and that what happens in another country with banks, bubbles or budgets affects them too. Realizing this is one thing, drawing all the consequences is quite another. And being jointly responsible for a common European good can be a painful discovery for people who are struggling in their own country to find a job or make ends meet.

But I strongly disagree with those who conclude hastily that the crisis has killed solidarity between European countries. The crisis has revealed what it takes to be in the Union, in fact this is the very first real test of solidarity in the history of the Union. Before the crisis our Union was considered a win-win process, it requested no real efforts. Of course, there are tensions and constraints, there is opposition and critic, and yet, a huge collective effort is on the way to ensure we come out of this crisis together. It is *de facto* solidarity of an unprecedented magnitude. We need results in terms of stability, grows and jobs to convince our citizens that European Union and the Euro is not part of the problem but part of the solution. As a Noble Peace Prize reminds all Europeans: "In the end what hold us together is stronger than what pulls us apart".

Thank you.

Opening speech  
Najib Mikati

Your Excellencies,  
Mr de Montbrial,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

First of all, I would like to thank the World Policy Conference and Thierry de Montbrial for inviting me to speak today, in this region of the world which is so dear to me.

In times which are as unstable as ours, it is good to see decision-makers meeting regularly to discuss how to adapt governance methods to the fast-moving developments in our world. Because in a climate in which it is increasingly difficult to anticipate events, we must guide changes in order to guarantee security, economic and social development and the fundamental rights of civil liberties for all citizens.

But, rather than «changes», it would be more appropriate to speak of «upheavals», since the very foundations of the systems which organise our societies are being re-evaluated. Of course, the Middle East is a greater draw for media attention due to the troubles it is having, but, for all that, the West does not seem to escape the phenomenon.

In economic terms, successive crises have led to questions over the role banks play in the economy and forced Western governments to adopt structural reforms which increase the role of the State.

Politically, the loss of confidence in traditional parties translates into a rise in extremism which is, unfortunately, reminiscent of that experienced by Europe on the eve of the Second World War.

In geopolitical terms, following the explosion of bipolarisation which followed the Second World War, two dynamics co-exist: on the one hand a bipolarisation of the Arab-Muslim world and the Western world and, on the other hand, a multi-polarisation in which Asia and emerging countries play an ever more significant role.

But in response to economic, political, geopolitical and security upheavals come ideological changes which are greatly facilitated by the explosion of new information and communication technologies.

And yet, as has always been the case, periods of great change are also periods of major conflict and, unfortunately, the sabre-rattling is insistent, but in our region this time: the «Middle East powder keg» has replaced the «Balkan powder keg» of the start of the 20th century. In this respect, the figures of the Global Militarization Index are alarming: of the ten most highly militarised countries in the world, six are in the Near East.

Let's not bury our heads in the sand: tension has reached a critical level and all it would take is a spark for the whole geopolitical area of Western Asia and the Middle East to catch fire, with the blaze unlikely to spare Europe.

Indeed, issues relating to energy, migration flows or flows of ideas, to mention but a few, mean that the stability of the West in general, and Europe in particular, are directly linked to the stability of this zone.



However, in the face of a range of economic, social, security and strategic threats, there is a glimmer of hope which depends on both the wisdom of leaders and their capacity to use the dynamics of their society to adapt governance models to all kinds of changes. And yet, our region is currently the scene of many conflicts, both open and latent, which range from skirmishes to open war and take place both on the military field and in the media - underpinned by political, economic, religious or social motivations - directly or by proxy.

The Syrian crisis, first of all, which began 20 months ago, is only increasing in intensity and in number of victims, and it is almost impossible to predict how it will develop, how and when it will end or who will take over.

But we can be certain of one thing: if we don't take steps to distance ourselves, it will affect neighbouring countries, first among these being Lebanon.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Although wars require the immediate attention of the international community, we must not neglect the post-conflict period or, in the case of what is being called «the Arab Spring», the post-revolution period, if we do not want to see it transformed into a mere «Prague Spring»: a brief interlude of freedom followed by a crackdown as harsh as the hope inspired was great.

It is a known fact that after the end of an armed conflict, the international community has a short window during which important reforms can be put in place. After this period, the forces present harden in their positions and it is no longer easy to reach a consensus. The same applies to reforms relating to governance.

And yet, although experts as a whole agree on the need for reforms, they do not agree on how to implement them; some stress the necessity of establishing democracy as a priority and others, the necessity of improving education levels and promoting economic development. In reality, we have to reconcile these two aspirations, which are not paradoxical, while still keeping in mind that there is no panacea; because we must be aware that establishing real democracies in the Arab world will take a long time and require a lot of effort. Therefore, before being able to tackle the challenges necessitated by the setting up of political or economic governance, our region must first go through a transitional phase which will force civil societies to engage in self-analysis to find the most appropriate model to ensure their stability and prosperity.

In this respect, due to its tradition of individual freedom in a multicultural and tolerant society, Lebanon could be a model for those Arab nations still searching for the way forward.

Indeed, contrary to the way things may sometimes have appeared, the Lebanese have always, throughout their history, remained loyal to the values of democracy; they have always defended the rule of law. Our constitution protects human rights and the civil liberties of all citizens. These values, to which we have historically subscribed, have helped us to promote the development of a tolerant civil society and a political system which favours transfer of power.

For Lebanon, which already had a parliament when it was still Phoenicia, is first and foremost a land of democracy and individual liberty. And these are the values which have spared us the contagion of the Arab Spring.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

For centuries, the West and the Arab-Muslim world have exercised considerable influence over one other. And since the second half of the last century we have seen a shift in these relations from the cultural and military spheres towards the economic and security spheres, a trend which has been accompanied by a rebalancing leading to close interdependence.

So it is in the West's interest for stability to prevail in the region because, in the age of new technologies, Lorenz's «butterfly effect» makes perfect sense. Yes, unfortunately, the flap of a butterfly's wing in Tehran or Cairo could set off a tornado in Asia or Europe.

Criss-crossed with ethnic, social, religious, cultural, economic, geopolitical and military fault lines, there are currently an enormous number of challenges gathered in our region.

We find ourselves at a crossroads; countries born out of revolution may become moderate States, capable of implementing the good governance rules for which their new generations are so eager, or they may fall back into political or religious dictatorship or chaos.

That is why it is vital that we urgently find solutions: solutions which are both long-lasting and just.

After the fall of the Soviet Empire, Western Europe had the presence of mind to come to the aid of the majority of the countries which had been under the yoke of decades-long dictatorships. Much investment was made in these countries with the aim of creating jobs and improving citizens' standard of living. Efforts were also made to train and educate young people, for the most part, and to prepare them to take the reins, both in the private sector and in the public administration.

Our region is packed with young people, hungry for knowledge and change. But we have to be vigilant, because no democracy can last if society does not improve its level of education and economic development.

That is why, in order to protect the gains made by the revolutions in the Arab world, to avoid civil societies falling into fundamentalism and extremism, and to lead them, instead, onto the path of good governance, a plan must quickly be put in place to increase the level of education and create jobs. Because never forget that more than half of the population of the Arab world is under the age 25, something which could be an opportunity or a calamity... depending on how we act.

Indeed, an educated society which creates jobs for its citizens is a tolerant society; that is the best remedy against extremism.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Leaders must steer changes in the right direction, by proposing reforms aimed at economic and social development, civil peace and respect for citizens' liberties and rights. To achieve these three objectives, a certain number of pillars must be put in place, such as:



Implementation of participatory and representative electoral systems. In this respect, Lebanon can set a good example.

Reform of the civil service and implementation of principles of good governance, in particular transparency, responsibility to citizens and the eradication of corruption.

Implementation of a social and economic development plan which takes into account education and sanitation in particular and which makes the training and creation of jobs for young people an absolute priority.

Promotion of the role of women in civil society, this role being inseparable from any harmonious development process.

Separation between religion and the State, religion belonging to the private sphere.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We do not recommend putting in place systems based on those of the West, systems which would be impossible to apply in this turbulent phase of major transition. Instead, we should adapt models of governance and education based on the values I have just mentioned.

As an example, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) has set up in Austria, together with the IMF and the World Bank, the Joint Vienna Institute, to train young and more mature members of civil society to take over the administration of their country.

The same thing should be done for the Arab world. Financial aid from rich countries is not enough. We need European know-how to train young people from civil society to take over their country and manage it according to the principles of good governance. Lebanon has always been proud to be a bridge between the West and the Arab world. That is why I propose creating The Beirut Institute, combining European know-how with Arab funds with the aim of training young people from the Arab World who want to join the civil service.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am particularly fond of something Clemenceau once said: «In war as in peace, the last word goes to those who never give in». The resilience of the Lebanese people has never failed in war. In peace, we will continue to carry the values which are so dear to us, of tolerance, democracy and civil liberties, in the hope that they also become those of our whole region.

Thank you.

Gala dinner speech  
Pascal Lamy

My speech, which I shall be delivering in French in recognition of our venue this evening, will dovetail in many respects with some of the statements already made by several speakers in the course of your Conference on the theme of global governance.

It was, I believe, the intention of Thierry de Montbrial in inviting me, for which I thank him, that I should put forward one or two thoughts on this far-reaching topic to the highly informed audience present here.

I shall do so by endeavouring to establish a linkage that is all too often missing - one that must draw 'thinkers' closer to 'actors' on this issue. One the one hand: the world of intellectuals, of academics, of those eager to design plans that are aesthetically pleasing to the mind. On the other:, the world of practitioners, who I have previously described as the road diggers on the international scene, the guys whose job it is to find practical solutions to concrete and often urgent problems. It is for them to propose compromises whose painful birthing process must take account of political realities which, as everyone knows, are first and foremost at the local level.

I shall offer you my comments as follows:

1. Progress in matters of global governance has long been hindered by specific difficulties, the nature of which is all too often underestimated.
2. Nonetheless, global governance did make progress until it hit a stumbling block in the late 1990s.
3. The past 20 years have exacerbated pre-existing difficulties.
4. In this somewhat unfavourable context, I believe that some avenues of progress are nevertheless open to us.

#### The underestimated challenges of global governance

Let me start by saying that in comparison with other systems of governance, be it for nations, businesses or various other forms of human association, global governance faces specific problems.

We know what we are entitled to expect from governance: leadership, legitimacy, coherence and efficiency, in other words «results»; and we know how closely these elements must be interwoven if they are to have an impact.

We also know that the Westphalian system in effect for the past three and a half centuries, a system composed of sovereign nation states, is, due to its very architecture, barely capable of producing such outcomes.

This is true of leadership: how can a leader be appointed if sovereign nation states enjoy equal rights, which is the Westphalian theory?

This is true of legitimacy: the crucible of political legitimacy remains national and local, and legitimacy is a function whose value diminishes exponentially the further away from citizens it is exercised. In other words, the good old principle of subsidiarity.

This is true of coherence: international governance is based on organizations with very specific roles and mandates. And the theory according to which these organizations are themselves coherent simply because they are led by coherent sovereigns has long proved its limits. To take just one example, the members of the WTO and those of the ILO are the same. They have accepted that the WTO should enjoy observer status at the ILO, but not that the ILO should be an observer at the WTO!

This is equally true of efficiency: with few exceptions, the decisions that truly count, (and I am not speaking of resolutions by Congresses) are adopted by consensus and are therefore few and far between. Their implementation, with the exception of WTO-type decisions, is hampered by insufficient control or oversight and lack of enforcement me-



chanisms. International administrations are even more acutely affected by this red-tape syndrome than national administrations and consequently their performance is not particularly effective. The ratio between the «means implemented» and «outcomes achieved» is mediocre.

Under these circumstances, the transition from global governance to international governance, necessary though it may be as interdependence makes headway, can only be arduous and slow.

This is why, when thinking of governance, I have often compared the national sphere to the solid matter and the international sphere to gas.

#### Progress in global governance

Despite these obstacles, an international system has gradually emerged between the creation of the International Telegraph Union around 1860 and the establishment of the International Criminal Court in 1998.

This international order is legally underpinned by treaties entered into by State entities that have agreed, on a case-by-case basis, to renounce part of their sovereignty. This body of international agreements creates a system of rules, obligations, commitments and responsibilities that are binding to a greater or lesser degree. It forms part of a wider landscape of formal institutions, whose main components are the United Nations system and the Bretton Woods Institutions. It also comprises informal structures such as the G-5/G-7/G-8 and now the G-20, dedicated to generating political impetus and a form of cross-cutting coherence in the absence of this utopia we call global government. In other words, a sort of archipelago that is very far from covering all the necessary fields of international governance, with a map of islands connected by more dotted than solid lines. It should be noted in passing that it has taken several major world disasters in the 20th century to mobilize the political energy needed to take small steps away from the security blanket of the Westphalian system.

It should also be noted, and this is no coincidence, that it was on the continent which suffered even more than others from the havoc wrought by these disasters that the one and only truly supranational enterprise has seen the light of day, the construction of Europe. Between solid matter and gas, I would categorize Europe as 'liquid'.

Lastly, it should be emphasized that the ideological «software» for such governance, while it would be an exaggeration to suggest flowed from the Washington consensus alone, was produced by the West, in the sense of the development of globalized market capitalism and the political system of liberal democracies.

#### Pre-existing difficulties

For the past 20 years or so, this gradual building up of international governance has been at a standstill because of geopolitical, geoeconomic, and I would even go as far as to say geotechnological, developments, which have exacerbated the viscosities of the preceding period.

The first of these developments, which we can really call a revolution, is the emergence of developing countries upon the heels of globalization. The West has produced the matrix for its relative decline, but this same matrix is the blueprint for the advances made by the rest of the world. Emerging powers have leveraged market capitalism, boosted by information technologies, to achieve economic and social development on an unprecedented scale and with unprecedented speed, including in reducing poverty if not inequalities. Hence the «Great Changeover», of which Jean Michel Sévérino speaks, which has reshuffled the cards of world geopolitics. These new players are far less inclined to accept the erosion of sovereignty or to assume international responsibilities than the actors of the past, both because of the lessons of history, and different cultural attitudes or diplomatic stances.

As they did not write the rules of the international game, they are less inclined to apply them. Globalization of the economy and markets, yes, but not globalization in the political sphere. Nor have they come up with a holistic counter-proposal as yet.

The consequence is that the previous rules of the game have been called into question, particularly in the economic sphere where the balance of obligations and responsibilities between what was the North and what was the South no longer applies, whether it concerns the rules governing international trade, climate change or the foreign exchange system - three areas whose foundations are being undermined by the thorny relations between the United States and China.

The second of these developments derives from the economic crisis that erupted in 2007/2008.

First of all, because by widening the growth divide between former and new actors, it has hastened this Great Swing.

Secondly, because it has severely undermined the legitimacy of the Western package of rules and procedures which had served as a model in the preceding period, and which the various international organizations applied in line with the instructions of the most influential countries.

Lastly, because the crisis has largely drained the reserves of national political energy available for global governance. Contrary to conventional thought, international policy requires a vast amount of political energy, as it is less easy to convince public opinion of the need to compromise with foreigners. An international negotiation is first and foremost a negotiation at the national and domestic levels, and implies a strong dose of domestic political leadership. A good example of this is the history of United States foreign policy. In that sense, international governance is not a matter of globalizing local problems, but of giving a local focus to global problems.

In times of crisis, when economic and social blows quite understandably cause opinions to harden, governments are weakened and keep what energy remains to prepare for the political deadlines before them, setting aside the international scene until things improve. The result is that international governance enters a crisis phase, incapable today of producing the new equilibriums and new principles of cooperation suited to this new world, incapable of inventing new areas of common ground. Essentially, hardly anything new has emerged since the establishment of the WTO and the International Criminal Court, which closely followed the fall of the Berlin Wall. No reform of the antedeluvian UN Security Council. And most of the major international negotiations have reached stalemate. There have even been a few setbacks if one considers the chaotic metempsychosis of the Kyoto Protocol.

#### Avenues for progress

Under such circumstances and supposing, as I do, that this global governance crisis is a harbinger of major political, economic, social and cultural hazards for the coming generations and a solution has to be found, we need to explore what is feasible according to the following principles:

First of all, we need to give up hope of a big bang in terms of global governance. This could only come from the political energy generated by a major global conflict, which, fortunately, seems fairly unlikely to me, even though potential disasters present themselves in terms of climate change, for example. We therefore need to use what we have and try to make the most of it.

I am thinking more particularly of the G-20/United Nations/International Organizations triangle. The G-20, without legitimacy, may - and I stress may - produce impetus and a certain degree of coherence. The United Nations, which is not known for its efficiency, can provide legitimacy. The specialized agencies, with their expertise and know-how can,





if supported by the other two sides of the triangle, come up with solutions. There are three recent examples of such interaction:

- The slight progress made in global regulation of the financial industry since the G-20 stealthily created the World Finance Organization stemming from the Basel Committee and the Bank for International Settlements.
- Throughout the crisis and until now, the resistance to protectionist pressures, despite some disturbing slippages here and there.
- The curbing of the rise in international food prices, which would have been amplified by export restrictions, initiated thanks to the joint efforts of the G-20/UN/FAO/OECD/WFP/WTO.

In the absence of political energy to conclude new binding instruments, that is, treaties, the focus should be on implementing existing rules and on improving monitoring, which the WTO is currently doing, and which the IMF could be doing (note the conditional tense!), on introducing measuring tools or benchmarks that could ensure greater accountability, a word that is difficult to translate into French. The Millennium Goals in my view represent a significant step forward. I would even go as far as to suggest - and I think it is feasible - developing performance indicators for international institutions and their leaders so as to encourage attitudes more directly focused on achieving demonstrable results. I would even go so far as to adopt the same approach for national diplomats in multilateral institutions, but here I may well be committing sacrilege.

By the same token, soft, and hence imperfect, regulation should be accepted to bridge in part the gaps within the archipelago in areas such as energy, taxation, migration and cyber-security, while admitting that there are limits to this «governance technology», as evidenced by the failure to achieve international harmonization of accountancy rules, even though this is an essential area of globalization.

On a different scale, the focus should be on striving towards regional integration - in other words, a form of mini-globalization. There are fewer obstacles to overcome in order to move away from the attraction of the Westphalian system among people speaking the same language, closer in terms of both geographical proximity and civilization. Here I am thinking in particular of regional integration across the African continent, while at the same time we must be aware that it is not a panacea as evidenced by the current turmoil surrounding the construction of Europe, which, as could be foreseen, is suffering from a return to «beggar thy neighbour» policies under pressure from the crisis. Having said that, we can also see some new forms of governance are probably in the pipeline there.

In practical terms, thought should be given to the potential offered by new networking technologies in order to generate diffused forms of governance. The top-down model composed of generals, colonels, captains and troops, which is the image of traditional state governance, is no longer the only model available. This has been my experience at the WTO these past few years, when we launched, together with our friends at the OECD, the project to measure international trade in terms of value added, in order to replace the current bases of measurement which have become obsolete as a result of changes in the structure of trade. And how has this been done? With very little top-down governance, and instead a sort of spontaneous mobilization - through the Internet - of networks of statisticians and researchers, which has produced the first results in an unexpectedly short time.

The potential offered by social networks could also be used as a catalyst for a form of universal awareness, a feeling of global belonging among civil society the world over, without which any form of global governance is likely to remain a disembodied concept.

Lastly, this question of belonging, of the need to justify disciplines by solidarity requirements, this principle according to which there can be «no discipline without solidarity born of a sense of belonging» leads me to one last, more far-reaching suggestion, which

is to address the issue of values - an issue that must be tackled if one wishes to speak of a new «social contract».

Like some of us here this evening, I have been taking part in the work of the G-20 since its inception. And I have a dream.

What if, instead of reading out speaking notes on quota reform at the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, of which a majority of participants have but a limited understanding, the leaders of nations attending the G-20 spoke to each other openly? What I mean by that is, what if they explained their views on development, social justice, sovereignty and environmental sustainability to their colleagues? And what if they openly voiced the domestic political constraints they are facing? And what if they spoke of their dreams, their nightmares, what is good or bad in their view, in order to understand the similarities as well as the differences among them? And what if they discussed a new model for growth that would use less of our rare natural resources and more human resources, which are in abundance?

I know, I am dreaming!

On a more serious note, after all these years spent in venues dealing with global governance I have reached the conclusion that what is lacking in order to move forward is a bedrock of common values capable of bringing about a shared ambition for civilization. The challenge of building such a platform is unquestionably a considerable one. Because this platform will be different from the traditional ideological models, there will be ruffled feathers among the exponents of the superiority of one civilization over another. Because it will no longer draw solely on the dominant cultural models in each continent it will be difficult to convince the public that are reluctant by nature. Because it will have to go beyond the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and its covenants in terms of economic and social rights, it will fuel fierce controversies of a philosophical or even spiritual nature.

I nonetheless believe that tackling the north face of global governance has now become unavoidable.

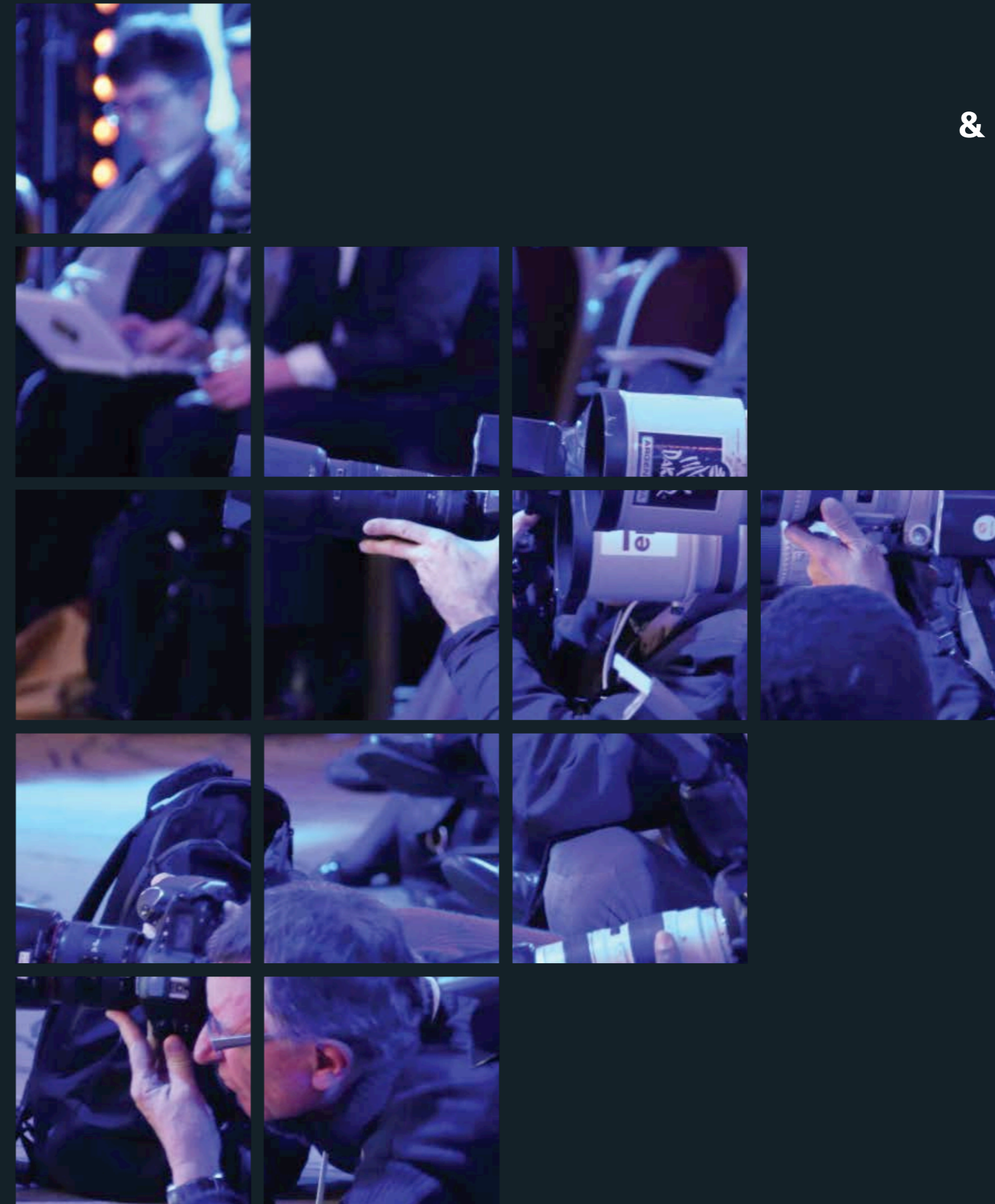
I know that fundamentalist adherents of the basic tenet of the ever-lasting interests of the State believe neither in the need for an anthropology of globalization nor in the constructivism of values, and that they will need convincing.

But we have to give constructivists their due in recognizing that we owe them whatever progress has been achieved in making the world less bad than it was.

To use R. Kagan's image in my own way, I think it is better to live on Venus than on Mars.

To conclude, my hope is that future World Policy Conferences will help us move ahead along this difficult path.

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## A package deal on Iran and Syria

Jim Hoagland, *Washington Post*,  
December 28, 2012

**Syria's Alawite regime collapses from within and without. High-level defections march in step with rebel gains through the Sunni heartland. The Obama administration's signature regional strategy — described in a Freudian slip by a French career diplomat here as “waiting from behind” — now badly trails events.**

That would not constitute a disaster for Washington if the fate of Bashar al-Assad's clan-dictated rule was an isolated affair. But there are moments when timing is everything in statecraft. Syria's impending implosion is coming to a head just as President Obama runs out of time on his promise to keep nuclear weapons out of Iran's hands.

His last best hope may now lie in linking the two crises in bargaining with Russia and Iran, Assad's two most important foreign backers. They risk losing everything they have invested in that country by continuing to bet that Assad — and the Syrian state — can survive this war. That gives Obama leverage to use in countering Iran's accelerating nuclear enrichment program.

“Iran has responded to the toughening of sanctions by speeding up its work on a bomb, not slowing it down,” says Jean-David Levitte, former French ambassador to Washington and, until May, then-President Nicolas Sarkozy's diplomatic adviser. “We now have only a relatively few months to act before Iran's nuclear effort becomes irreversible.”

Levitte believes that the six powers conducting nuclear negotiations with Iran have to make a final comprehensive offer. Failing Tehran's quick agreement to such a proposal, the only courses left open will be acceptance of an Iranian bomb or military action to prevent it, he argues.

This is where Syria comes in. It is stomach-churning for me to suggest that Americans should work to salvage any part of Assad's regime, which has slaughtered tens of thousands of Syrians. But the least bad option available may be for all powers to pursue two overriding, interlocking goals: Syria's descent into a total bloodbath must be stopped. And Iran must agree to live up to its nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty obligations by forswearing atomic weapons.

This does not mean protecting Assad and those close to him. They have to go. But there are generals and other officials from Assad's Alawite minority who could credibly stay on in a transitional government. U.N. officials have identified a number of them in private contacts with the U.S., French, Russian and other governments, diplomatic sources tell me.

A Syrian coalition that provides physical and political protection for the Alawites and Syria's other minorities, while reflecting the Sunni majority's new power, could convince Russia and Iran that they could maintain some influence — however reduced that influence should and would be. (Paradoxically, such a coalition might also quiet Israel's apprehensions about the strong presence of Islamic jihadists in the rebel movement and exert moderating influence on Egypt's growing derogation of minority rights.)

These are substantial, if difficult to achieve, carrots. But the alternatives are extraordinarily grim, as Levitte pointed out when he went public with his negotiating proposal this month here at the World Policy Conference, an annual gathering of foreign policy officials, scholars and other experts organized by IFRI, a leading French think tank.

Levitte suggests that the international community must now go either/or on Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei: Iran finally agrees to restrict nuclear enrichment to 5 percent or less and exports its stockpile of higher-grade enriched uranium. Or the United States, having made this high-profile final effort, will gain broader international acceptance of an American-led military strike to destroy Iran's nuclear capability at some point in 2013.

Since Levitte spoke, Iran's accelerated enrichment program and the sharp deterioration in Syria have convinced me that time is rapidly running out for a constructive settlement in either nation. They must be treated together if they are to be treated at all. Until recently, I had been relatively comfortable with Obama's assertions that there is time to reach a peaceful resolution with Iran.

But the president's other, more menacing statements on Iran weigh more heavily now. He has declared an Iranian bomb “unacceptable” and said that he was prepared to use military force as a last resort to stop it. Bibi Netanyahu's likely reelection as prime minister of Israel on Jan. 22 adds additional urgency to Levitte's last-ditch effort to avoid military strikes that threaten disastrous political and economic consequences for the world.

Levitte, now retired, made clear that he was not speaking for President Francois Hollande's government. But under Hollande and Sarkozy, France has manifested its grave concern over Iran and Syria. Obama can count on active French support in making a high-profile negotiating effort. But U.S. leadership is necessary if such an effort is to have any chance to succeed.



## The Question of Global Governance

William Pfaff, *Tribune Media Services*,  
December 19, 2012

**Paris** — The first time I heard there was a “war” against Westphalia was in a talk given to the International Institute for Strategic Studies in 2003 by George W. Bush's National Security Advisor, Condoleezza Rice. She said that the Westphalian system of sovereign international relations — agreed at that German city in 1648, as part of the treaty that ended the terrible and wasteful Thirty Years' War — was now outdated and should be discarded. Since then it has more and more often been dismissed in academic and policy discussions devoted to new proposals for “global governance.”

The Westphalian agreement was that all nations henceforth were to be considered absolutely sovereign within their own borders. Intervention in the religious or political affairs of another state was forbidden.

This was a reaction to the war that had just concluded — or actually the series of small wars over a thirty-year period that has since been treated as a single great war involving Catholics against Protestants and Hapsburgs against Bourbons. Its best modern historian, C.V. Wedgwood, has justly said that the Thirty Years' War “need not have happened and settled nothing worth settling...[an object lesson on the disasters which can arise] when men of narrow hearts and little minds are in high places.” The war in which Miss Rice and President Bush shared responsibility, the invasion of Iraq in 2003 and all that followed, was precisely such a war, deserving exactly that judgment.

Miss Rice, though, was claiming that if the Westphalian international system were replaced by an American-led alliance of democracies ruling the world, international peace would prevail. Such a system has in one or another form been America's foreign policy objective ever since Woodrow Wilson, even while American-instigated small wars of one or another kind, or American interventions in other peoples' wars, have dominated recent years, intended to promote democratic global governance — all of them unsuccessful in outcome, or inconclusive. Even Kosovo/Serbia remains rife with tension, their frontier policed by foreigners.

Yet “global governance” has been probably the most fashionable subject in academic and professional international relations studies. They reason is simple to identify. “Europe” has been a success. At least a success until now, notwithstanding the economic ravages of the Wall Street crisis and the banking frauds that damaged the City of London and other West European markets and economies. Politically, the EU has been successful. Otherwise, as Thierry de Montbrial, founder of the World Policy Conference — which held its fifth annual session earlier this month in Cannes — wrote in his introduction to the meeting, the past five years have not produced much to support the argument of emerging world democratic convergence.

The most prominent argument made, above all in Germany, with respect to the crises in the southern EU member economies, has simply proposed still more European economic and monetary unity. This despite the rise in British political and popular anti-European (and anti-Euro) sentiments, which have made British withdrawal from the EU a real if still remote possibility. These days domestic and international politics mainly concern national issues and clashes of interest. “[R]eal asymmetric economic relations do not look like the perfect markets of text books, Montbrial adds: financial markets are not always rational and can experience stress and even chaos; ...economic cycles are unlikely to be abolished soon...[and] the era of ideological enthusiasm for globalism is over....”

The most important issues of political “governance” of concern these days are those of the Egyptian constitutional referendum and who will eventually govern Egypt; the civil insurrection in Syria; and the new form taken by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in all of which both the United States and the European Union remain impotent or irresolute observers.

Condoleezza Rice's vision in 2003 of an American-dominated international democratic hegemony cannot today be taken seriously. The American public is increasingly unwilling to support the kind of large-scale military actions Barack Obama inherited from George W. Bush. The Obama government is likely to find that world domination through its own drone attacks and “lily-pad” military bases policing the Middle East and Africa unfeasible as well as internationally unacceptable.

State sovereignty in the European Union has indeed been weakened but far from replaced by European federation, and that is in a society with two thousand years of religious and cultural integration. The Middle Eastern societies — despite thirteen centuries of religious unity, the great Arab caliphates and the Ottoman experience — are fragile even where state sovereignty exists and can be enforced. The George W. Bush Administration idea of a “New Middle East” proved a fantasy.

In the Far East, old empires are reasserting their sovereign claims. Global Governance has yet to prove its relevance to any civilization except that of the post-Enlightenment West, and one can question its relevance there. Political identity remains bound to national history — the foundation of sovereignty.



**Spain**  
LA VANGUARDIA, 08/12/2012

El comisario europeo de la Competencia, Joaquín Almunia, se mostró confiado en que la reestructuración bancaria que se está llevando en España, y que va a completarse con otras cuatro entidades antes de Navidad, sea suficiente para que vuelva a fluir el crédito de forma gradual. En una entrevista concedida a Efe en la localidad francesa de Cannes, Almunia subrayó que «espero que la reestructuración y la recapitalización de una parte del sistema bancario español (...) sea suficiente para volver a poner esas entidades en el mercado en una posición sólida que les permita financiar la economía real». [...]

**United-States**  
HUFFINGTON POST, 10/12/2012

At the World Policy Conference www.worldpolicyconference.com in Cannes this past weekend, leaders of European institutions, countries, companies and their neighbors gathered to discuss, among other topics, the future of the EU, something which has been criticized in the U.S. and in Cameron's UK far too often. I would argue that the European Union is one of the most optimistic works in process or «flows.» as Mario Monti called it during his talk at WPC, for many many reasons.

**United-States**  
THE WASHINGTON POST, 28/12/2012

It is stomach-churning for me to suggest that Americans should work to salvage any part of Assad's regime, which has slaughtered tens of thousands of Syrians. But the least bad option available may be for all powers to pursue two overriding, interlocking goals: Syria's descent into a total bloodbath must be stopped. And Iran must agree to live up to its nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty obligations by forswearing atomic weapons.

**Portugal**  
LUSA, AGENCIA DE NOTICIAS DE PORTUGAL, 08/12/2012

O comissário europeu da Concorrência, Joaquín Almunia, considerou hoje que os grandes responsáveis da crise bancária em Espanha são os gestores das entidades que foram alvo de resgate. «Os responsáveis principais são os que geriram mal estes bancos ou estas 'cajas'», sublinhou Almunia numa entrevista à Efe em Cannes, onde participa no World Policy Conference, fórum onde se debatem assuntos como a crise do euro e a situação no Médio Oriente.

**France**  
JEUNE AFRIQUE, 08/12/2012

La cinquième édition de la World Policy Conference (WPC), club international de réflexion sur les grands enjeux politiques ou économiques mondiaux fondé par Thierry de Montbrial (Institut français des relations internationales, Ifri), débute dans la salle de conférence de l'hôtel Martinez. En présence de près de 300 INVITED GUESTS, décideurs politiques et économiques ou leaders d'opinion, c'est Alassane Ouattara, le chef de l'Etat ivoirien, qui ouvre les débats, axés cette année sur le thème général de la gouvernance mondiale.

**France**  
LES ECHOS, 09/12/2012

Mario Monti, déjà projeté au delà de son mandat actuel, s'est exprimé longuement sur sa vision de l'Europe: «L'Europe est un flux pas un Etat. Plus on proclame que nous voulons les Etats-Unis d'Europe moins on a des chances de les faire». Et ce ; avant d'inciter les Britanniques à s'exprimer par référendum sur l'appartenance du Royaume-Uni à l'Union européenne. «J'espère que la question qui leur sera posée ne concernera pas tel ou tel aspect particulier de l'adhésion à l'Union mais abordera la question de fond». «Nous quittons lentement la situation de crise»... et ce grâce à «la solidarité sans précédent qui s'est manifestée au sein de l'Union européenne», a-t-il dit.

**Lebanon**  
L'ORIENT LE JOUR, 11/12/2012

L'ambassadeur palestinien s'est montré en outre réservé au sujet de la portée des révolutions arabes, déplorant l'absence de changement au niveau des mentalités et des réalités sociales. Un point de vue partagé par l'ancienne députée égyptienne Mona Makram Ebeid qui a relevé que « deux Égypte » se font face aujourd'hui du fait que le président Morsi s'est « arrogant des prérogatives que même son prédécesseur n'avait pas ».

**Israel**  
GUYSEN NEWS INTERNATIONAL, 11/12/2012

L'une des dernières sessions a porté sur la situation au Moyen-Orient. Israël était représenté à cette réunion par le député Méir Shétrit, ancien ministre de l'Intérieur. L'ex-ambassadeur américain en Syrie Edward Djerejian a notamment mis en garde contre des attentats terroristes du Hezbollah en cas d'attaque israélienne contre l'Iran.

**Ivory Coast**  
L'INTELLIGENT D'ABIDJAN, 10/12/2012

Selon le Président Alassane Ouattara, le monde fait aujourd'hui face à des turbulences. Il estime que la baisse du taux de croissance économique, la dégradation de notre écosystème, la mauvaise gestion des ressources publiques qui frappent plusieurs régions et le décollage économique de l'Afrique nous interpellent à plus d'un titre. Il est donc nécessaire, selon lui, de renforcer la gouvernance mondiale, qui doit non seulement refléter la réalité du nouveau monde qui se dessine mais aussi répondre aux aspirations des peuples.

**United Kingdom**  
THE ECONOMIST, 08/12/2012

CASSANDRA is in Cannes attending the World Policy Conference (a Davos-style gathering organised each year by IFRI, the leading French think-tank on international affairs). Listening to the great and the good, from President Alassane Ouattara of Côte d'Ivoire to Jean-Claude Trichet, former president of the European Central Bank, my thoughts turned—naturally enough in such esteemed company—to the rise of China and the prospects of a «G2» with the United States.

**Poland**  
GAZETA PRAWNA, 09/12/2012

«Podstawowe pytanie o przyszłość Unii Europejskiej pozostaje bez zmian. Moim zdaniem pożądanym rezultatem jest unia polityczna, składająca się z państw członkowskich, jednak bez złudzeń co do tworzenia jednego europejskiego superpaństwa» - powiedział Sikorski. Minister zaproponował też konkretne działania, takie jak wspólna ochrona granicy zewnętrznej UE; wskazał również na celowość podkreślenia sukcesów UE - np. walki z piratami u wybrzeży Somalii.

**United Arab Emirates**  
UNISAL ARABIYA NEWS CHANNEL, 11/12/2012

The Syrian briefing was given by Edward Djerejian, who served as the U.S. ambassador in Damascus until a short while ago. He is a diplomat who has spoken to Bashar Assad numerous times and written special reports to Washington. He believes it would not be easy to topple Assad. "He sits on such an ossified state structure, handed over to him from his father, the interests are so much intertwined with each other that [Assad] will not collapse so easily. ... He will not stay in power forever, but his fall will take a long time," he said.

**Malaysia**  
NTV7, 08/12/2012

第5届世界政策会议法国揭幕 重点讨论欧元危机 世界政策会议主席蒙布里亚尔：“我们相信,我相信,欧元课题是个重要课题。欧元课题很重要,因为如果欧元区瓦解,这是欧盟瓦解的开始,相信我,如果欧盟瓦解,这不会只是欧洲的悲剧,而是整个世界的悲剧。”

**Romania**  
Q MAGAZINE, 09/01/2013

Am luat-o ca pe o reușită „diplomatică” personală faptul că l-am adus la masa românească din barul Martinezelui pe Christoph de Margerie, președintele Total, autorul unui fulminant discurs despre „cercul vicios al ignoranței: media, votanți, politicieni”, în timp ce ministrul V. și președintele H. admiteau, cu iPad-urile în față, că cifra de afaceri a Totalului este un pic mai mare decât bugetul nostru de stat.

**Italy**  
AGI, 08/12/2012

«L'Europa trova la sua forza in se' stessa, ma non bisogna dimenticare che le tensioni e i conflitti possono sempre risorgere. Per questo e' necessario essere molto vigili contro ogni nazionalismo e ogni populismo che sono molto visibili oggi anche in Europa».

**South Korea**  
매일경제, 12/12/2012

지난 10 일 프랑스 칸에서 나흘간의 일정을 마무리하고 폐막한 세계정책컨퍼런스(WPC)에서 마리오 몬티 이탈리아 총리는 “눈에 보이는 유럽 재정위기는 사실상 끝난 것으로 보이지만 같은 문제가 되풀이되지 않도록 하기 위한 종합적인 거버넌스 시스템 구축은 여전히 현재 진행형”이라며 “위기를 거치면서 유로존의 정치적 통합은 강해졌지만, 하나의 시스템이 되기 위해 (법) 집행권과 입법권 사이에 섬세한 균형 맞추기가 필요하다”고 말했다.

**China**  
XINHUA NEWS AGENCY, 09/12/2012

Les discussions dans les huit sessions plénières de cette édition portent aussi sur les relations sino-américaines, la finance internationale, l'énergie et l'environnement ainsi que sur la gestion des risques majeurs de la planète. Lancée par l'Institut français des relations internationales (IFRI) en 2008 à l'initiative de Thierry de Montbrial, directeur général de l'IFRI, et devenue depuis un rendez-vous incontournable de la scène politique internationale.

**Turkey**  
HURRIYET DAILY NEWS, 11/12/2012

Everybody agrees that Washington does not want to be engaged in a military intervention. There are two reasons for this stance: The United States burned its fingers in Iraq and Afghanistan; it wants to get away from those places. Even though Syria is small, it does not want another military initiative. Neither the public nor U.S. President Barack Obama has such an intention.

Access to the Press review



**Alassane Ouattara**

For the last 10 years, growth in Africa has been between 5 and 6%, and as for now, Africa is the second continent after Asia in terms of growth rate. The potential is very strong, and many countries in Asia are now investing in Africa because they see that there are opportunities; and it is clear that with the reduction of growth rate in Asia, Africa will take over. So Africa is, I think, a continent which will contribute most to growth in the 21st century.

**Thierry de Montbrial**

What struck me most was perhaps the positive atmosphere. The fact that, faced with the very considerable difficulties that prevail in the world in which we live today and faced with a mood that is often rather sombre, particularly in Western countries and perhaps even more so in Europe, people were keen to highlight the positive aspects. There was a positive tone that struck me, and that is important, as it offers hope, and hope drives people forward.

**Meir Sheerit**

And the biggest problem we have with Iran, is not only proliferation but that this weapon will be in the hands of terrorists, which means they can use it everywhere, that is the problem. Tomorrow, you can find yourself fighting against a group of terrorists using nuclear weapon in the United States or Europe. That would change the world.

**Jean-Claude Trichet**

The average citizen in countries that were poorly managed, was not directly responsible for the poor management of the government or Parliament. Still, there is no way in the present world, now, including for the advanced economy that you could permanently spend more than you earn; and that is the problem.

**Narendra Taneja**

So what we need is some kind of World Energy Security Council under the United Nations or under the international community so that countries such as India and China can come together, and the international community as a whole can come together, and find a solution which on the one hand guarantees growth and at the same time also takes care of environment.

**Lionel Zinsou**

The political governance is clearly progressing, improving, even if it is very complex, even if it has to go through Arab Revolutions... probably the progress has been the most significant, of all continents in the last 10-15 years...but we have failed public systems, public services, and it cannot be said I have good governance but I have no public health system which is working.

**Mario Monti**

The Euro crisis in my view is over as regards the most visible financial manifestations of it. I hope and I believe it is over, but it will be possible to declare that the Euro zone crisis is really over only once we have in place the full-fledged governance system for totally appropriate management of the Euro zone. We are on the way to that.

**Karl Kaiser**

It is also true that we are insufficiently aware of the progress that we have made, and that has something to do with the media structure and the nature of public debate which always focuses on what goes wrong. But there are a number of things that have gone very well, and I think it is an important message that came out of this conference.

**Manuel Hassassian**

Europe has been of a great help to us, in terms of economic, infrastructures, development, financial aid, and what have you; but we need political teeth, and that political teeth which could create an equilibrium in the peace process with that of the United States as a third party, I think then we are in the right direction.

**António Vitorino**

And I think that the contribution of UK to the European project remains quintessential, not only for the internal market but for the entire region of the continent, enlargement for instance, further enlargement, has always had in the UK a big support. If the UK tends to have a low profile or be detached from the European project, quite a few elements essential for the future of Europe will be lowered, and I do not welcome such a decision.



# PARTNERS & ORGANIZATION





Founded in 1920, the OCP group is a global leader in the production and export of phosphate rock, phosphate-based fertilizers and related products. These products are an important component of global food security and agricultural productivity, as they provide essential nutrients to food crops and help rebuild healthy soils. A Moroccan company with global reach, OCP serves a network of over 130 customers on 5 continents, and through them supports farmers in all corners of the planet.

The combination of the world's largest phosphate reserves (located mostly in the Khouribga basin in the center of Morocco), cutting-edge chemical and production facilities, and worldclass research and development capacities, permits OCP to respond creatively and cost-effectively to growing global demand for an ever-wider range of phosphate-based fertilizers suitable to the specific soil types, crops and cultivation practices of farmers worldwide.

OCP also has a growing number of joint ventures - both in the fertilizer sector and in fields such as engineering and project management - with partners from countries such as India, Pakistan, Brazil, the United States, Germany and Belgium.

OCP's strong contribution to Morocco's economic and social development is mirrored by its growing engagement as a "corporate citizen" at the regional and global level. On the African continent in particular, OCP is substantially expanding not only OCP's commercial presence but its overall efforts to promote agricultural development, with a particular emphasis on helping smallholder farmers. This effort is a key part of OCP's new global Food Security Initiative, focused on promoting innovation and investment in agriculture in Africa and beyond. At the same time, the OCP Foundation is supporting major efforts to share and adapt agricultural best practices from around the world, for the benefit of farmers everywhere.



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



Alcen is an industrial group with activities in Defense and Security, Energy, Medical Machinery and Aeronautics. We offer groundbreaking solutions through innovative technologies.



Lafarge is the world leader in building materials, with top-ranking positions in all of its businesses: Cement, aggregates & Concrete and gypsum. With 76,000 employees in 78 countries, Lafarge posted sales of euros 16.2 billion in 2010.

Lafarge was ranked 6th in the "Carbon Disclosure Project" and entered the global "Dow Jones Sustainability Index" in 2010 in recognition of its sustainable development actions. With the world's leading building materials research facility, Lafarge places innovation at the heart of its priorities, working for sustainable construction and architectural creativity. Additional information is available on the web site at:

Additional information is available on the web site at [www.lafarge.com](http://www.lafarge.com)



EADS is a global leader in aerospace, defence and related services.

In 2011, the group - comprising Airbus, Astrium, Casidian and Eurocopter - generated revenues of euros 49.1 billion and employed a workforce of over 133,000.



Started in June 2005 in Cotonou, Benin, the Zinsou Foundation was originally an exhibition space for contemporary African artists and those working on African-related themes. After enjoying a great deal of on-the-ground success, its artistic and cultural missions added a pedagogical and social dimension. Development, poverty reduction and education are now at the core of its mission on par with its historic promotion of Africa's cultural and artistic heritage. Conscientious of Benin's socio-cultural realities, the Zinsou Foundation strives to make all of its activities open and free of charge to all. In December 2012, the Zinsou Foundation can be summed up in a few numbers: 7 years of existence, 20 permanent exhibits and 11 travelling exhibits, over 3.5 million visitors, 12 published art books, 260 partner schools, 400 professors trained in art interpretation, 120 full-time jobs created, 4 Mini Libraries and 1 contemporary dance event. The Zinsou Foundation is a private, family initiative and does not seek to supplant or replicate existing actors. This resolutely "afro-optimistic" project is enriched each and every day by its dedicated and diverse team of men and women.



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



The Renault-Nissan alliance is a strategic partnership between Paris-based Renault and Yokohama, Japan-based Nissan, which together sell one in 10 cars worldwide.

The companies, which have been strategic partners since 1999, have 285,000 employees and five major brands: Renault, Nissan, Renault Samsung Motors, Dacia, Lada and Infiniti.

They sold 8.03 million cars in 2011, making the alliance the world's third largest automotive group. Since its founding 13 years ago, the cross-cultural alliance has expanded significantly, particularly into emerging markets. The alliance is the auto industry's leading champion of sustainable transportation and the only one to have mass-market, affordable zero-emission vehicles for mainstream consumers.



GDF SUEZ develops its businesses (electricity, natural gas, services) around a model based on responsible growth to take up today's major energy and environmental challenges: meeting energy needs, ensuring the security of supply, fighting against climate change and maximizing the use of resources. The group provides highly efficient and innovative solutions to individuals, cities and businesses by relying on diversified gas supply sources, flexible and low-emission power generation as well as unique expertise in four key sectors: liquefied natural gas, energy efficiency services, independent power production and environmental services.



Banca de Import-export a României - EximBank SA is a unique bank in the Romanian financial sector, acting on three business directions: financing, guarantees and insurance. The Bank's target clients are small and medium enterprises (SMEs) with high development potential, future and current exporting companies, public local authorities and large companies.

EximBank S.A. was set up in 1992 as a stock company with the Romanian state as major shareholder and is fully committed to supporting the Romanian business environment.





## SPONSORS



Grampet Group is the largest private rail group in Romania and in south-eastern Europe. Founded in 1999, Grampet Group includes several companies with activities in all railway sectors, from the transport of goods, rolling stock manufacturing and repair to logistics management. In the past years, the group has extended its activity and currently provides services in Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Germany, Austria, Serbia, Montenegro, Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova.



PwC firms help organisations and individuals create the value they're looking for. We're a network of firms in 158 countries with more than 180,000 people who are committed to delivering quality in assurance, tax and advisory services. Tell us what matters to you and find out more by visiting us at: [www.pwc.com](http://www.pwc.com)



Created in 2008, the AXA Research Fund provides philanthropic support for research focused on understanding and preventing the risks threatening the environment, human life and our societies. As of November 1st, 2012, Euro 92 million have been committed and the AXA RF has given its support to 334 research projects, implemented in 26 countries by researchers of 49 nationalities. In France, it has so far committed a sum of Euro 36,2 million to 164 projects. The funds are granted based on a decision by the Scientific Board. By supporting top-tier researchers working on risks all over the world and helping them to share their discoveries, AXA RF tries to enrich the public debate and AXA's own expertise with academic knowledge. Through research philanthropic sponsorship, AXA aims to foster a safer and stronger society over the long term. More details about the AXA Research Fund, including presentation of the supported researchers, of the funding schemes, and biographies of the Scientific Board members, are available on our website. [www.axa-research.org](http://www.axa-research.org)



## MEDIA PARTNERS



An-Nahar is a leading Lebanese daily political newspaper, independent and liberal. Founded in 1933 by Gebran Tuéni, it is centered on the concept of freedom: freedom of speech, absolute search for truth and the defense of human rights.



FRANCE 24 is the first international news channel that offers a French perspective and sensibility on world events. It broadcasts worldwide on a 24/7 basis on three channels, in French, English and Arabic. FRANCE 24 can be accessed by cable, satellite, ADSL and mobile phone. The website is available in 3 languages (English, French and Arabic).



Winner of both a national Magazine award for global excellence and a Webby award for Best news app, Bloomberg Businessweek provides the ideas, analysis and data global business leaders need to get ahead. Stories look beyond the headlines to give readers fresh perspectives and deeper intelligence on international business news, innovative companies, global economics, technology and industry trends, government policy and more. Drawing on more than 2,300 news professionals in 146 bureaus across 72 countries, Bloomberg Businessweek covers the business world like no one else - in print, on [Businessweek.com](http://Businessweek.com) and on the industry leading Bloomberg Businessweek+ app.



Maeil Business Newspaper is Korea's leading business publication mostly read by businessmen, corporate subscribers, and other opinion leaders. This fame derives from accurate, objective and balanced articles written by professional reporters. Founded in 1966, with 1.2 million circulation nationwide and general programming channel MBN, Maekyung Media Group, is present in 22 countries through 40 broadcasting companies. The group is also well-known for hosting the World Knowledge Forum, one of Asia's most prestigious business Forums which is held every year in Seoul.



On the radio, TV and web, BFM Business is a unique media. Leading French TV channel on economics and financial information. 3.3 million people watch BFM Business every month and it is business leaders' preferred channel.



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



Monte Carlo Doualiya is an Arabic language radio, broadcasting to the Middle East on medium wave from Cyprus and on 28 FM frequencies in 12 countries. The most recent transmitter was installed in Benghazi in 2011. The radio programmes provide balanced and diverse news. A completely new programme schedule favours live coverage and interactivity.



RFI is the leading French world news radio with international news round-the-clock. RFI broadcasts 24 hours a day on FM, shortwave, as well as on cable and satellite, internet and telephone networks around the world. Thanks to its multilingual desks based in Paris along with its outstanding force of 600 correspondents worldwide, RFI gives the listeners a global outlook. The news bulletins and feature programmes in 12 languages provide a different perspective of the world. RFI keeps its listeners updated throughout the day about the latest developments in international news and current affairs.



The leading French news magazine, Le nouvel Observateur, presents each week the changes in the economic, political and social landscape. Offering a contemporary perspective, it is a weekly magazine that has its own news analysis, ideas and convictions covering all aspects of current events in order to deliver an original point of view.



WanSquare is a French digital media, a subsidiary of Le Figaro, which covers economic and financial news. It provides an inside view on the latest economic news from a non-conformist perspective, in contrast to the generally accepted point of view. WanSquare also provides its subscribers with exclusive information about French companies, institutions and their leaders, in order to provide a comprehensive vision of the market environment to decision makers.



L'Orient-Le Jour is an independent newspaper, born on September 1st 1970 from the merger of two newspapers, L'Orient (founded in Beirut in 1923 during the French mandates by Gabriel Khabbaz and Georges Naccache) and Le Jour (day) founded in 1935 by Michel Chiha, writer of the Lebanese Constitution). Chaired by Michel Eddé, the man of great culture. Since then, the most prestigious thinkers, columnists, writers and journalists of modern Lebanon have been providing its readers with high-quality news and information. L'Orient-Le Jour is the standard of the French-speaking readers in Lebanon and the whole region, its core purpose is to enhance society by giving its readers, in Lebanon and the Middle East, high-quality and independent news. L'Orient-Le Jour offers also to its readers a website with continuous news and a panorama of articles covering all the information. [www.orient-lejour.com.lb](http://www.orient-lejour.com.lb)



### Institut français des relations internationales

French Institute of International Relations (Ifri), created in 1979 by Thierry de Montbrial, independent of any administrative or political authorities, is a center of research and debate dealing with major international issues. In 2012, for the sixth consecutive year, Ifri is ranked by the University of Pennsylvania as one of most influential think tanks in the world.

The Institute is comprised of over thirty full-time researchers and numerous visiting researchers, French and foreign. Their policy-oriented work is carried out in several regional and thematic research groups. Interactive and constructive dialogues are promoted between researchers, experts and decision-makers from both private and public sectors. Ifri organizes daily lectures, international symposia and meetings with Heads of State or Government, or eminent French and foreign personalities.

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