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Our next speaker is from Morocco, Fathallah Oualalou, who is senior fellow at the OCP and former Economy Minister.

Fathallah OUALALOU

Ladies and gentlemen, good evening. I am very happy to take part in this panel on the state of the world, an uncertain world, a troubled world. I believe that Thierry de Montbrial said the essentials on the matter in his introductory speech. I would also like to congratulate him on the success of this tenth edition, here, in Marrakesh. My reading will be that of a Moroccan who belongs to three spheres: the Arab-Muslim sphere, the Euro-Mediterranean sphere and the African sphere. From these three spheres, I offer you a reading around three trends.

1. The first trend relates to the situation within the realm of our proximity, a space in crisis, a space occluded. The Mediterranean, already, for a long time, has become but a place of passage. It has lost its centrality and its reach. In the last ten years, however, the situation has worsened.

In the north, in Europe, ten years of crisis, difficult times, rising unemployment, inertia due to growth, rising populism, almost a crisis affecting the euro and the management of a number of new problems, refugees and, of course, terrorism. All this has also had a negative effect on what we call the Euro-Mediterranean partnership. A de facto negative effect, because, even more so than before, Europe has turned its back on its own neighbourhood to the south.

In the south, it is even worse. The Palestinian issue, forgotten for two decades, is fuelling despair in the hearts and sub-consciences. In the last ten years, there have been unnecessary interventions. A grim Arab Spring, civil wars, religious wars and the dislocation of multiple states, a fragmented Arab world, the rise of radicalism that has even relocated to Africa, economies dominated by an annuity-driven rationale. These annuities have done a lot of harm, both economically and in terms of the political, societal and cultural model. And, at the same time, the absence of regional integration: I am referring, of course, to our region, the Maghreb region, the absence of which is an impediment to development. All this has contributed to the weakening of our region.

And yet, at the end of this year, there are the beginnings of hope.

In the North, the return of growth is important for Europe, but I have to tell you that it is important for us too. The renewal of the political field in France, a political field that is now capable of adhering to the logic of reform, faced with the demands of globalisation. The beginnings, perhaps, of a revival of the European project, in order for Europe to recover, come together, become stronger, more consistent with the words of President Macron, and with the interest Mrs. Merkel has shown in Africa. All this is important. It is also appropriate to note the failure of separatism, based on the Catalonia issue. This shows for example that populism has its limits. It is certain that after Brexit, the Trump phenomenon, and even Obama, the trend of American disengagement, all this is surely an opportunity for Europe. The failure of separatism is primarily linked to economic considerations, to considerations connected with the logic of European regionalisation.

To the south, too, there is hope. I would first mention the glimmer of hope for reconciliation between Palestinians. Hope also lies in Daesh's failure on the ground. Of course, we must remain watchful as to what will happen next. And what we are seeing is that, in Saudi Arabia, in spite of everything, there is an awareness that is changing the status of women, slowly, but – I hope – surely. Talk has also begun about an Islam of tolerance, a Muslim of the middle. Moreover, this is a country looking to diversify its productive fabric. I believe that Saudi Arabia will do this mainly with

the Asians, after the trip by their king to China and Japan. Also to be noted is the rise of national sentiment in the region, at the expense of identity-based antagonisms. The failure of separatism should be noted, mainly from the case of Kurdistan. From there, there may be a starting point for rehabilitating our region and giving it a certain centrality.

2. The second trend I would put before you has to do with the far-off world, which both presses and calls upon us.

Of course, much has been said, these past two days, about Russia and its geopolitical return. However, in Russia, there is a split between the geopolitical component and the quantitative and qualitative weakness of its development model and its economy.

The world that is calling to us from afar is that of Asia and China. In 35 years, everyone knows that China, a developing country, has become the world's second-largest power. There is now a G2, truly: China versus the United States. What is important, though, is that today's China is no longer just a workshop of the global economy. Today's China is a laboratory of the green economy, of the digital economy, just after the United States in this area, and because it has changed its development model.

What interests me is the effect of China's rise on Africa. Much has been said about Africa, of Africa's awakening since 2000, its growth rate from 2000 to 2014, which was around 5%, sometimes higher, but this is mainly due to Chinese demand for raw materials, hydrocarbons and the fact that China has become essentially the world's workshop.

What is important is that, at a time when China was forced to become more mature perhaps, to reduce its growth rate, now around 7%, at the time it launched the strategy of 'Belt and Road', at the same time, it put in place a new strategy in its relations with Africa, in particular at the Chinese-African Summit in Johannesburg in December 2015, with two essential proposals. The first is a transfer of capital, aid and investment, of \$60 billion. The second, which is more important qualitatively, is the possibility of relocating a number of industries, thus to enter a co-production rationale with Africa.

This will affect us all: Africans, Mediterraneans, Moroccans, people of the Maghrebs, Arab and Europeans. This current trend, which is now Chinese, perhaps Indian tomorrow, not to overlook, of course, the interest which Japan is paying to Africa, calls for a collective response throughout the region, which involves, first of all, a revival of the European approach to the Mediterranean and for Africa, which also involves the integration of certain bilateral partnerships, such as the French partnership in Africa, in a European rationale, both as regards the political considerations and from the economic and strategic standpoints.

This also means that relations between Europe, Africa and the Mediterranean abide by the logic of co-production as concerns food, training and industrialization. Industrialisation must be global. It must be conceived of at the level of all our regions. And it is important, with China, with other countries too, Japan, India, etc., that we develop a triangular approach on key issues such as the food issue, which Mr. Terrab elaborated upon yesterday or the day before. This means that Africa can become a competitive space, but also a triangular partnership space. This is what will restore a certain centrality to our region or rehabilitation to our region.

3. Finally, the third trend is global. It is of interest to the whole world. It interests us much more in its entirety, taking into account the space to which we belong. The world has become globalised. It is digitized. It is robotised. But it is faced with human societies that are increasingly keen on defending their cultures, their specific characteristics, their religions and their historical depth, which has become, for many societies, a balancing factor. From the torment between this globalised present and the depths of culture and history, we must move on to managing coexistence between modernity, globalisation, and the depths of historical and cultural specificity. Societies today have a need to return to this depth. They need a return to identities. You have to understand them. The more the world globalises, the more spirituality tends to grow.

For us Muslims, we have a duty, an effort is needed: to live out our Islam serenely, and taking into account that we have to live in the 21st century; a tolerant Islam; an Islam open to modernity and an Islam of cohabitation. This is what we have always sought to develop in this country, thanks to the role of our sovereign and, more generally, the place of



the monarchy. The real jihad is not the jihad of terrorists and radicals, which is a debasement. The real jihad is an effort, precisely on ourselves. It is a jihad that must spur us to align into the present, a jihad that must enable us to use spirituality to serve modernity. This is what will enable us to shape our coexistence, in this world, with others, with other cultures, with other religions, with other civilisations and also to allow them to recognise our contribution.

All the signs are pointing, ladies and gentlemen, to a future world that will be multi-polar. It will not only be multi-polar in economic and strategic terms, but also in terms of spiritual contributions: multi-polarity that recognises the great civilisations, Western civilisation of course, with its components and taking into account its history, the Asian civilisations, with their components and their history, the Arab-Muslim civilisation, with its components and its history, African civilisation as well. This is what will perhaps enable us to rehabilitate our Mediterranean, which remains the centre of the world, and enable the Mediterranean to regain its centrality.

Thank you.

Jim HOAGLAND

Merci pour ces idées percutantes.