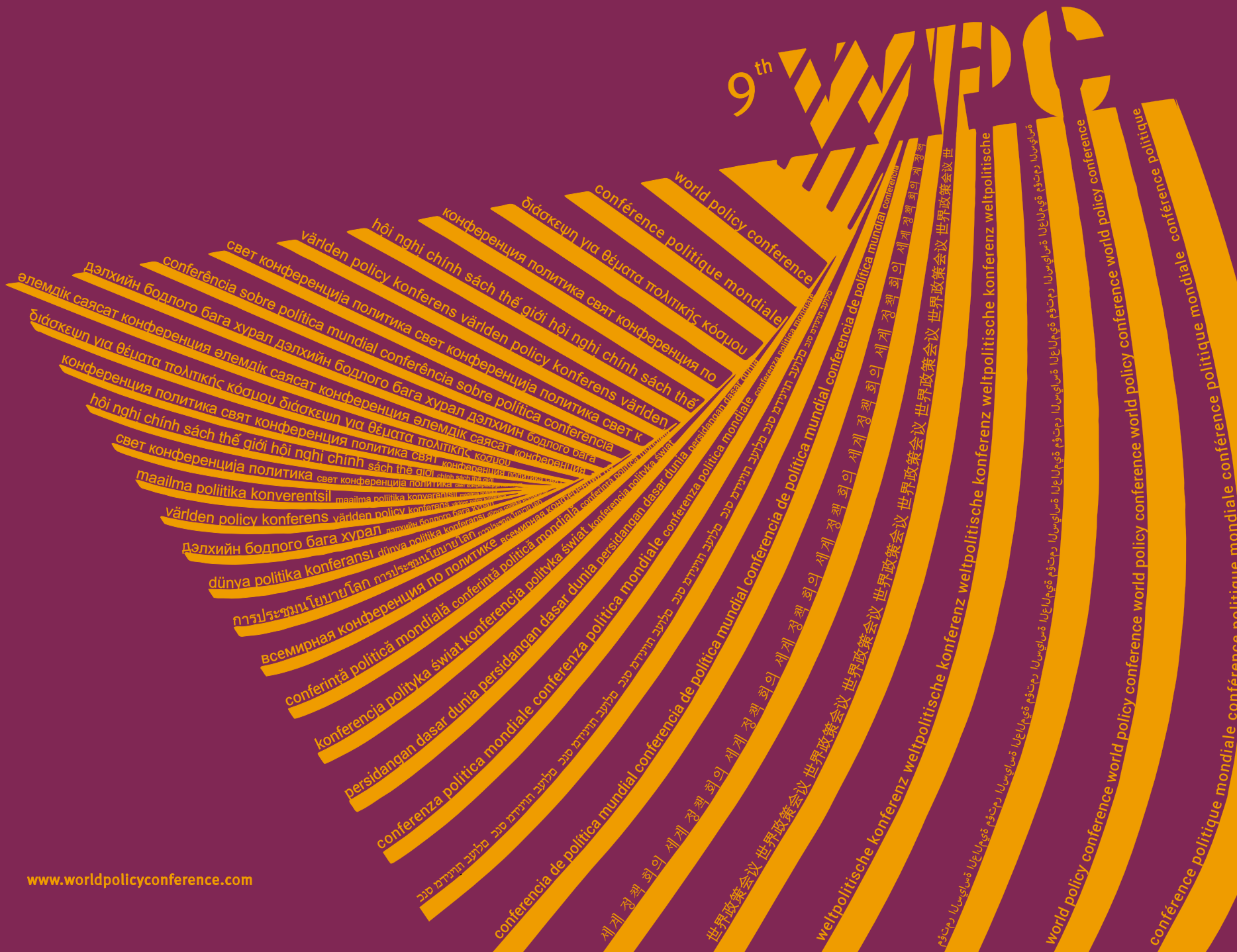


# WORLD POLICY

CONFERENCE

9<sup>th</sup> Edition, Nov. 20-22, 2016 - Doha

9<sup>th</sup>







# WORLD POLICY CONFERENCE

— NINTH EDITION —  
NOVEMBER 20-22, 2016 - DOHA



WORLD  
POLICY  
CONFERENCE



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## Foreword



The ninth World Policy Conference (WPC) covered the main themes of global governance in the spirit of openness and tolerance that is part of our identity. Since we met in Doha just days after Donald Trump's election, it is hardly surprising that the topic came up one way or another in every session and occupied centre stage. The international system has not become unipolar, as some people naïvely believed in the early 1990s after the fall of the Soviet Union. It is clearly multipolar, global, heterogeneous and complex. The latter term implies a high degree of structural instability. But the various "poles" are not equivalent. A lasting shift in US foreign policy would have a considerable impact worldwide. The global influence of no other "pole", not even China, is yet comparable to that of the United States of America.

Four months after his election and one and a half months after his inauguration, it cannot be said that the 45th president of the United States has significantly changed his ways. At most, he is less provocative towards China or more cautious about Russia. He let Vice President Pence reaffirm the United States' loyalty to NATO, but not without strings attached. His support for America's allies in East Asia is all the more credible because neither Japan nor South Korea will balk at any defence effort. In other areas, such as international trade or the treatment of immigrants, Trump has remained unyielding. He has turned his back on the WTO's multilateralism and is relentlessly pursuing his goal of building a wall along the Mexican border. He is also relentlessly pursuing his aim of dismantling the regulations set up after the subprime crisis, at the risk of causing another major financial crisis sooner or later. On one point, he has gone beyond reaffirming what is undoubtedly the most fundamental invariable of the US long-term strategy:

the desire to keep and even increase absolute military superiority over the rest of the world, even if it means starting up the arms race again, recalling the days of the Cold War. The American realism expected in the next few years is based on a narrow vision of interdependence. However, there are at least three brighter spots. First, despite winning the election, Trump is not representative of the entire United States and Americans are letting him know it. Second, he will have to adjust, as he has already started doing in the face of Xi Jinping's determination. Last but not least, every cloud has a silver lining. In this case, the United State's partners find themselves, seriously this time, with an incentive to take better control of their destiny, especially the European Union, weakened by the simultaneous onset of several crises (Brexit, the eurozone, refugees, populism). For the first time since the Rome treaties 60 years ago, the European Union must seriously consider standing on its own two feet, certainly as part of NATO, but no longer with a protector. However, it must still prove capable of overcoming its current suicidal temptations and seizing the opportunity the United States has unintentionally handed it. If it succeeds, it will show the rest of the world that a strong Europe will never again be an imperialist Europe.

One of the greatest medium-term questions for the international system is the European Union's ability to fulfil its potential as a great laboratory of governance on a vast regional scale, based on constraints increasingly imposed by technological realities. For, in addition to an unrivalled cultural heritage, Europe still has the potential to inspire all those who want to live in an open, tolerant world. It is to building such a world that the World Policy Conference intends to make a contribution.

A stylized, handwritten signature in dark blue ink.

**Thierry de Montbrial**  
Founder and Chairman of the WPC  
5 march 2017





Sunday, November 20

08:30 – 09:30: *Welcome coffee*

09:30 – 10:30: *Opening session*

**Thierry de Montbrial**, Founder and Chairman of the WPC  
**Sheikh Abdullah bin Naser bin Khalifa Al-Thani**, Prime Minister, Qatar  
**Jean-Marc Ayrault**, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Development, France

10:35 – 10:45: *Special guest*

**Ahmet Davutoglu**, Former Prime Minister of Turkey

10:45 – 12:30:

*Plenary session 1: The future of the Middle East*

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

**Youssef Amrani**, Royal Cabinet, Morocco  
**Saeb Erekat**, Palestinian Chief Negotiator, Palestine  
**Xiaosheng Gong**, China's Special Envoy on the Middle East Issue  
**Riad Hijab**, Former Prime Minister, Syria  
**Miguel Ángel Moratinos**, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Spain  
**Abdulaziz Othman bin Sager**, Chairman of the Gulf Research Center, Saudi Arabia  
**Itamar Rabinovich**, President of the Israel Institute, Distinguished Global Professor at New York University (NYU) and Distinguished Fellow at the Brookings Institution

12:30 – 13:30:

*Plenary session 2: Ethics and Government-Business relations*

Moderator:

**Susan Liautaud**, Vice Chair of Court London School of Economics and Political Science, Founder and Managing Director Susan Liautaud & Associates Limited

Speakers:

**Kriengsak Chareonwongsak**, President of the Institute of Future Studies for Development; Former Prime Ministerial Advisor, Thailand  
**Mari Kiviniemi**, Deputy Secretary-General, OECD; Former Prime Minister of Finland  
**Ashwani Kumar**, Senior Advocate Supreme Court; Former Union Minister for Law & Justice, India  
**Bruno Lafont**, Co-chairman of the Board of Directors, LafargeHolcim

13:30 – 14:45:

*Lunch debate* with **Guillaume Pepy**, Chairman of SNCF's Executive Board and Chairman and CEO of SNCF Mobilités

15:00 – 15:30:

*Plenary session 3: Turkey's European and international role*

Moderator:

**Thierry de Montbrial**, Founder and Chairman of the WPC

Speaker:

**Ali Babacan**, Member of the Parliament and former Deputy Prime Minister, Turkey

15:30 – 16:30: *Plenary session 4: Health: Technological development and global governance*

Moderator:

**John Andrews**, Contributing Editor, *The Economist*

Speakers:

**Sheikh Dr. Mohammed bin Hamad Al-Thani**, Director of Public Health, Ministry of Public Health, Qatar  
**Christian Bréchet**, President of the Institut Pasteur, France  
**Zhu Yan-Mei**, Executive Vice President of Beijing Genomics Institute

16:30 – 18:00:

*Plenary session 5: Technological change and the New Social Contract*

Moderator:

**Masood Ahmed**, Director of the IMF's Middle East and Central Asia Department

Speakers:

**Sébastien Bazin**, Chairman and CEO, AccorHotels  
**Chang Dae-Whan**, Chairman and Publisher of Maekyung Media Group, Republic of Korea  
**Patrick Nicolet**, Group Executive Board Member, Capgemini  
**Tobby Simon**, Commissioner with the Global Commission for Internet Governance (GCIG), India

18:00 – 18:30: *Coffee break*

18:30 – 19:00: *Plenary session 6: UK after Brexit*

Moderator:

**Thierry de Montbrial**, Founder and Chairman of the WPC

Speaker:

**John Kerr**, Member of the House of Lords, former British Ambassador to the United States and the EU

19:00 – 19:45:

*Plenary session 7: Security and Economic Development in Africa*

Moderator:

**Thierry de Montbrial**, Founder and Chairman of the WPC

Speakers:

**Nathalie Delapalme**, Executive Director, Research and Policy, Mo Ibrahim Foundation  
**Cheikh Tidiane Gadio**, President of IPS, Former Foreign Minister of Senegal

20:30: *Dinner debate*

Special remarks on corporate social responsibility:

**Chey Tae-won**, Chairman, SK Group, Republic of Korea

Keynote speech:

**Kevin Rudd**, President of the Asia Society Policy Institute in New York, Australia's 26th Prime Minister

Monday, November 21

08:30 – 09:45:

*Plenary session 8: European Union: what next?*

Moderator:

**Steven Erlanger**, London bureau chief of *The New York Times*

Speakers:

**Elisabeth Guigou**, Member of Parliament and President of the Commission of Foreign Affairs at the Assemblée nationale, France  
**Norbert Röttgen**, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Bundestag, Germany

10:00 – 12:30: *Parallel workshops*

*Workshop 1: Finance and Economy*

Chair:

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

Speakers:

**Raed Charafeddine**, First Vice-Governor at Lebanon's central bank  
**Daniel Daianu**, Member of the Board of the Central Bank of Romania; former Finance Minister of Romania  
**Hur Kyung-Wook**, Senior Advisor to Bae, Kim & Lee LLC; Former Vice Minister of Strategy and Finance; former Ambassador of Korea to the OECD  
**Kiyoto Ido**, Vice Chairman, The Institute for International Economic Studies, Japan  
**André Levy-Lang**, former Chairman & CEO of Banque Paribas, Affiliate emeritus professor in Finance at Paris-Dauphine University  
**John Lipsky**, Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Institute at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS); former First Deputy Managing Director, IMF

*Workshop 2: Energy and Climate*

Chair:

**Donald Johnston**, Chair of the McCall MacBain Foundation; Former Secretary-General of the OECD

Speakers:

**Olivier Appert**, Chairman of the Conseil Français de l'Energie, Senior Advisor, Centre for Energy, Ifri  
**Lee Hye-Min**, G20 Sherpa, Ambassador for International Economic Affairs, Republic of Korea  
**Daniela Lulache**, Chief Executive Officer, Nuclearelectrica  
**Tatsuo Masuda**, Visiting professor at the NUCB Graduate School, Former Vice President of Japan National Oil Corporation (JNOC)  
**Ladislav Paszkiewicz**, Senior Vice President Strategy and Climate, Total

*Workshop 3: China in transition*

Chair:

**Park In-Kook**, President of the Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies; Co-chairman of the Beijing/Shanghai Forum

Speakers:

**Bark Taeho**, Professor at Seoul National University, former Minister for Trade, Republic of Korea  
**Richard Cooper**, Professor of International Economics at Harvard University  
**Michel Foucher**, Chair of applied Geopolitics at College of World Studies; Former Director of the policy planning staff of the French



Foreign Ministry

**Jia Qingguo**, Dean of the School of International Studies of Peking University  
**Qiao Yide**, Vice President & Secretary General, Shanghai Development Research Foundation  
**Yuichi Hosoya**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Keio University  
**Douglas Paal**, Vice President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

12:45 – 14:15: *Lunch debate* with **Shivshankar Menon**, Former National Security Advisor, India

14:15 – 16:00: *Plenary session 9: Post-American Elections*

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

**François Bujon de l'Estang**, President, FBE International Consultants; Former Ambassador of France to the United States  
**Ryan Evans**, Founder, CEO and Editor, War on the Rocks  
**Ichiro Fujisaki**, Former Ambassador of Japan to the United States  
**Juan Gallardo**, Chairman, Organizacion Cultiba SAB de CV, Mexico  
**Vuk Jeremic**, President of the Center for International Relations and Sustainable Development (CIRSD), former President of the UN General Assembly, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia  
**Jin Roy Ryu**, Chairman and CEO, Poongsan Group, Republic of Korea  
**Wang Jisi**, President of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University, and professor of the School of International Studies, Peking University

16:00 – 16:30: *Plenary session 10: Space as a major technological and governance adventure*

Moderator:

**Thierry de Montbrial**, Founder and Chairman of the WPC

Speaker:

**Jean-Yves Le Gall**, President of the Centre National d'Etudes Spatiales (CNES)

16:30 – 17:00: *Coffee break*

17:00 – 18:30: *Plenary session 11: Fighting Terrorism*

Moderator:

**Justin Vaïsse**, Director of Policy Planning at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Speakers:

**Jehangir Khan**, Director of the UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) and the UN Counter-Terrorism Centre (UNCCT)  
**Sergei Karaganov**, Honorary Chairman of the Presidium of the non-governmental Council on Foreign and Defense Policy of Russia  
**Mayankote Kelath Narayanan**, Former Governor of West Bengal, India  
**Jamal Khashoggi**, General Manager, Al Arab News Channel, Saudi Arabia  
**Wang Jisi**, President of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University, and professor of the School of International Studies, Peking University

18:30 – 19:30: *Plenary session 12: Political and Economic Stability in East Asia*

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

**Ichiro Fujisaki**, Former Ambassador of Japan to the United States  
**Jia Qingguo**, Dean of the School of International Studies of Peking University  
**Ju Chul-Ki**, Former Senior Secretary for Foreign Affairs and National Security, Office of the President of the Republic of Korea

20:00 – 20:30: *Cocktail*

20:30: *Official Dinner* with **Soltan bin Saad Al-Muraikhi**, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Qatar

Tuesday, November 22

08:45 – 10:00

*Plenary session 13: Main world economic challenges*

Moderator:

**Virginie Robert**, Foreign desk Editor, *Les Echos*

Speakers:

**Bark Taeho**, Professor at Seoul National University, former Minister for Trade, Republic of Korea  
**John Lipsky**, Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Institute at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS); former First Deputy Managing Director, IMF  
**Qiao Yide**, Vice President & Secretary General, Shanghai Development Research Foundation; former Assistant Director, Institute of World Economy, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences

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

10:00 – 11:15: *Plenary session 14: The role of hydrocarbons in the regional geopolitical landscape*

Moderator:

**Steven Erlanger**, London bureau chief of *The New York Times*

Speakers:

**Patrick Pouyanné**, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Total  
**Saad Sherida Al-Kaabi**, President and CEO of Qatar Petroleum

11:15 – 11:45: *Coffee break*

11:45 – 12:30: *Reports from parallel workshops*

12:30–13:00: *Plenary session 15: Education and the role of women*

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

**Hamda Hassan Al-Sulaiti**, Secretary General of Qatar National Commission for Education, Culture and Science

13:00 – 14:30: *Lunch*

14:30 – 15:45: *Plenary session 16: Diversification, Education and Employment in the Middle East*

Moderator:

**Mohamed Kabbaj**, Chancellor of the Euro-Mediterranean University of Fes

Speakers:

**Masood Ahmed**, Director of the IMF's Middle East and Central Asia Department  
**Hassan Al-Derham**, President Qatar University, Qatar  
**Uri Dadush**, Senior Fellow, OCPPolicy Center, Non-Resident Scholar, Bruegel  
**Mona Makram Ebeid**, Egyptian Senator and Member of the Senate Constitutional Committee

15:45 – 17:00: *Plenary session 17: Young Leaders Session: Disruption, Populism and the World of Tomorrow*

Moderator:

**Manuel Muñiz**, Director, Program on Transatlantic Relations, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University

Speakers:

**Essa Al-Mannai**, Executive Director at Reach Out To Asia, Qatar Foundation, Qatar  
**Lionel Baraban**, Co-Founder & CEO, Famoco  
**Pierre Dubuc**, Co-founder, OpenClassrooms  
**Caroline Goulard**, CEO & Co-founder, Dataveyes  
**Li Yi-Fan**, CEO, He-Sai Photonics Technologies

17:00 – 17:30: *Coffee break*

17:30–19:30: *Plenary session 18: Final Debate*

Moderator:

**Bertrand Collomb**, Honorary Chairman of Lafarge; Director of LafargeHolcim

Speakers:

**François Barrault**, Chairman of Idate/DigiWorld Institute; former CEO of BT Global Services and a BT Group PLC board member  
**Michel Foucher**, Chair of applied Geopolitics at College of World Studies; Former Director of the policy planning staff of the French Foreign Ministry  
**Renaud Girard**, Senior reporter and war correspondent at *Le Figaro*  
**Manuel Hassassian**, Ambassador from Palestine to the United Kingdom  
**Donald Johnston**, Chair of the McCall MacBain Foundation; Former Secretary-General of the OECD  
**Marcelo Sanchez Sorondo**, Chancellor, Pontifical Academy of Sciences and Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences  
**Tadakatsu Sano**, Attorney-at-law at Jones Day; Former Director-General of the Trade Policy Bureau and Vice Minister for International Affairs; Chief Executive Assistant to Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama  
**Hubert Védrine**, Former French Foreign Minister  
**Yim Sung-Joon**, Senior Advisor at Lee International IP & Law Group; Former Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and National Security Advisor to the President, Republic of Korea

19:30: *Envoi*

**Thierry de Montbrial**, Founder and Chairman of the WPC  
**Hassan bin Ibrahim Al Mohannadi**, Director of Diplomatic Institute, MOFA, Qatar









# Thierry de Montbrial

Founder and Chairman of the WPC



“For a long time, liberal democracy appeared as a necessary condition for the long-term success of economic and social development. This perception is currently being undermined. The ideal of liberal democracy is less and less an inspiration for the rest of the world since the failures of the post-Soviet transition and the very badly named “Arab spring”. This is a reality that must be faced. It is not only a geopolitical issue. Free-market globalisation has been immensely beneficial in all parts of the world. The Chinese, for example, are the first to acknowledge this in so far as it concerns them. But these benefits are not evenly distributed, and the ravages of poverty or displacement have also become global, including in the United States and in Europe. The anger against the explosion of inequalities, unearned income and corruption, is a general phenomenon that goes a long way towards explaining the rejection of the elites. It is no coincidence that the rise of illiberal democracies is frequently accompanied by measures to fight corruption. [...] The goal of liberalising trade must be continued, on a basis of reciprocity, and ensuring that policies of compensation are established, designed to operate over the long term, in favour of the losing parties. It is not only a moral issue. Economic and social disintegration is the most basic cause of uncontrolled migration, waves of refugees and of terrorism.

\* Full version page 108



# Sheikh Abdullah bin Naser bin Khalifa Al-Thani

Prime Minister, Qatar



“Our contemporary world is going through an unprecedented phase, abundant with grave challenges to safety, stability and sustainable development in the shadow of the impaired world order that suffers from double standards in dealing with people's affairs. Despite this, we have to seek forcibly to derive the maximum benefit from what we have achieved in the field of scientific advancement and investing human capital in all aspects of life, whereby the possibility of isolation for any country seeking to distance itself from the international arena has become non-existent. Hence, the prominence of the importance of international cooperation, coordination and genuine partnerships between the countries emerges, on the regional and international levels and between governments, nations and the civil society organisations. [...] The greatest challenge in the Middle East region remains the peace process between the Palestinians and Israel. The absence of a just and comprehensive solution to the Palestinian issue not only threatens any attempts at the achievement and establishment of stability and security in the Middle East region, but those of the whole world. [...] The terrorism phenomenon has become a serious and imminent threat to stability in the Middle East region and the world's stability in its various economic, political, social, security and development aspects. With respect to countering terrorism, this should not be limited to the security aspects, despite their extreme importance, but should also be collectively countered at national, regional and international levels, encompassing cultural, intellectual, ideological, economic, social and media aspects.

\* Full version page 109





# Jean-Marc Ayrault

Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Development, France



The masterpieces of Islamic civilization, from Córdoba to Samarkand, these masterpieces which we can admire here today at the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha, fully demonstrate the Arab World's contribution to humanity. What is striking is that these masterpieces are familiar to us. They are appealing and moving to us Europeans, as they are also part of our history. They are the symbol of this shared destiny to which I have just referred. The current events in Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Libya, these upheavals which are shaking the Middle East, are without doubt the biggest challenge we have ever faced in our long shared history. Both the future of this region and of Europe will naturally depend on how we respond to these unprecedented crises. But the challenge far exceeds our borders: it affects the entire international community as it tests our responsibility and our ability to act together. For the prophets of doom, for those who believe force is the only answer, France holds another unshakeable conviction: the Middle East situation is not inevitable. War is not unavoidable, nor is the instrumentalization of conflicts by those seeking to make this region their battlefield. Our responsibility is to strive to show that a path to peace does exist, by countering the forces of oppression and destruction with those of dialogue, negotiation and reconciliation.

\* Full version page 110



# Ahmet Davutoglu

Former Prime Minister of Turkey



The question is: are we leading towards global governance? [...] In the capitals of every state, nations are talking about their own national interests and how to defend themselves against this unpredictability and insecurity in international system, rather than talking about values. [...] We should at least agree on two principles because these principles are valid for everyone and are the basis of international law. One is to act together against war crimes and, secondly, there should be humanitarian access for everybody. [...] We have three legs regarding this unpredictability and absence of global governance. One is a psychological and politico cultural leg, which is the spread of extremism and exclusivist policies. [...] The second leg is the economic crisis. [...] We have a problem with the decline of productivity. We have a problem with the rise of unemployment, which is leading to several crises including the Arab Spring. [...] The third leg is the absence of dialogue among global players. [...] In short, we are facing a big problem of unpredictability and sources of concern, based on the absence of global governance, of common understanding, and the rise of extremism. [...] My suggestion is a solution where the key concept is inclusivity, more dialogue, and more of a sense of common destiny. We should not forget that in the 1930s, there was an economic crisis, there were extremist policies and there was an isolationist approach. There was a rise in populist autocracies everywhere in Europe and the end of that was the Second World War. We hope that the end of all this turmoil will not go towards a third world war, but it only depends on our efforts. These are the efforts of statesmen, the efforts of research institutes like Ifri or the efforts of academicians, scholars, and public opinion-makers everywhere.

\* Full version page 112









## The future of the Middle East



**Youssef Amrani**

Royal Cabinet, Morocco



**Saeb Erekat**

Palestinian Chief Negotiator, Palestine



**Xiaosheng Gong**

China's Special Envoy on the Middle East Issue

The extremely unstable situation in the Middle East is then made even more complex by the profound political, societal and human transformations taking place at a wider level: first, the rise of populist politics in the West which builds on fear of the other and in many cases on islamophobia; second, the emergence of an asymmetrical world, led by new non-traditional, non-state actors and deep changes in our means of communication, where viral social media is taking over fact-based journalism. Third, the exploding demographics and the ever-growing demand on our planet's diminishing resources... (climate change, migration, global health and natural disasters...). The list of new challenges is endless and we do not yet fully understand any of them. What does all this mean for our region? For the Middle East's future and its place in the world? Where do we begin to try resolving both the frozen conflicts rooted in history and the complex new threats posed by the 21st century? The questions are indeed enormous, but the answers have one obvious common denominator: we need to work together. This then leads me to the real question at hand: why does the international community still fail to achieve this? Why do we remain so deeply divided on the approach, methods and means that can help us work together to solve ongoing crises?

Two things are needed to defeat ISIS. The first one is to look at the real threat to us as Arabs today, which is demography; 50% of Arabs are under 20 years of age. No Arab leader, no Arab thinker can compete with the one called Abu Bakr Al Baghdadi. This man promises our desperate, unemployed youth 70 virgins, heaven and so on. In Palestine, we have a 26% unemployment rate; we cannot even promise a one-bedroom apartment and a job. We cannot compete so we need to revisit our educational system. Maybe we should ask ourselves why we teach our children at kindergarten to die for Allah. Our Koran says we should teach our children to live for Allah. [...] The second thing that is needed here is peace between Palestinians and Israelis. [...] Israel has three options. The first one is my option and the only option, which is a two-state solution. Secondly, there are some among my people who say there should be a one-state solution. Israel will never be party to a one-state solution, a democratic, secular state, where Jews, Muslims, and Christians live together. We offered this 40, 50, or 60 years ago. Netanyahu is now trying to institutionalise the third option, which is what I call the "one state, two systems" option: that is apartheid. No one will have the stomach for it.

I have been working in this region for more than 10 years. I found there were great changes. A lot of people talk about Chinese rule and interest in this region. I think I should introduce people to Chinese thinking. What are the Chinese interested in? The Chinese are interested in the stability of development in this region. We have no special interest other than this. We hope that this region can be peaceful and stable, with development. [...] On Chinese policy in the Middle East, what I would like to emphasize first of all, what we strongly believe in, is that the Middle East needs a comprehensive solution. Passing initially through Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Libya, those four hot spots in crisis should be considered together. The international community should not emphasize the crisis in just one or two countries and then forget the others, especially the Palestine issues. When we talk about the peace process, political dialogue, and political solutions, we should also consider economic development, security, and stability. Those issues should be considered together. [...] China would like to be more positive, more active in the future of this region.





**Riad Hijab**  
Former Prime Minister, Syria

This meeting is being held in the shadow of the Russian and Iranian escalation in Syria, which has resulted in the killing and injuring of hundreds of thousands of civilians, displacing millions of Syrians. [...] These events are reflected in international security, in which there is a growing refugee crisis in the various western countries. [...] At the same time, the Syrian people are suffering from frustration due to failure of the international community to stop the violations committed against it by the crumbling dictatorship whose survival constitutes a threat to international security. [...] The latest regional and European Security Council initiatives, and the efforts in the field to condemn Russia and hold its regime accountable, represent a significant change in the course of the crisis. [...] The battle of the Syrian people is no longer limited to confronting Bashar Al-Assad's regime. [...] It rather lies in transforming the conflict into a battle of existence in which the Syrians are struggling to maintain the unity of their country and regain the sovereignty of the state while preserving their institutions from external intervention. [...] It is inevitable that the international community will have to fulfil its role actively by attempting to exclude the external influences that are aggravating the suffering of the Syrians. [...] At the same time, we are working on activating our plans for integrating the young people and assisting them in escaping from the radical incubators and furnace of conflict. [...] Despite these difficult challenges, we are continuing with our efforts to achieve the aspirations of the entire Syrian people, driven by our faith that the Syrian people are able to rise up afresh in their homeland.

## The future of the Middle East



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

We live in a new world but we do not really respond to the challenges of this new world. [...] Instability in the Middle East will continue if the Palestinian Israeli issue is not resolved. [...] Europe should not wait for action from the US; we should lead. If we succeed with the Syrians and the Palestinians, we then have to look to the future of the region. I think that we all know that Sykes Picot is over. [...] How are we going to guarantee stability? Why not take the example of European security with the 1975 Helsinki Act? It is a paradox that in the Middle East there is not a collective security system. You are behind the American security system, or you are under Iranian threat. Why do you not move forward and get everyone around the same table including Israel and Iran, Arabs, Europeans, Japanese, Chinese, everybody who has certain things to do so that we have a multilateral framework that cannot guarantee peace, cooperation, and security for the future?



**Abdulaziz Othman bin Sager**  
Chairman of the Gulf Research Center, Saudi Arabia

Today, six years later, we could say that this Arab Spring was only able to achieve a few of its objectives. At the same time, difficult conditions have emerged in Arab countries, and they led to immense challenges that threaten Arab nations and regional security and stability. [...] Governments and others should look into the reasons behind the Arab Spring revolutions and come up with measures in response. They have to look into the needs of the youth and their mentality, how they can deal with them, influence them and benefit from them. [...] New media and social media should also be identified in order to determine its impact on the youth. Media, universities, schools and intellectual people should try to spread the correct ideology and should map out the future. [...] Arab countries should also look into the phenomenon of terrorism and how to dry up its finances. This is a phenomenon that targets all countries, without any exceptions. It is also important to look at the Arab economy in order to generate more growth and provide job opportunities, decent ones for university graduates and the youth. [...] The objectives of the Arab Spring cannot be achieved in the current situation, which threatens the existence of the Arab world. [...] We need better Arab unity, to work together, we need to address many of those issues in terms of democracy, youth, job issues, we need to look at the media and the role of the external actors in the region.



**Itamar Rabinovich**  
President of the Israel Institute, Distinguished Global Professor at New York University (NYU) and Distinguished Fellow at the Brookings Institution

This is a region that now has almost half a billion inhabitants. Nothing is going to be stable if the issues of production, the relationship between population, demography, and resources, the need to develop industry and sources of occupation for this very large population are not resolved in the next few years. [...] Part of the current problem and crisis in the Middle East is that right now there is no pattern. The Arab League is not functional. [...] It is a very important fact that the Middle East has been joined by two very large and powerful actors in recent decades: Turkey and Iran. Iran and Turkey during much of the 20th century were not part of the Middle East system but now they fully are. [...] The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been mentioned here by several speakers. A two-state solution is the only way to resolve that issue. [...] The Middle East is a relative term; it is the Middle East because, seen from Europe, there is the Far East and there is the Middle East. The Middle East refers to itself in a term that expresses an external view not an internal view. It is time for people in the Middle East to change that and start looking at themselves and the region and acting for themselves because salvation will not come from the outside.





**MODERATOR :**  
**Susan Liautaud**  
Vice Chair of Court London  
School of Economics  
and Political Science,  
Founder and Managing  
Director Susan Liautaud  
& Associates Limited



**Kriengsak Chareonwongsak**  
President of the Institute of Future Studies for Development;  
Former Prime Ministerial Advisor, Thailand

Most people think that either the public sector alone or the government is “solely responsible” for social well being. Furthermore, that other sectors may not have such responsibility at all, or, at most, only “partial responsibility”. This view also probably maintains that the business community and the civil society have just “additional responsibility”, or an “optional responsibility” that it can choose whether it is involved or not. However, there is a new paradigm I would like to call “Neo Social Contract or new social contract”. The main idea is that in all sectors, public and private, people should collaborate fully to take charge of social well being. Therefore, it is a “joint responsibility” that the public sector, the private sector and the civil sector work together and integrate their responsibilities into this joint responsibility. [...] In order to build trust, to work together between the three sectors, and to maintain their relationship, one important ethic which all of them must have is “integrity”. [...] Things that cannot be justified for confidentiality must have transparency. [...] Inclusivity is most essential in the relationships between the public sector, the private sector and the civil sector. If all three sectors are more inclusive and act with integrity, then the controversial issues and problems that we face today could be more readily moving towards clear solutions.

# Ethics and Government-Business relations



**Mari Kiviniemi**  
Deputy Secretary-General, OECD;  
Former Prime Minister of Finland

Technology may have brought new challenges, but it has also brought us new opportunities in the tax field. Increasingly, policy makers and tax administrations are drawing on technology to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of their work. That is why in 2014 the OECD established a new standard for tax transparency, the Common Reporting Standard, which provides automatic exchange of information about financial accounts held offshore by taxpayers. Starting in 2017, this system will make it possible for tax authorities to track funds that are transferred or held offshore. [...] The recognition that company responsibility for impacts extends beyond their own walls and covers their supply chains, has been a crucial development. To this end, the extensive scope of the OECD guidelines, includes business ethics, competition, the environment and human rights etc., as well as numerous countries, the 35 OECD countries plus 11 others, representing 81% of global foreign investment stock in 2014, including about four fifths of outward and two thirds of FDI inflows. [...] Technology in areas of tax and responsible business conduct is providing us with new challenges and at the OECD we will continue to work to help governments enhance their policy frameworks to enable responsible business conduct and collectively tackle tax evasion, as well as tax avoidance. By strengthening business and government relations and ethics in these ways, we can create better policies for better lives.



**Ashwani Kumar**  
Senior Advocate Supreme Court;  
Former Union Minister for Law & Justice, India

While the technological revolution has empowered people with unprecedented access to information and knowledge, questions arise about the ethical dimensions of a technology driven society. [...] The vast and empowering reach of digital technology, particularly the internet has raised legitimate questions about invasion of our limited private spaces that defined our humanity. [...] The ultimate ethical question that challenges us is whether digital technology will complement or replace human capabilities, reducing in the process not only millions of jobs and economic security but also impacting the human side of our existence? [...] In the realm of Government-Business Relations we find an increasing tendency to distrust between government and business. There is also a visible and perceptible disconnect between people and their elected representatives [...] The pervasive impact of media, particularly the technologically driven social media has not always positively impacted the processes of governance, politics and social change. [...] The questions posed above are not interested to pit technology in an adversarial position to humanity. They only underscore the truth that it is men and women in flesh and blood who have directed the course of social evolution in the image of their own wisdom and of their own creation.



**Bruno Lafont**  
Co-chairman of the Board of Directors, LafargeHolcim

In general, companies will play a very important role in the transformation. [...] That requires a lot of cooperation between governments and companies, and that is happening. [...] We also need a lot of improvement in measurement, and here I am returning to the ethical question. [...] I think that company responsibility, like government responsibility, which is another example of the Paris Agreement, starts with announcing commitments along with the ways they will be measured. [...] There is one interesting topic, which is rarely spoken about, which is whether we are all working for the general interest. It is nice to talk about that, but how can we measure our contribution to the general interest? [...] We have started to talk about it in the World Business Council for Sustainable Development and we call it ‘redefining value’. I think it has a lot of merit, because if we succeed, I think we will be more transparent, more responsible, we will get new ideas and new avenues, as well as accepting the scrutiny of public opinion and governments. That is perhaps a new way to practice ethics, not just by complying with the rules, that is the basic, but also contributing to something for the society.





# Turkey’s European and international role



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



**Ali Babacan**  
Member of the Parliament  
and former Deputy Prime Minister, Turkey

What we are going through is not easy, because Turkey signed up to all the important values and ideals like democracy, human rights, freedoms and the rule of law. Since 2002, from the very beginning of the AK Party, we were very careful to improve ourselves in these areas. This is together with improving our domestic security situation and also being more careful about our external security situation. We did not really want to make a trade off between security and freedom. However, this [coup attempt] was such a unique event that, like France did after the Paris bombings, we had to declare emergency rule in the country. Under emergency rule, the mood is “security first”, and when there is a “security first” approach, then there will probably be some criticism coming from out there. However, the number one priority right now in Turkey is to strengthen again stability, making sure that our domestic security situation gets back to normal. [...] On the one hand, we are dealing with this domestic issue, and on the other hand, we are also dealing with Syria and looking at how things will evolve in Iraq, as well as Yemen, Libya and so on. These are not easy times in this part of the world, but this part of the world is also in the region of Europe. We hope that our European colleagues and friends will give more input and support in the solving of some of these issues. [...] When the Arab Spring started, Turkey felt quite lonely in a way, defending and expressing very European values to our Middle Eastern and North African neighbours. Transformation in this part of the world is not easy. In Eastern Europe, when transformation happened after the Soviet Union, many countries became a part of the EU and part of NATO. Huge political and economic support was given to those countries. For the Middle East and North Africa, that was unfortunately not given. [...] The world does need a strong European Union.





MODERATOR :  
**John Andrews**  
Contributing Editor, *The Economist*

One of the great problems, it seems to me, in the medical world now, is that antibiotics are becoming disease resistant. In a lot of countries, especially in the Middle East, you can simply go to a pharmacy and buy antibiotics over the counter without a prescription. [...] The genome is no longer a mystery. Now, you were talking about the Internet of Life. Where do we go eventually? If you are going faster than Moore's Law, we are really into absolutely unknown territory, which may or may not be terrifying. It may be wonderful. [...] If the medicine is personalised, then presumably the market will be smaller and therefore the price will be higher. [...] One might argue about which medical body is the most effective for the masses at the moment. These are perhaps the Bill Gates Foundation or the Clinton Global Initiative. Is the fact that the space is actually being taken by private individuals a failure of the governments?

# Health: Technological development and global governance



**Sheikh Dr. Mohammed bin Hamad Al-Thani**  
Director of Public Health, Ministry of Public Health, Qatar

Health is at the core of human development in every country and each country has a role in collectively shaping the future of global governance in health issues. The State of Qatar is the “fastest” growing country in the GCC region. This is not closely linked to oil and gas only, it is due to our Emir's clear vision and perception and it is due to our self-confidence. We currently live the Digital/Tech revolution and modern technology has changed the structure and organisation of the entire medical field. In the State of Qatar, we have electronic surveillance systems in Hamad Medical Corporation HMC, which has adopted Cerner solutions to digitise the entire public health system, including all HMC hospitals, and Primary Health Care centres (PHCs). The State of Qatar has been rated as having the least demanding tax framework in the world. This has facilitated heavy investments in technology. As the world becomes interdependent, global governance aims at achieving sustainable development and negotiating responses to problems that affect more than one state or region. The Sustainable Development Goals SDGs work in the spirit of partnership to make the right choices to improve life, in a sustainable way, for future generations, by 2030. If we achieve 80 90% of these goals by 2030, the world will be in a sustainable and resilient path by integrating and balancing the three dimensions of sustainable development: the economic, social and environmental dimensions.



**Christian Bréchet**  
President of the Institut Pasteur, France

All this progress has led to the concretisation over the past 15 years of what we call personalised medicine, precision medicine. We are able to identify the parameters of a single individual among the population and to design biomarkers for the prediction of treatment, efficacy of treatment and side effects. [...] We need to put this in the context of the global and One Health perspective, and we have outlined a very important move. There is a move to have hundreds of thousands of individuals followed up on a prospective basis, with all their genome analyses determined. This will allow us to have a new insight into global health. [...] Now we have entered the era of large networks that encompass for example different hospitals, and research institutions which can share this data. We have also entered the era when large companies are becoming new players. They provide new software frameworks which have now helped us empower people to take a more active role in their health. [...] There is a major move in which the patient is a more active partner in his or her health through these technologies. [...] We have to share the information but also to meet with constraints, with confidentiality, with intellectual property and with overall security. [...] We speak of technology and we speak of automation, but we should never forget that individuals will be at the heart of creativity.



**Zhu Yan-Mei**  
Executive Vice President of Beijing Genomics Institute

Last year, the human genomics project has almost completely deciphered the genome. Every kind of disease is very closely related to your genes. These are not only genes from your parents, but also from gut bacteria. [...] Genome sequencing requires a super Moore's Law. This will totally and radically change and it is a paradigm shift. [...] That is our target, to make genome sequencing affordable and accessible to everybody. [...] The core advantage of big data is large samples and core coverage of populations. We believe that high quality data, forecast data, will be much better than deep learning and AI. [...] We are already sequencing 5 million people. [...] Now global healthcare has three big challenges. These include ageing populations and younger cancer patients, and the last one is serious birth defects, especially in developing countries. How can we face the challenge? [...] There are many changes in this area. They need a new discovery. Technology should be developed, and even management should be changed. That is why we built up a very unique organisation, which is not like a company. The assessment of cost needs to change, along with policy and culture. I think there are so many changes that one country alone cannot face them. We should collaborate with each other. I think it is time to initiate a war on disease. The human genome project started to digitalise life.





MODERATOR :  
**Masood Ahmed**  
Director of the IMF's Middle East and Central Asia Department



**Toby Simon**  
Commissioner with the Global Commission for Internet Governance (GCIG), India

Social contracts have been the basis of how we construct societies. Every couple of generations script new social contracts, and they keep evolving to better reflect our social norms and values. [...] In the 21st century, in both the online and offline world, work is increasingly organised not in large factories but rather in highly disaggregated and fragmented workplaces. Workers increasingly freelance and regulations are left far behind the pace of technological innovation and economic transformation. [...] The main distributive tool that we have, of prosperity trickling down from productivity to wages earned by labour has ceased to function. The decoupling of productivity and wages is a fundamental reason for this structural imbalance. Wealth is being concentrated in the hands of a few who own platforms, robots and algorithms. And those living off labour are struggling. [...] So what does the future look like? Perhaps we have to be prepared now for new social contracts when technology is like blockchain. [...] Blockchain will become the medium of exchange of assets and values.

# Technological change and the New Social Contract



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

The fourth industrial revolution covers IoT, and I just heard about IoT, which means life. [...] We are going to have a new type of social contract, so I would like to focus on social contracts in the newspaper industry. [...] I learned that content is king. There are many platforms which need content, but quality content is not so frequent. Newspapers are going through many strategic reforms and the first one is convergence. In the end, we hope to converge your quality contents with the platforms and marketing services. [...] In the news business, we are trying to deliver the same thing, which is customised, individualised, precise news to fit the needs of all the readers in this area. [...] We have changed from a period of mass media to a micro media era. Microculture is becoming an important area in this new business. [...] The basic role of the new social contract in the 21st century is to illustrate the distribution of information in our society. Media has become the fundamental platform of the social contract of the 21st century. Media will be the key player in helping individuals and societies communicate and exchange information for positive social development. Knowledge, information and new actions will be money in the future. [...] In the fourth industrial revolution, which I call the digital age, your money and power derive from data and information. [...] I try to connect press freedom with global governance and we need to think about this idea.



**Patrick Nicolet**  
Group Executive Board Member, Capgemini

“Man is largely a creature of habit, and many of his activities are more or less automatic reflexes from the stimuli of his environment”, Granville Stanley Hall, American Psychologist and Educator. This point notably explains the gap you will always find between technology development and its adoption by citizens. [...] Automation can be defined into three categories: Monitor, Industrialize, Cognitive Services (driven by Big Data). Today, we see a combination of these categories delivering new ways of working and increasing business value: Efficiency, Effectiveness, Outcomes. On Labor, there is no question that technological change is drastically disrupting both workplaces and the social environment: Employer-Employee relationship / Work duration, Mobility, Augmented / Connected workforce, Competencies acquisition / Reskilling, Talent war / Diversity, Labor taxation, Shared economy. [...] I think that there are especially two paths to explore, along with Education and the Relationship between humans and machines. Employment status multiplicity: Employee, Independent, Temporary and Unemployed. The granularity between all these statuses will be linked to flexibility to face the changes produced by technology. Basic / universal income: Finland is about to launch an experiment on a randomly selected group of 2,000-3,000 citizens, already on unemployment benefits, to assess whether this income can help reduce poverty, social exclusion, and bureaucracy, while increasing the employment rate.



**Sébastien Bazin**  
Chairman and CEO, AccorHotels

To get back to your question, sir, on what you then do and how you adapt, there are two ways to look at it. The first way is, in all those new initiatives, to be a participant. Co partner or invent one of your own. You are going to have new Airbnbs in the world, which is why we have our own autonomous lab. I am hiring people to invent new products and services away from a hotel room. Companies never did before. We went into Digital Concierge and we went into onefinestay, which is private economy. You need to expand your presence and your market share into something different from what you are accustomed to, which is difficult, but you can do it. I also know that those aged between five and 15 today will be far better in 15 years' time than those aged between 25 and 35 years old today. They have an ability to predict the future which is 25 times better than mine. [...] You have to identify them and you have to give them breathing room, oxygen, autonomy and discretion. You have to get the elderly generation to accept that they had to wait 25 years to get direction. [...] You need to have these two generations talk to each other. That dialogue between those two generations is indispensable.





# UK after Brexit



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



**John Kerr**  
Member of the House of Lords, former British Ambassador  
to the United States and the EU

The Article 50 negotiation is a divorce negotiation. [...] The most difficult element in the negotiation arises from a requirement in the text of the article. A requirement, to take account of during the divorce talks: ‘The framework for the future relationship between the EU and the country that has left’. [...] It is clearly necessary, for one to have a view to the future. [...] The framework which I imagine would have a number of pillars, such as close cooperation on security matters, interior matters, justice matters, fights against drug-running, terrorism, crime. There would possibly be quite close relations – I hope so – on foreign policy; conceivably, close relations on environmental policy and energy policy. [...] I do not believe that the future trade relationship between the EU and the UK could be negotiated in parallel with the Article 50 negotiations. I think it will come next, and I think that process takes us two years plus at least three years, five years out into the future. [...] I am afraid I see a decade of uncertainty stretching ahead. [...] The government is a curious coalition; the majority of members of the government did not want us to leave the EU. The minority were divided amongst themselves about what they saw as our future outside the EU. [...] I do not really believe that soft Brexits are workable but I speak only as an observer. [...] The Scots have a genuine grievance; they voted by a large majority to remain in the EU, as did London and Northern Ireland. It was the English countryside and smaller English towns which voted to leave. This is quite paradoxical in a way because the Prime Minister seems to believe that immigration was the core of the grievance of those who wanted to leave, that control of our frontiers was the most important thing to them. However, the areas which voted most strongly to leave were in fact the areas with fewest immigrants.



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## Security and Economic Development in Africa



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



**Nathalie Delapalme**

Executive Director, Research and Policy,  
Mo Ibrahim Foundation



**Cheikh Tidiane Gadio**

President of IPS, Former Foreign Minister of Senegal

The Mo Ibrahim Foundation publishes a report on the state of public governance in each of Africa's 54 countries. [...] The first finding is that Africa must not be written off too quickly. In more specific terms, today 70% of the African continent's population lives in a country where the average level of governance is higher than it was 10 years ago. The second point is that Africa is 54 countries with 54 geographies, 54 different histories, 54 often-divergent trajectories. [...] The third conclusion is that no situation is either irremediable or can be taken for granted, in one direction or the other. [...] The fourth finding is the diverging development of the components of governance, with some red flags showing up. Nearly two-thirds of the continent's population (64%) live in a country where the situation seriously deteriorated in 10 years. [...] Infrastructure has undeniably improved thanks to the steadfast commitment of the international community, the continent's partners, major international financial institutions, governments and Africa's private sector, but there's still a major dark spot, no pun intended: electricity distribution. That indicator has fallen for 40% of the continent's population in the past 10 years. [...] The growing gap between education level and job prospects does not bode well for such a young continent.

Africa has something we call the infernal square, with al-Shabab in Somalia, terrorist groups in Libya, AQIM and other groups in Mali and the Sahel and Boko Haram in the Lake Chad basin. Terrorist threats and activities now directly target 22 African countries. [...] Africa has several conflict zones with very serious crises: the terrorism crisis, the criminal economy crisis and the migration crisis. In addition, we have what we call the bloc of the lasting crisis in governance: DRC, Burundi, Guinea-Bissau and CAR. Africa has no response to these crises. [...] Being Africa's friend means being able to tell Africa the truth. Africa's friends must see that its underlying problem is the lack of leadership, the lack of good governance and the lack of vision. [...] Africa's tragedy is a lack of strategy. [...] Africa is giving itself a hundred years to accomplish what South Korea did in perhaps two decades. That's absolutely unacceptable. [...] African countries should acknowledge that none of them, taken individually, has solved the basic problems of development. [...] Unfortunately, Africa is becoming a battleground for the world's great powers. The tragedy is that Africans are often sitting on the sidelines. Africa is potentially the world's richest continent but has the poorest people.







# European Union: what next?



MODERATOR :  
**Steven Erlanger**  
London bureau chief of *The New York Times*



**Elisabeth Guigou**  
Member of Parliament and President of the Commission of Foreign Affairs at the Assemblée nationale, France



**Norbert Röttgen**  
Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Bundestag, Germany

I think it is always going to be difficult satisfying Russia's need to have its dignity restored without giving away too much influence and territory. That is going to be the dilemma: to take it seriously, but not take it so seriously that you surrender. That is always the problem. The last topic before we go to some questions; the Euro crisis is not over. If you look at Portugal, their credit rating is really iffy and there is talk of a new bailout. Growth is weak in the Eurozone. Greece is not finished. It is not a very good time in Germany to start talking about Eurobonds again, while in France, there is a challenge from the Front National, which is very anti-European, partly on the basis of money and partly about migrants. Are you worried that there could be a new Eurozone crisis in the middle of all this? It worries me and I am curious: does it concern you? Do you expect one or will it be suppressed as usual?

Europe is currently facing major crises revealing its weaknesses. The rise of populism and extremists are a real threat to our values and to the rule of law upon which Europe is built. The recent elections in the US show the same phenomenon, although domestic issues are not similar. But it is nonetheless a trend. The loss of trust in the European project, and the widening of the gap between its citizens and the EU are serious indicators that we need to reshape Europe, both on the domestic and external levels. Its global power, the security and the meaning of its project depends on it. I believe that, more than ever, Europe has a leading role to play; there are worldwide expectations towards it. It is no time to turn inward, quite the contrary. Boosting the European construction should be our only horizon: this requires more integration, positive and practical answers to Europeans' expectations and a clear political will.

I think we are at a point and situation not seen since World War II. I think that there have not been so many crises at the same time. [...] In the increased turmoil, the territorial extension of the conflict from Northern Africa, over the Middle East to Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan is an increasing complexity, which also seems to be persistent. The geography has not changed but the politics have changed; there is a fundamentally new quality of mobility of crises. The consequences of crises now are spilling over in to Europe. It is a crisis of mentality, perhaps of political culture. [...] Whatever happens, the United States is irreplaceable for the West. [...] To do that and overcome our internal, dividing differences is pivotal and a prerequisite for us to forge a common foreign policy at European level. I think we have three dividing issues in Europe: the refugees; the economy and austerity; and Russia. [...] If we accept that Russia has the final say about the political course of the countries in the political influence zone, then we would have a new division of the continent in the 21st century. This would be an example that the ruling principle in the 21st century would be the power of might, not the power of right. [...] The Euro crisis has remained and is fundamentally unresolved.





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

# Post-American Elections



**François Bujon de l'Estang**  
President, FBE International Consultants;  
Former Ambassador of France to the United States



**Ichiro Fujisaki**  
Former Ambassador of Japan to the United States



**Jin Roy Ryu**  
Chairman and CEO, Poongsan Group, Republic of Korea

It was of course Trump's victory but it was also Hillary's defeat. Contrary to Hillary who tried to cater to the three categories of voters who had elected Obama in 2008 and re elected him in 2012: the young people, the women and the minorities, Trump ignored these three categories. He really campaigned to a different set of the electorate. [...] This election leaves many questions unanswered. There are many concerns. First, the arch-conservative followers that he has. Secondly, the role that his family will play. Thirdly, his character, which is certainly difficult to deal with. [...] Regarding the divided Republican Party, we also have a number of unanswered questions. Many of the slogans on which he campaigned ran directly contrary to the typical Republican doxa. What kind of real following will he have in Congress, with a Republican Party that is so heavily divided, remains a mystery and might hamper his action. [...] Europeans also expected and hoped she [Hillary] would. They saw her as being in line with her husband's presidency. She knows Europe, is thoroughly familiar with international affairs and enjoys much more confidence than Obama did, for example. The Obama administration often made Europeans feel uncomfortable. They thought that with Hillary in the White House, the United States would shift its focus back to Europe. Trump's election was a shock because it came at a challenging time for Europe, for reasons both strictly European and transatlantic.

Mr. Abe was the first foreign leader to meet with Mr. Trump. They talked about the economy, their views of the world and relations with Russia, China, Korea, the Philippines and India. I think it was very important to bring Asia's point of view directly to Mr. Trump as early as possible. I think they will build a trusting relationship. [...] Mr Trump's election was very different from all other elections I have seen before. [...] I think that there will be three groups of policies. A) He will have to do it. B) He will have to modify and do it. C) He will postpone it. [...] We will have to see which one would go to group A, group B, group C. As for foreign policy, maybe I am too optimist but I think relations with Russia and China will not change fundamentally. [...] Then what will happen? On three fronts, policy may have to be watched in the following areas: environment [...], trade and the Middle East. More specifically, relations with Iran, accord with Iran, relations with Syria and Islamic State (IS) may change. I am personally watching these three elements, which are not that predictable at this juncture. [...] I think we can be counting on his businessman's instinct or sixth sense saying which is better for America.

First, internationally when president Trump takes office in January, you will see an immediate swift from a more liberal Obama policies to a very conservative Trump policies. [...] As president, Mr Trump will demand level playing field especially on trade issues. [...] Regarding America's military bases around the world, he will ask countries like Japan, Korea and Germany to pay more of the cost for the US presence in their countries. He will also ask NATO countries to pay for most of the cost themselves instead of relying on the US. [...] The biggest change that could happen in my opinion will be in the area of immigration. [...] The good news is that since his victory, President-elect Trump has been speaking with more caution and in a more conciliatory tone and demeanor. I am hopeful that this changed approach is indicative of his desire to bring America together again and to be president to every Americans. I am also hopeful that after understanding the reality of what America faces in the world today President Trump will come to a realization that he and America will need the support of its allies and friends to succeed and make America great again.





**Juan Gallardo**  
Chairman, Organizacion Cultiva SAB de CV, Mexico

Mexico has undergone massive transformation in the last few years. [...] Mexico has gone from being an economy with 50% debt down to 14% and that was achieved in terms of balance by a new reform which included a lot of cost saving. [...] We have a great battle undergoing right now with major legal challenges in terms of corruption. [...] There is political positioning over to 2018 elections and of course the big challenge: the transition in the US. [...] One million people cross that border every day and more than 300,000 vehicles. [...] Now, in terms of immigration, we will have a very strong brand in terms of things being done in a humane way. [...] Now, the NAFTA question, I think it is important just to mention the fact that three-way trade between Canada, the US and Mexico is more than USD 1 trillion a year. USD 1 trillion dollars a year. 30 of the 53 states of the United States have Mexico as their number one or two trading partner. More than six million jobs in the US are directly attributed to trade with Mexico. [...] There is plenty of room to discuss constructively a more efficient NAFTA. We certainly look forward to doing that with the new administration. [...] Hopefully, the rhetoric that occurred during the electoral process changes to a more pragmatic and constructive discussions.

# Post-American Elections



**Vuk Jeremic**  
President of the Center for International Relations and Sustainable Development (CIRSD), former President of the UN General Assembly, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia

The election of Donald Trump as President of the United States has raised the level of uncertainty across the world. It is difficult to predict with confidence what policies he will initiate and what initiatives he will pursue. Within this overall framework of uncertainty, however, it seems likely that Trump will attempt to build a different kind of relationship with Russia. Such an attempt will cause discomfort in some European quarters. Trump's victory will also bolster populist sentiment (already emboldened as a result of the Brexit referendum) in a number of European countries. Trump's victory is not inherently disastrous. Trying to engender a different kind of relationship with Russia is not necessarily fraught with negative consequences. At least in the short term, it could succeed, namely in the context of Syria. Furthermore, a Russo-American rapprochement could open the possibility for renewing the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, which Trump has said he would like to accomplish. One or both of these could bring about a new balance of power in the Middle East, something that President Obama himself has argued should happen. But the TPP is dead. Trump will kill it. Lots of other policies he said he would seek to implement during the campaign he will actually try to deliver as president. Trump's victory means that we are all going to be living in a different world. Liberal internationalism will no longer be the predominant global norm. This is the reality, and policymakers should focus on the opportunities presented by this change in direction, instead of falling into the trap of thinking about the negative, self-fulfilling prophecies.



**Wang Jisi**  
President of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University, and professor of the School of International Studies, Peking University

Never in recent history has a U.S. presidential election been so distressing — or captivating, depending on which side you took — as the one in 2016. The election was probably the most controversial and divisive even in China [...] the majority of China's media and political elites [...] correctly predicted Trump's victory. [...] many Chinese believe a Trump Administration will be less hostile, if not more friendly, to China. [...] as these Chinese understand it, Trump is a tycoon who loves money, and China has a lot of money, thus it must be easier to make a deal with Trump than with Clinton. Some other Chinese hailed Trump's victory [...] It is their expectation that a Trump Administration, with a Republican Congress, may do a lot of harm to the U.S. by making it less unified, less powerful, and more isolated in the world. A weakened United States, they hope, would not be able to interfere forcefully in China's domestic affairs and constrain China's international space. [...] Some in business circles are concerned that a new surge of protectionism in America might hurt Chinese business interests. [...] I used to be consistently confident that the United States, despite all its problems and pitfalls, would not be a declining power. But I am much less sure of it today. Will November 8, 2016, be the birthday of a Disunited States of America, or will it mark the making of a nation that will be "Great Again"?



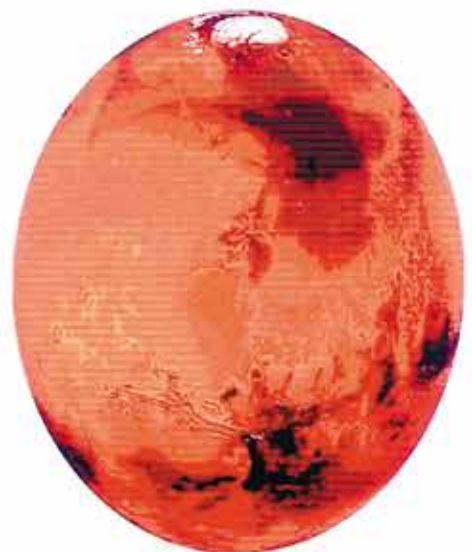
**Ryan Evans**  
Founder, CEO and Editor, War on the Rocks

Donald Trump says a lot of things and then he contradicts himself the next day. [...] However, when you constantly say extreme things and if people are working to realise your vision, that makes many things permissible, not just in the federal bureaucracy but also in the American society. [...] I think the biggest one [issue] is the United States' attitude and approach towards international trade and its relationship with China. I actually think this will be far more determinative of what the world looks like than its relationship with Russia. [...] He has accused China of doing everything from destroying industrial America and fabricating climate change [...] It could very well be that we see an administration that is very aggressive on trade and waging some sort of a trade war with trade protectionism targeting China but an administration that is also willing to accommodate what China views as its interests in South and East China Seas. I think that all options are open at this point.





## Three Defining Challenges Exploration



# Space as a major technological and governance adventure



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



**Jean-Yves Le Gall**  
President of the Centre National d'Etudes Spatiales (CNES)

Over nearly 60 years, thousands of satellites have enabled humankind after conquering the land, sea and air to conquer the fourth element, space. [...] Satellites take pictures that allow us to forecast the weather. They are also helping to protect populations from environmental threats, detecting natural and manmade disasters, improving soils, oceans and vegetation for the benefit of all. Satellites are also crucial instruments supporting efforts to curb climate change. [...] In total, we now have roughly over 60 countries developing their own space programme and this is going to continue. [...] a new movement has emerged from the US and has taken hold around the globe. This new movement called 'New Space' is being shaped by rich and ambitious entrepreneurs eager to transform this business. [...] It is satellites that have provided the evidence of climate change. Without them, it would have been impossible to demonstrate that sea levels are rising 3.2 millimetres a year. Likewise, it is satellites that are enabling us to encourage nations' efforts to cut greenhouse gas emissions. [...] The third challenge we face concerns exploration, because the current shifts in the space sector are likely to have the unexpected effect of stepping up the pace of Mars exploration. [...] France has the second largest per capita space budget in the world, just behind the US. Many services which we now consider irreplaceable rely on satellite-derived applications, even though we do not always realize it. So, in a nutshell, space is definitely a major technological and governance adventure.



## Fighting Terrorism



**MODERATOR :**  
**Justin Vaïsse**  
Director of Policy Planning  
at the French Ministry of  
Foreign Affairs



**Sergei Karaganov**

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



**Mayankote Kelath Narayanan**

Former Governor of West Bengal, India

This time, as with Al-Qaeda and the Taliban before that, we have huge terrorist organisations which actually take over territories. They are also the result of unjustified, totally incompetent and irresponsible intrusion by foreign powers. [...] My first recipe for dealing with this issue is to stop interventions, whatever ideological banner they come under – whether Communism, democratism or any future isms. [...] Respect the local traditions and customs. The aim should not be change but only stability. Change and development can only come under circumstances of stability and peace. [...] Russia is doing what it believes it should do. We went to Syria for several reasons, but one of the main reasons was to destroy terrorist organisations and terrorist institutions at their core, before they come to our territory. It is also to prop up existing states and existing legitimate governments, and stop the irresponsible policies of regime change which have been undertaken by our partners. We have succeeded. [...] We should support existing vulnerable states. [...] there are three at the top of my list – Jordan, of course, Egypt, and Algeria. [...] Just imagine what would have happened if Russia had not started to destroy all these forces in Syria. By now, Al Nusra and Daesh would have been in control of the whole country. Imagine what would have happened if, by the will of Allah or God, if General Al-Sisi had not organised a coup d'état. By this time, the whole of Egypt would have been in flames.

The question of how to defeat ideologies is a most difficult one to answer. There are many different facets of terrorism, but the main danger today comes from radical Islamist terrorism. Each minute a few hundred thousand children are being taken in by the so called Holy Grail of a New World and a new Caliphate. This is the concept. The idea behind it is still more dangerous, viz., to reach the goal, you need to join us, and be willing to kill and carryout acts such as those that took place in Belgium and France recently. Dealing with an idea is far more difficult than meeting the problem militarily. The best brains and the best minds are really needed to work on the problem. You can monitor the Internet, but how will you prevent children of 12 and 13 sitting in their rooms, listening to the 'siren song' of Islamist propaganda. Militarily, you may win a battle here and there, but ISIS 2.0 will continue to spread out to different parts of the globe. The problem will thus remain. We must marshal all our forces to combat the Idea, and utilize the Internet to defeat the subversive propaganda of ISIS.





## Fighting Terrorism



**Jamal Khashoggi**

General Manager, Al Arab News Channel, Saudi Arabia



**Wang Jisi**

President of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University, and professor of the School of International Studies, Peking University



**Jehangir Khan**

Director of the UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) and the UN Counter-Terrorism Centre (UNCCT)

There are two approaches to fighting terrorism. [...] The current approach we have right now is just to bomb Al-Qaeda, to bomb ISIS, to assassinate them, to use drones. [...] People wanted democracy in the Western sense, that is what the people are looking for, but because we did not support the people at that juncture in history, chaos and anarchy prevailed in some areas in the Arab world, so Al-Qaeda and later ISIS became the alternative. [...] What we should do is go for the approach of fixing the Arab world, targeting the anarchy first. Of course you will continue targeting the radicals, fighting and eliminating them, but at the same time you must have a plan to fix the Arab world completely, to bring it back from tyranny, injustice and failing economies, and unless we do that, the cycle will continue. [...] In every society there are groups who are willing to use violence against the system. If, in your countries, anarchy for some reason prevailed, those radicals would emerge. That is why the radicals emerged in our region. [...] That does not mean standing by tyrants such as Bashar or Gaddafi of Libya, or other small tyrants in Libya – they are not the solution but the problem.

Anti-terrorism has assumed a higher place on China's domestic agenda, but there is not much publicly available information about terrorist activities in China. [...] The Chinese Government is very careful not to invite trouble from abroad. That is why, when there are terrorist attacks, the Chinese television reports do not name the organisations, like ISIS or other local organisations, but simply call them extremist groups or organisations, without specifying their identity. What does China do in fighting terrorism? Firstly, we give assistance to refugees and victims of terrorist attacks, along with support for humanitarian activities in Jordan and elsewhere, but it is beyond China's capacity to join military operations. [...] China's principle is very clear – we support the legitimate governments of all these countries. China wanted to be nice to everybody, to every government in the region, and does not really want to take sides. Nowadays we are talking about One Belt, One Road. [...] We are more concerned about our neighbouring countries because a great part of One Belt, One Road is the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, which passes from Xinjiang through the occupied Kashmir region, all the way to Gwadar Port in Pakistan and to the Middle East. That is a very important route for China to be concerned about, and China also wants to keep a good balance between India and Pakistan in their disputes as to who should be identified as terrorist organisations in the United Nations.

The reason we are concerned about terrorism is that it has a human face. [...] Terrorism and violent extremism has no religion, has no faith, has no ethnicity, has no culture – it is a pure evil in itself, and every society throughout history has experienced extremism and terrorism, so let us not malign any particular religion or any particular region of the world. [...] Today, terrorism is not located in one region, that terrorism is a global phenomenon [...] It is common sense that we should be taking a preventative approach, but the time has come to mainstream the prevention approach, not to make it a lip service but to take action on it. [...] First of all, we need to look at our youth. The 16- to 24-year-old demographic is the primary prey of terrorist groups. [...] We are now looking at taking an inclusive approach. When we look at youth we need to look at other aspects – gender, employment, skills development, engaging local communities. [...] Every society, every country must have national ownership. Terrorism is not a military problem, it is not a technical problem, but a political problem in the first instance. [...] We must measure how we are doing in fighting terrorism by the number of victims that we are preventing, and if today the number of victims is growing exponentially, then we must look at our policies again and ask what we are doing.





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

## Political and Economic Stability in East Asia



**Ichiro Fujisaki**  
Former Ambassador of Japan to the United States



**Jia Qingguo**  
Dean of the School of International Studies of Peking University



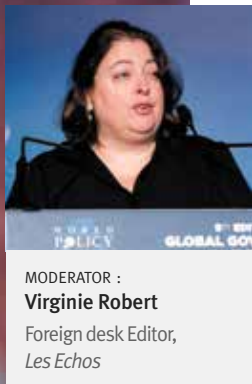
**Ju Chul-Ki**  
Former Senior Secretary for Foreign Affairs and National  
Security, Office of the President of the Republic of Korea

Japan is seen as one of the countries bringing stability to the region. This is because our relations with countries around us have changed very drastically. Starting from the north, with Russia: Mr Putin is coming to Japan in the middle of December to discuss our territorial issue. [...] Regarding China, our relations have become a lot better in the last two years. There are issues, of course. Japan, like other countries, is concerned about the South China Sea and the East China Sea as well, so the Law of the Sea issue is already a concern. [...] Relations with Korea are getting better as well. We have not totally solved the so-called 'comfort women' issue, and Korea-Japan relations are a lot better than before. Regarding India, all in all, relations have become a lot better. The most important issue is the US with which we have our only alliance. Mr Trump is now saying that US-Japan relations are the basis of his policy. Regarding TPP and the new policies on COP 21, these may not come through right away, so the most important thing is the alliance, and if this alliance is confirmed, we will not have to change our security policy. We will wait to see how it will be implemented in the years to come.

Relations between the major powers are problematic. China and the US had problems over the South China Sea. China-Japan relations are still affected by the disputes over the Diaoyu Islands and the adjacent waters. The relationship between China and South Korea deteriorated with the announcement of the South Korean Government's decision to deploy the THAAD system. However, there is also positive news. Firstly, we do see stabilisation of the situation in the South China Sea. When we look at the future, we see a positive and a negative side. Regarding the positive side, it appears that China now favours more stability. China is also making greater efforts to push for One Belt, One Road, which requires stability in the international environment. Regarding the negative side, we have recently seen news that Vietnam is conducting some kind of construction on an airstrip at its controlled artificial island in the South China Sea. [...] A bigger challenge is the result of the US election. We may see a more rocky relationship between China and the US. Most countries in the region share a lot of common interests. We need political stability, but at the same time different countries have different views and approaches as to how to attain them. Therefore, the region demands wise leadership more than ever. However, the region is more likely than not to be disappointed, especially given the campaign rhetoric during the recent US presidential elections.

Over the past 71 years, East Asia has made big stride in terms of economic progress and social justice also have marked big progress. But there are always sources of instability in East Asia for it to continue to leap forward. Number one issue is how to relocate or reposition the power balance between the USA and the emerging super power China. [...] TPP launch failure will be a blow to Japan and to those countries who signed the agreement. [...] China-Japan direct confrontation over the Sengaku (Daoidao) island may not add further intensity at this juncture. [...] One should watch the new Russian endeavor to develop its Far Eastern area. But the most and far most threat for the stability of the region is the North Korean nuclear adventure. The sinister human rights violation of North Korea needs constant condemnation. There will be two alternatives for us. One is to continue to exert pressure on North Korea while leaving the door open for direct negotiation with it. It will be wiser and necessary for the South Korean government to devise its own working plan and consult deeply with the new US administration for a joint and comprehensive strategy. It will be a long and difficult process. A true and complete solution of North Korean dilemma can only be found in promoting peaceful reunification of the Peninsula winning over the 71 year old division.





MODERATOR :  
**Virginie Robert**  
Foreign desk Editor,  
*Les Échos*



**Bark Tae-ho**  
Professor at Seoul National University,  
former Minister for Trade, Republic of Korea

The multilateral trade negotiations have been stalled and in response to this there was a trend emerged of forming mega-RTAs such as TPP, RCEP, China-Japan-Korea trilateral FTA and TTIP. However, the president-elect Trump declared that the US will withdraw from the TPP and announced his plan to take various protectionist trade measures particularly against China and Mexico. At the same time, public sentiment on free trade is becoming extremely pessimistic as seen in the Brexit decision and the presidential campaigns in the US. Trade experts even worry that trade conflicts among major trading nations could drive the world trading environment into some kind of a trade war. However, all of us must understand the far-reaching implications of the failure of the world trading system, particularly the multilateral trading system. We learned the lesson from the past that unilateral trade restrictions would invite retaliations from the trading partners and eventually hurt domestic consumers and firms. We should realize that freer trade can generate economic growth and jobs. In this context, all the political leaders should seriously consider saving the multilateral trading system. In other words, in the midst of the most difficult environment, we should go back to the basics. As the largest trading nation, China is expected to show its leadership in the world trading system. We hope that China shows more forthcoming positions in the RCEP.

# Main world economic challenges



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

We should take what is going on very seriously, not only in the US but also in Europe and in other advanced economies where we have exactly the same phenomena of frustration of a large part of the working population feeling the stress of intense competition, the need for restructuring and reshaping in the productive sector, the impact of science and IT, and the other advances which are also calling for abrupt and sharp changes. [...] I would say that I hope very much that we will not embark on new explicit protectionist measures that would be extremely dangerous for global growth. Unfortunately, I take it as a given fact that we will not proceed with big new trade agreements. [...] China now has the same restructuring problems that we ourselves had years ago. [...] There is an absolute need for activating the domestic economy in Europe. [...] It is good to rebalance and reshape public spending in order to increase growth and job creation. We have to understand that there are different situations in different countries in Europe. [...] The main goal of any economy, whether advanced or, I trust, emerging, is to have full employment and not let the country and the economy enter a situation of mass unemployment. [...] It is extremely important that the banking problem in Europe is made as clean as possible. The banking union is a major reform which goes in this direction.



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

The advanced economies' growth challenges reflect the persistent weakness of business investment that is linked to the slowing of their productivity growth. This effect is particularly notable in the case of the EU. [...] Despite the slowing down of overall growth in the emerging market economies, the growth in exports from this group has been slower than their GDP growth – in other words, international trade, which previously was a key driver of their rapid expansion, has turned into a drag on their growth. [...] What are the barriers to growth and investment in the Eurozone? There need to be structural reforms, meaning the perfection of or increase in the openness and flexibility of markets, both labour and product. The financial sector is not as healthy as it needs to be to support that growth, and this has been reflected in the dramatic fall in the Eurozone bank stocks so far this year. [...] The main institutional response to the global financial crisis was the creation of the G20 Leaders' Summit process and the creation of four main goals for the G20: first, to restore global growth, second to repair and reform the financial system, third to prevent trade protectionism and promote new trade liberalisation, and fourth to reform the international financial institutions. [...] The IMF still lacks sufficient crisis prevention instruments to be able to work as effectively as it should and needs to.



**Qiao Yide**  
Vice President & Secretary General, Shanghai Development Research Foundation; former Assistant Director, Institute of World Economy, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences

The slowdown of the Chinese economy does of course have some impact on the global economy – if you are a raw materials exporting country, the slowdown of the Chinese economy has a negative impact. However, the domestic market expands rapidly at the same time, providing more opportunities for foreign investment and imports. Overseas direct investment by China is growing rapidly at this stage, which will create more jobs and more opportunities for other countries. [...] we still have a long way to go to totally exclude the possibility of a financial crisis occurring. However, we still achieved a good deal of progress. For example, I can mention that after the global financial crisis we have a new concept called global financial safety net. People recognise that if you only count one level of institutions or resources, it is not enough to prevent the occurrence of a financial crisis, so currently global financial safety includes four components. The first is self insurance – developing countries have to have some kind of foreign reserve. The second is a currency swap – if something happens you can do a currency swap, as South Korea the US did at the beginning of the crisis, which finally gave you a lot of help. The third is regional financial arrangements like the Chiang Mai Initiative, the ESM. The last one is of course the IMF. The leaders of the G20 recognised that the IMF should play a more important role.





# The role of hydrocarbons in the regional geopolitical landscape



**Saad Sherida Al-Kaabi**  
President and CEO of Qatar Petroleum



**Patrick Pouyanné**  
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Total



MODERATOR :  
**Steven Erlanger**  
London bureau chief  
of *The New York Times*

This is really crucial and you have Iran next door; in fact, you share a field with Iran. As Mr Fillon says about Russia, it is a close neighbour so we have to think about them differently. President Obama has been deeply criticised for the red line in Syria and creating a kind of vacuum. I think it is true that they did not know how to respond to the so-called Arab Spring; nobody did. They were not prepared for the awakening and they were not prepared for the counter-revolution either. Unless you want to get deeper into politics, which you probably do not, I wondered if this was a particularly sensitive time for the Gulf Arabs? Would you like more American involvement and stabilisation or do you think that more American involvement might make matters worse?

Regarding the growth of fossil fuels, the cleanest fossil fuel is gas. [...] Gas, which is seen as a very high growth area, because you have a lot of areas in the world that want clean energy and gas is the cleanest energy you can have. [...] Humanity is growing at a very rapid rate and we need all kinds of fuel and we need all kinds of sources. Solar, wind, renewables are a very important energy mix. [...] If the EU wanted to reach its 2050 target for CO2 emissions, it is 500 billion times cheaper for Europe to do it using gas. That is a substantial number. [...] It is actually quite a large number of people in regions of India who do not have power. With a growing middle class and quite healthy economic growth in India, in comparison with other regions, I think that it is going to grow further and they will need a lot of fuel. [...] His [Trump] comments on the oil and gas industry, liberalisation of some areas and what he is going to do, oil and gas are very resilient businesses and we adapt to whatever we are given and move on. That has been proven historically. I am not worried at all. [...] The US not needing fossil fuels and being self-sufficient definitely changes the dynamic of the oil and gas market as far as the exporters of oil and gas are concerned. However, there is enough growth worldwide; there is sufficient growth in other countries to take up that volume. A big part of why you see the oil prices coming down is just that. [...] It has changed the dynamic but oil will be needed for a very long time and there is good growth; gas will be needed for a very long time, at a little bit higher rate of growth. Fossil fuels are here to stay but some elements will always change. [...] Things do change politically but I think the track is still the same.

Oil and gas are still very important for Middle-East as 50% of reserves are in this region which represents only 30% of the world production. The Middle-East is facing challenges and the level of involvement of the next US administration to stabilize the region is a very important question. The world need a reliable, affordable and clean energy: all three words are equally important; there are plenty of emerging economies who need an affordable energy to go on developing themselves. In 2040, 25 years from now, in the 2°C scenario of the IEA, you have still more than 45% of oil and gas in the world energy mix; the world needs oil and gas; in the 30ies or somewhere, oil could face a stable demand, much less than for gas: the conclusion for a company like Total is that we must focus on oil assets that are cost-competitive. The economic players are just rational, they select what is the most efficient from a competitive point of view. Gas should have a brilliant future but if there is no carbon pricing the emerging countries like India will use coal rather than gas and the +2°C limit will be lost. We will need more power in the 21st century and the power will come from gas and renewables if we want to have a 2°C world. Obviously, when you speak of energy, it is absolutely crucial to understand the dynamics of the Chinese market and tomorrow of the Indian market. China is pushing for electric cars because of a problem of local pollution due to coal. It is a question of public health and even a matter of social unrest. Solving this source of pollution and finding an energy transition will have a direct impact on climate change. I am convinced that the electric car revolution will come first from China. Economic development is very important if you want more peace in this world. As an oil & gas company, we can participate to this development by continuing to invest, to bring more investments to countries so that they can stabilize their own situations. This is what we do in Russia and other countries.





# Education and the role of women



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



**Hamda Hassan Al-Sulaiti**  
Secretary General of Qatar National Commission  
for Education, Culture and Science

With more than 40% of people in the Arab world under 18, education is a key political and social factor that can strongly impact the process of democratisation in the future. [...] Arab countries lack efficient supervisory limits, units, competent human resources, and mainly a strong political commitment to undertake political reform. Therefore, although Arab countries are allocating significant resources to education, the educational system remains plagued by grave problems which hinder the development of citizens who are adequately prepared for social and political life. [...] Women in particular are an untapped resource in the fight against terrorism. As Daech calls on women to marry its terrorist fighters and support its nihilistic campaign, women are well-positioned to counter that message. How? What better network to enlist in the struggle than women, who live in every city and every village, whose reach extends into every family and who understands the needs of their communities better than many government officials? However, mobilising the power of women for this security challenge requires empowering women and women's groups in all forms of public life. If governments are serious about reducing the threat of terrorism, they need to get serious about including and empowering women. However, for women to fully contribute to a prosperous, secure society, they need to feel secure in their day-to-day lives. [...] Finally, I would like to say that investment in girls' education may well be the highest return on investment in the developing world.

The enrollment of Qatari females at the university level has exceeded their male counterparts' at a constant rate over the years, reaching as twice as much in higher education. The percentage of female graduates at Qatar University accounted for 82% of all graduates for the academic year 2011/2012. The ratio of Qatari females to males was nearly 2:1 over the last decade until the year 2013. [...] However, the rate of female graduates remains lower in some disciplines like Engineering, Business Administration and Law. [...] the Qatari labor market has witnessed a remarkable development in women participation. The rate of economic activity of women (15 years and above) increased from 27.5% in 1986 to 40.6% in 2004, and then to 49.3% in 2007. The percentage of active Qatari women rose from 30.3% in 2004 to 34.6% in 2007. [...] In support of this approach, the Qatar National Development Strategy 2011-2016 has focused on supporting the balance between work and life, and the establishment of the early childhood centers and public nurseries and kindergartens at work for pupils aged from 6 months to 4 years. The strategy also adopted more appropriate procedures for the family, such as allowing flexible working hours, part-time jobs, and the possibility of obtaining a special leave. Traditionally, Qatari women target a certain number of professions, most often in the areas of teaching, health care and clerical jobs. However, women have become increasingly engaged in a wider range of professions in recent years. This includes medicine, law and teaching at the university level, policing. These positions were previously dominated by men.





MODERATOR :  
**Mohamed Kabbaj**  
Chancellor of the  
Euro-Mediterranean  
University of Fes

Let me now turn to the role of women in overcoming Egypt's economic and security challenges. [...] Women ruled over many of the greatest civilisations, not only in Egypt, in all human history, from Nefertiti and Cleopatra, to the queens of the Fatimid and Mamluk periods, to Hoda Chaaoui and her daughters of the Nile. [...] Over the years, women's leadership has inspired women across the region and shaped the course of history. Women's centrality to Egypt parallels the early role of women in Islam. Unfortunately, today is a difficult time for all Arab people. In the region, we are also confronted with the new faces of terrorism. Around the world, we have seen that no country can overcome these challenges and achieve prosperity and security without women. In countries around the world, corruption and needless red tape hurt women more than men because men have the connections and resources to navigate through a broken system. However, it makes it harder for women to enrol in schools, apply for jobs, or secure permits to start new businesses. It is simple: Egypt cannot reach its full potential without women. Great nations draw their strength from all their people. Harnessing that strength means tolerating differences that are peacefully expressed. It is well known that a diversity of views in religion, culture, politics, and academia do not weaken society, on the contrary.

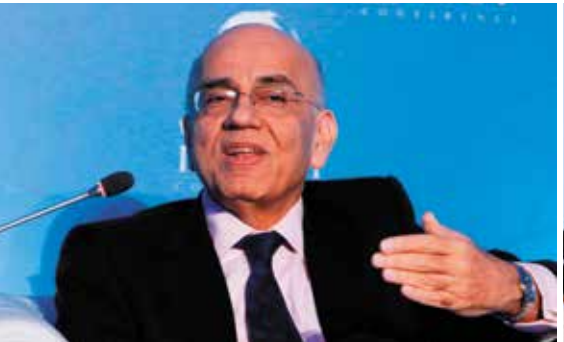


**Mona Makram Ebeid**

Egyptian Senator and Member  
of the Senate Constitutional Committee



# Diversification, Education and Employment in the Middle East



**Masood Ahmed**

Director of the IMF's Middle East  
and Central Asia Department

Creating enough jobs for a young and growing labor force is a pre-occupation of policymakers across MENA. For some countries this means accelerating the rate of economic growth, particularly growth that comes from private investment and from the private sector's activities. For others, notably the oil exporting countries, the issue is more of diversifying their economies and creating competitive and high value-added jobs in the non-oil private sector. This is now even more urgent because, with lower oil prices, the public sector will no longer be in a position to continue to employ the vast majority of young nationals coming into the labor force of these countries. Diversification of economies is thus necessary but it is also difficult, as shown by the experience of countries around the world. It requires a change of mindset for many companies – to become truly internationally competitive rather than operating in a somewhat protected market. And it also requires a focus on equipping young people with the skills and education that they need for successful careers in the private sector, specially a private sector that is itself being impacted by the revolution in technology now underway across the globe.



**Uri Dadush**

Senior Fellow, OCP Policy Center,  
Non-Resident Scholar, Bruegel

Jobs are the most important challenge facing MENA. A remarkable youth bulge combined with less than stellar growth explain the unemployment problem. This problem is difficult to measure across the region because of the existence of a large informal sector and also of workers trapped in low productivity activity such as agriculture. Moreover, the region is very diverse, comprising the Gulf which is a big importer of labor and many countries that export labor. The unemployment problem is unlikely to recede much in coming years, despite the fact that the addition of young people to the labor force has begun to slow. This is because the turmoil and low oil prices will contain growth, and there are many workers in agriculture and in the formal sector waiting to become formally employed.



**Hassan Al-Derham**

President Qatar University, Qatar

Originally, our people were considered entrepreneurs back then. However, with the discovery of oil and the exploitation of oil, people took the easy road, and that means the more comfortable road. This involves heavy reliance on government subsidies, government allowances, and government jobs as well. [...] Since education is an intrinsic part of society and economic cycles, it has to accompany the latest changes. [...] Even though, in Qatar, we have good resources and a good political environment, there are two things we cannot overlook. First, in Qatar, we have to understand that this world is interconnected, and we do not live in our own bubble. Everything is inter-related and everything is affected by the latest global trends – be it oil prices, trade liberalisation, market openness, and so on. We should also not overlook the limited nature of these non renewable carbon resources, and therefore we should not rely on them as a sole source of energy. The only unlimited source of potential is our human thinking. The need for economic diversity and to build a knowledge-based economy and society is something that we have been working on for the last decade. Qatar National Vision 2030 has already been announced, and in Qatar, a number of initiatives were taken by the government. For instance, education in general was re-examined and recalled into question.







# Young Leaders Session: Disruption, Populism and the World of Tomorrow



MODERATOR :  
**Manuel Muñiz**  
Director, Program on Transatlantic Relations, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University



**Lionel Baraban**  
Co-Founder & CEO, Famoco

We live on a curve of accelerated change, both in terms of population and material wealth. [...] Since the 1970s productivity has increased by 243% while hourly compensation has remained stagnant. I think that this is a fundamental breach of the social contract, with huge implications for the way we think about the future and how to build a new equilibrium. [...] A McKinsey Global Institute report titled ‘Poorer than my parents’ says that upwards of 90% of Italian households have seen their household incomes stagnate or decline; that is equally true for 80% of US households and 70% in the UK. [...] In my mind, there are three consequences, though there are many more. One is the growth in anti systemic sentiment. [...] We are entering an anti-liberal era, that is anti-trade, anti-globalisation, anti-cosmopolitanism. [...] The third and gravest consequence is a collapse in the support for democracy as a system of government. [...] People have voted Democratic and Republican and now they have voted an Independent into the White House; if he does not deliver for the people who have been left behind, it is not just the elites and the parties who will be questioned, it is the political framework. [...] I think the solution will require a new social contract. [...] This system with the rule of law, free trade, etc. is an incredible generator of wealth. We are literally failing to manage prosperity and it is a failure of intelligence we are going through right now.

Populism is basically a lack of trust, and in the real world, like the digital world, you need to bring trust. [...] Today the need to secure transactions goes way beyond financial transactions. Crossing a border is a transaction with a government. Voting is a transaction. Access control is a transaction. In the Internet of Things, the objects are acting together. We need to bring trust and security between objects and people. That is what we do for the World Food Programme, digitalising humanitarian vouchers. The World Food Programme is the number one NGO in the world, carrying out US\$ 10 billion in transactions every year, managing 80 million beneficiaries. [...] The big disruption in Fintech is not putting more applications around the money; it is that the money itself becomes an application. This new money invented with the United Nations, is money thanks to which you can say, ‘I am a donor and I am going to give you US\$ 100 but I want it to be used for food, not munitions, alcohol, or tobacco. I want that US\$ 100 to be used for books for kids, not to buy a flat TV screen’. We build trust between the donors and the beneficiaries. [...] I believe that building trust in the digital economy is a way to fight populism in our real world.





**Caroline Goulard**  
CEO & Co-founder, Dataveyes

For several years now, the explosive growth of data has been considered an opportunity for: 1) Companies, which can enhance their processes and boost their productivity; 2) Public organisations, which can work towards more transparency and jointly build public policies with citizens; 3) Cities, which have better tools to meet the challenges posed by urban development and environmental protection; 4) Citizens themselves, who can use smart devices to save time and make everyday life easier. Data leads to a better understanding of the world around us. Or at least it should. However, today much gloomier observations darken this bright outlook. In the US, Trump's election proved all the pollsters wrong. On Facebook and Google, algorithms are accused of isolating us in an ultra-personalised bubble of information. Connected objects such as self-driving cars are learning to make life-or-death decisions for us. When our ability to roll out smart technologies outpaces our ability to understand how the algorithms that feed them work, we feel threatened by a sense of restriction, opacity and complexity. It is urgent to take a different approach and give data meaning by inventing a data language that speaks to all, not just a handful of mathematicians. That is what Dataveyes does: making the data flows around us understandable to help us grasp them and take informed decisions. The work of companies like Dataveyes must be accompanied by an effective policy of governance and ethics on an international scale, of which the members of the World Policy Conference can be the custodians.

# Young Leaders Session: Disruption, Populism and the World of Tomorrow



**Pierre Dubuc**  
Co-founder, OpenClassrooms

The fundamental problem is that too few people are acquiring the skills needed in businesses today. Education needs to evolve to become closer aligned to the world of work. What about education today? There are trois main problems with the status quo when it comes to equipping people with the digital skills that industry is crying out for. First of all, it is a problem of scale. We need to train three quarters of a million people for digital jobs. Right now. The current system cannot produce enough people with the right qualifications and skills. And where the curriculum exists, it is not quick enough to produce them. It is a matter of scale and... speed. Secondly, it is too expensive. Therefore access is limited. And last but not least, there needs to be a much stronger link between learning and employment. Today, recent graduates are struggling to find work that matches their skills. [...] We need to widen access to education. We need to provide the best education to millions of people. We need to do it at a fraction of the cost. But not only that: we need to combine great, highly-relevant educational content with a new form of pedagogy. We need a model that enables people to gain mastery of often-difficult, technical subjects. [...] Our vision for OpenClassrooms is simple: to make the best education in digital skills accessible for everyone. [...] We believe very strongly in the importance of individual mentoring. [...] We aim to provide a whole learning experience, a fully online university experience. To do so, we all need to work together, not as competitors but as partners. To solve the skills crisis, all of us must work together and forge partnerships.



**Essa Al-Mannai**  
Executive Director at Reach Out To Asia,  
Qatar Foundation, Qatar

Reach Out To Asia (ROTA), a not-for-profit organisation based in the Qatar Foundation, that focuses on providing quality education for needy communities around Asia. [...] The youth voiced their opinions and out of it came the Doha Declaration on reshaping humanitarian work, the humanitarian system putting youth at the centre of humanitarian work. The youth are asking to be not just on the other side of the table as the recipient of the humanitarian work but to have an active, engaged, responsible player within the process itself, from putting the policies in place, preparedness, response, recovery, monitoring and evaluation, and the full spectrum of the process. [...] The ROTA Youth Advisory Board also takes into account gender equality but also provides leadership training. [...] Youth is the heart, not a number of age. The eye-opening thing for us here is that we are talking about how the world is changing but those who are going to live in it are not here in the room. This is what the Declaration is about, including them as responsible, committed citizens who will be able and responsible in shaping that world. [...] Governance has to be based on a very strong monitoring and evaluation framework, with which youth have to be engaged. Monitoring and evaluation is not just a checklist; it is a lengthy process that requires true ownership and engagement from all the stakeholders. [...] It is true belief in youth as the owners of their programmes, along with true engagement, and with engagement comes ownership and with ownership comes sustainability.



**Li Yi-Fan**  
CEO, He-Sai Photonics Technologies

How a specific technology go about disrupting the world. We are now trying to see things in a different dimension where you can jump out of this 2D dimension and to look at it in a different angle. And you come to a complete different solution and it is always disruptive. The drone is able to autonomously inspect gas pipelines, gas stations, to find out leaks and then return without any human intervention. Using a drone is much faster than human labor. Also, we worked on another product that's related to the auto industry, driverless car. The sensor cost has been declining like crazy from the past ten years. The emergence of artificial intelligence and those deep learning technologies allow people to interpret the results better. And, the change of paradigm because of the sharing economy. At last, Global legalization has very specific times for certain functions to realize. So, with all those given benefits, driverless car becomes reality. We, as a small company, we make a very small part of a driverless car. [...] And then there is some future applications because we are not only making essentially the eyes of a robot or any moving object, we are making the brain of it. With our devices, we see objects and moving path, just in the brain. That is why, we are also planning to expand to different applications. This will essentially help the world be more automated. There is always a better disruptive technology that is going to give you this perspective that you never had before.





MODERATOR :  
**Bertrand Collomb**  
Honorary Chairman  
of Lafarge; Director of  
LafargeHolcim

## Final Debate



**Hubert Védrine**  
Former French Foreign Minister



**Renaud Girard**  
Senior reporter and war correspondent at *Le Figaro*



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

To me, current events challenge not so much the present global order, which has never really well functioned anyway, but the hopes and illusions of Westerners and of all the globalised elites, in many countries worldwide, who played that card. [...] But there's also the sense of a loss of identity, sovereignty and security. The globalising elites of the past decades considered those words unmentionable, outdated, reactionary, dangerous. They worked hard, not to meet demands to slow or control the process, but to discount, discredit and disparage them. I think the people rebelling, for example by electing Trump or others elsewhere, are getting even. [...] Now let's take the example of Trump. [...] The word "isolationism" was almost always used. I think that term is inaccurate. Nothing in Trump's policy suggests that the United States wants to cut itself off from the rest of the world. On the other hand, there are signs of brutality and selfishness. But let's be careful: a power's old-fashioned, sacrosanct selfishness, the desire to impose solutions or make deals based on self-interest, must not be confused with isolationism. [...] In my opinion, the main concern is to know whether Europeans will react or, like children, worry and wait to see what happens. This may be the time to provide a European response, including to control globalisation, including to maintain economic liberalism, but with rules, etc. If Europeans are not capable of that, I don't know who will be in the new circumstances.

I put the strategic errors we Westerners commit into five categories : 1) Blind deregulation. On 15 August 1971, the United States toppled the Bretton Woods system, which they had built, without having the slightest idea what international monetary system would replace it. The outcome is that today we still have a rather messy system where the world's second-leading economic power and leading manufacturing power, China, doesn't play by the same rules as its trading partners; 2) we break the rules we have thought so much about and worked so hard to forge; 3) disdain for details in following through, which I call deserting the diplomatic field. Diplomats are capable of reaching landmark agreements but are too impatient or lazy to follow through on them. 4) putting emotion before reason when mulling over the decisions to start our recent wars. Of course, I want to talk about humanitarian wars. Before 1914, they were called humanitarian interventions. 5) abandoning dissuasion. We do that at our own risk. [...] I think the Western democracies have allowed domestic policy considerations to have a bearing on their foreign policy too often. When domestic policy, which is necessarily short-term because there are elections, dictates the outlines of foreign policy, which is necessarily long-term, it is always a recipe for disaster.

The return of borders is a reality and a symptom. Reality related to the requirements of security and control needed for the exercise of sovereignty. [...] During a period of threats, it is appropriate to strengthen the exercise of basic sovereign functions and let it be known to opinion makers. The border is a political stage and its evocation has become an obligatory feature of all election campaigns in the western democracies. Threats and pressures therefore on the borders but also a growing attraction for countries with advanced economies, protective of rights, such as the Europe of the Union. Globalisation from the bottom is one of increasingly sharing information about the state of the world. Digital technology is a powerful mobility vehicle even in non-crisis situations; it allows comparisons to be made. We need to live with this mobility of attraction. [...] This reaffirmation of borders is also a symptom, at several levels. A cultural, political and even anthropological symptom, of a malaise in globalisation. [...] All human communities need to make a distinction between the inside and the outside. [...] We have wanted too much to reduce government to governance. A geopolitical symptom of a desire to change the status quo more or less everywhere [...] in Ukraine, [...] in the South China Sea [...] A way out of a crisis is sometimes dealt within in the form of partitioning. This was the case in the Balkans and in the Sudan, with the outcome that we all know. [...] Scenarios of a reconfiguration of the Middle East have been circulating, particularly this year, 100 years after the Sykes-Picot agreements which, it must be remembered, were not applied.



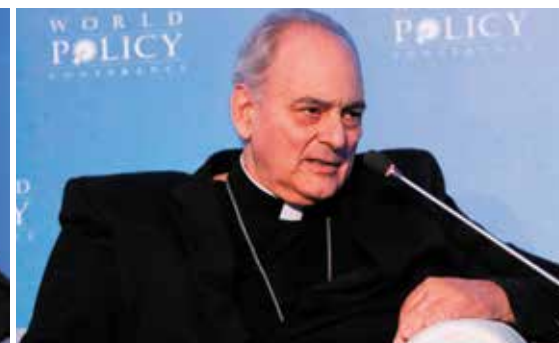


## Final Debate



**Manuel Hassassian**

Ambassador from Palestine to the United Kingdom



**Marcelo Sanchez Sorondo**

Chancellor, Pontifical Academy of Sciences and Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences



**Donald Johnston**

Chair of the McCall MacBain Foundation;  
Former Secretary-General of the OECD

What we witness today is not a Middle East that is harmonious, but a Middle East that is based on ethnic sectarianism and total factionalism. [...] Peace, stability and security in the Middle East has been lacking for decades now. The simple answer to this is the lack of a resolution to the Palestinian Israeli conflict. [...] Most of the regional conflicts and the emergence of fundamental ideologies have been based on using the Palestinian Israeli conflict as a facade for their ulterior motives. [...] Today, we are witnessing a new world disorder and a new Middle East. Hence Palestinians and Israelis today are stuck between what I consider the historical inevitable and the political impossible. That is why I think third party interventions have been catastrophic, because third parties like the United States kept on hammering on crisis management rather than on conflict resolution. One cannot be a third party when one is unequivocally supporting one party against the other. [...] If we cannot, I think this conflict will blow the entire Middle East up. [...] We must talk about a two state solution where the international community shoulders the responsibility of creating a Palestinian state. If we fail to do so, then the options are very limited.

We must eradicate poverty and give people access to education instead of being interested in politically dominating various questions. We must ban and eradicate all new forms of slavery, forced labour, forced prostitution, organ trafficking and organised crime, which are rampant. Today, 50 million people live in slavery situations. [...] Pollution must be controlled because of its negative impact on the human scale. It causes new forms of migration and slavery. [...] Religion is one of the great driving forces of globalisation. Religion is the soul of every culture. Today, religion must dialogue on the basis of new knowledge that we share in the world thanks to new forms of communication. While it is certainly hard for the representatives of the world's main religions to agree on their religious beliefs, in other words God, his different attributes and his different interpretations, it is clear that they can work together to defend human dignity, freedom and, above all, peace. And they must act together because the meaning of all religions is to obtain human dignity, peace and justice.

Everyone appreciates that the very existence of the European Union is one of the most creative, remarkable creations of social, economic, and political policy in history given the violent history from which it emerged. [...] You cannot imagine what a miracle the post war evolution of Europe has been. That is too often forgotten. [...] Let me draw your attention to language in the communiqué of the French government issued at the launching of the ECSC in 1951. It said: “the pooling of coal and steel production should immediately provide for the setting up of common foundations for economic development, as a first step in the federation of Europe”. That word “federation” in the context of Europe is not always very popular today, but I am going to return to it because I think it should be popular. [...] the real beneficiaries of Brexit might very well be the remaining and new members. [...] no European country on its own will ever be a major global player by reverting to nation state status [...] not even Germany would be in a new G8. If Europe is going to have influence on the world stage as the largest economic block in history and help steer the globe to a better economic and social future, it will not happen without being strong and unified. I believe that Europe should play that role by moving gradually to a flexible federal structure.





# Final Debate



**Yim Sung-Joon**

Senior Advisor at Lee International IP & Law Group; Former Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and National Security Advisor to the President, Republic of Korea



**Tadakatsu Sano**

Attorney-at-law at Jones Day; Former Director-General of the Trade Policy Bureau and Vice Minister for International Affairs; Chief Executive Assistant to Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama



**François Barrault**

Chairman of Idate/DigiWorld Institute; former CEO of BT Global Services and a BT Group PLC board member

Can you say that the election of Trump and Brexit constitutes challenges to democratic governance in the US and UK? How should we define these phenomena, as normal trends or abnormal, as described by Prime Minister Kevin Rudd in his dinner remarks? Economists invented a new terminology to describe the contracted Chinese economy in recent years as ‘new normal’. I think new normal seems to be more appropriate than abnormal in perceiving a series of upsetting happenings in global affairs. Abnormal implies that we can or may return to normal if things are put on the track again. However, I think the turn of global affairs will ride not always on the track but off the track a lot more than we may think. In conclusion, we may have to live with new normal in the years ahead. [...] To sum up, North Korea will test the mettle of the Trump administration in the early months, to see how far they can go. The showdown between Trump and Kim Jong un could be a big show. It could result in either Trump’s first spectacular foreign policy victory or in catastrophic consequences on the Korean peninsula.

Trump is the winner and Clinton is the loser. It is commonly said. The real loser seems to me to be the traditional establishment. Hillary Clinton was targeted as a symbol of the establishment. I hear many people that she is dishonest and not trustworthy even though the major media outlets supported her. [...] I was not aware of the Citizens United Supreme Court decision in 2010. We should be aware that after Citizens United, American corporations can spend almost unlimited amounts of money on election campaigns. I am concerned that US politics may be influenced by a limited number of rich families. Whatever the results of the election, the divided society may be aggravated. [...] The Establishment has been promoting globalization through trade negotiations and financial restructuring applying information technology. We moved too fast and too far. Faster than people can digest and adapt themselves to the rapid and drastic changes that globalization carries with it. It is the time for us to reconsider our approach. While it is evident that the changes caused by destructive innovation cannot stop, we should find some remedy to mitigate the resulting sufferings. I think that it is the responsibility of the affluent establishment to think carefully about ways to address this. I am firmly convinced that the victory of Donald Trump is a real challenge for the affluent establishment.

I think we have all grown up in a world which was very complex, but the framework or the governance was simple. [...] I think the world has speeded up. In fact, we have two worlds. There is the 1.0 world which is an extrapolation of the past, and I think we have been talking a lot about that - the impact of the past on today’s world. Then there is the 2.0 world, which is the digital world, and there is a fundamental difference. Here in the 2.0 world, you reorganise the society around the citizen, around the person. One of the reasons that Apple has been very successful is that they did not design a phone for the market. They designed a phone for the user [...] I feel we all have a responsibility here to create a better world for the next generation. Does the model we have, the framework, the global governance, fit for kids and fit for the kids of our kids, for the next generation? My belief is no. One of the reasons is that we have grown up with values which are very different from the values of our kids. [...] We grew up in a world where knowledge was an asset to keep for yourself, to differentiate yourself from others. Now the young people have commoditised knowledge. They share it and their communities get smarter. This richness makes their life and work much easier. [...] I am full of hope for the future, because I believe young people will show us the way to behave. The future will be built by the next generation kids. We just need to make a more inclusive society for them.









# 1. Finance and Economy



CHAIR

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

We had the worst financial crisis since World War II. We avoided a dramatic depression, similar to that of 1929-1930. But the real situation in 2007-2011 was much more dramatic, potentially, than what happened because the authorities and the private sector took a lot of very bold decisions. Thus, we have difficulties to understand why, today, we are still in a very difficult situation. It seems a little bit bizarre to explain why the monetary policy of the central banks are so accommodating, why we still have real growth which is so miserable and why we see that the financial sector in general is still in a situation which is far from normal. The real problems of the advanced economies were much worse than we suspected. [...] This crisis is the moment when the emerging economies appeared to be very influential in the governance of the world. It was the moment when the G7 passed the baton to the G20, it was the moment when in Basel, the central banks opened up their informal or formal governance to all systemic emerging economies and emerging central banks where before it was the privilege of the advanced economy to design the prudentials and work out, in a restricted Basel committee, the appropriate concepts. In terms of history, this crisis is the moment when world governance, in theory and I hope very much in practice, becomes really inclusive and absorbing and that the emerging and systemic economies have a decisive role to play in global governance.

**Raed Charafeddine**First Vice-Governor  
at Lebanon's central bank

After the 2008 crisis, Central Banks shifted from being pure regulators overseeing the financial sectors to important players in the real economies. The Banque du Liban (BDL) did not need to shift any of its functions to undertake unconventional monetary policies, as it was mandated by law to safeguard monetary as well as economic stability. Despite historical challenges, the past 20 years have been characterized by a strong monetary policy, a conservative and stable modern financial sector, and, more importantly, sustained growth. More recently in 2013, at a time of economic distress, BDL introduced its first stimulus package to boost various economic sectors. Given its palpable results, this stimulus was renewed for four consecutive years, with an average of more than US\$ 1 billion per year. Considering that the wealth of Lebanon lies in its pool of highly skilled labor, and aiming at supporting the knowledge economy, BDL launched in 2013 a new initiative enabling banks, and indirectly incubators/accelerators and venture capital, to participate for the first time, in the capital of startups. This sector has been capitalized with around US\$ 600 million to date to be utilised as equity financing. The global financial environment is constantly changing, creating new risks and challenges. BDL's success lies in its ability to quickly adapt to shifting trends. As such, the Central Bank recently introduced a new financial engineering scheme that was able to minimise risks and increase the availability of foreign reserves – its main buffer. The link between finance and economy has never been a simple one. Yet the experience of BDL has proven that the right financial policies can create boundless synergies.

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

Taking stock of where things stand today, none of the four principal goals set by the G20 leaders have been fulfilled: First, with regards to growth, [...] With the only exception of China, the key issue is a shortfall of business investment. Thus, a key challenge is to figure out what is inhibiting business investment and how it can be restarted. Next, the G20's twin goals for financial sector reform were to enhance systemic stability and to level the playing field by making reform efforts consistent internationally. The verdict regarding these goals is incomplete. If anything, financial markets today are more Balkanised than they were before the crisis, while recapitalization efforts have progressed at an uneven pace. New uncertainty has been injected by the new Trump Administration's pledge to rewrite Dodd-Frank reform legislation. With regard to international trade, it appears as though both the TPP and the TTIP are being abandoned. We are in an uncertain moment. Finally, the commitment to the existing structure of International Financial Institutions is under question, as yet another IMF reform goal – to amend voting shares during 2017 – almost certainly will be missed, while the single largest public infrastructure project globally – One Belt, One Road – has been created outside the purview of the pre-existing multilateral development banks.





# 1. Finance and Economy



**Daniel Daianu**

Member of the Board of the Central Bank of Romania; former Finance Minister of Romania

While the financial crisis plays a major role in the current economic malaise, secular stagnation has to be judged in terms of a long run decline in productivity, demographics, technological change, rising income inequality, etc. OCDE studies show that potential growth in the EU slowed down from 2.5% in the late 1990s to 2% during 2005-2007, while trend growth in the 1970s and 1980s was around 5% on average. An analogous evolution can be ascribed to the US economy, too, over that period of time. The impact of the financial crisis is also significant: estimates are that the Great Recession has brought GDP potential growth below 1.5% in the EU for the next 5-10 years (OECD and Economic Commission numbers). Low, ultra-low interest rates come into the picture in this context as they juxtapose dynamics of saving and investment over the longer term which are also shaped by the financial crisis. Technological optimism (robots, IT) vs. pessimism is also an issue for contention. And last but not least, what is the role played by debt overhang, of big debts in the public and private sectors? Balance-sheet recession is to be highlighted in this context. We may be at the end of a globalisation cycle and getting back in reverse is unavoidable. There are limits to globalisation when thinking of the need to protect the social tissue; market fundamentalism is wrong conceptually and in practice. Hard times lie ahead of us.



**André Levy-Lang**

Former Chairman & CEO of Banque Paribas, Affiliate emeritus professor in Finance at Paris-Dauphine University

We have had an avalanche of regulations since 2008, and still it is probably incomplete. What is the substance of these new regulations?: 1) Leverage. Reduce leverage, more equity; 2) Reduce transformation. Borrowing short to lend longer term; 3) Specific investments are especially penalised in terms of equity requirements, especially stocks. There are several consequences. First, banking credit is more expensive by structure for that reason. Second, banks and insurance companies are no longer active players in capital markets and they used to be one of the stabilising forces in capital markets, which leads to my first comment or worry, which is the liquidity of capital markets. [...] The second problem is the role of ETFs, so-called trackers. These are raised to invest in indices, a variety of indices, at a very low price. [...] They do not play the role you would expect in terms of company governance, because their investors are not interested in the companies. As a result, one of the functions of the capital market, as a monitor of governance, does not work anymore. I am worried about that side of it. [...] A small element of optimism. There is, in Europe, especially in France, a fantastic degree of interest and development in FinTech companies, start-ups. There will be, and there already are, gains in productivity in this whole sector.



**Hur Kyung-Wook**

Senior Advisor to Bae, Kim & Lee LLC; Former Vice Minister of Strategy and Finance; former Ambassador of Korea to the OECD

America is going to have a big budget deficit, most likely the USD is going to strengthen, and the interest rate will be rising much faster than we expected before. [...] G20 should prove its value by trying to really, not in just words but in deeds, reduce and resist trade protectionism raising its ugly head again. [...] If China slows down, there will be not a soft landing but more a hard landing, if not a crash landing, and there will be another severe blow to Asian countries. [...] I think there should be more attention and study about these demographic changes in terms of productivity, in terms of financial markets and all the other areas. [...] If you look at the reserve level of many emerging economies after this crisis, the level of the reserve has increased quite a lot. From their point of view, it is insurance at the end of the day. In Korea we implemented a couple of measures following these macro-prudential principles, and it has been very effective in changing the structure of borrowing. It does not change the total amount of borrowing from abroad, but it just switched from short-term borrowing to long-term borrowing. [...] We probably have to be more aggressive in exploring the options in central bank swap among the most advanced countries in the times of that kind of crisis. Productivity, at the end of the day, requires a lot of reform and regulation against vested interests.



**Kiyoto Ido**

Vice Chairman, The Institute for International Economic Studies, Japan

Abenomics is based on the three arrows of monetary easing, flexible fiscal policy, and growth strategy. Growth strategy enhances economic growth in the long term, but the structural reforms of the growth strategy require time for results, and may have negative impacts on the economy in the short run. Therefore, while Japan waited for its growth strategy to become effective, it had to harness its fiscal and monetary policies to support economic activities as it advanced structural reforms. The Japan Revitalization Strategy has been revised every year, especially in the areas of improving corporate governance, promoting women's participation in the labor market, and reforming working styles. This year's strategy was centered on the strategic development of promising growing markets, productivity reforms to overcome a decreasing population, and enhancing corporate competitiveness. As for financial reform, we have the idea of a complete picture of reform. Before discussing the next steps, I believe that we should consider some issues, such as achieving both a stable financial system and sustainable economic growth, as well as the shift from static regulation to dynamic supervision.





## 2. Energy and Climate



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



CHAIR

### Donald Johnston

Chair of the McCall MacBain Foundation;  
Former Secretary-General of the OECD

There are many people who still believe that GHG emissions can be arrested and reduced. This belief continues notwithstanding the dismal record in getting GHG emissions under control. They believe that notwithstanding that, we still have time, and that we will be able to mitigate. Mitigation essentially means reducing GHG emissions. Until the Peru COP 20, adaptation was hardly discussed. [...] I found this very troubling because it has been evident for years that GHG emissions, especially CO<sub>2</sub> would continue to rise beyond the level which scientists claim is the “tipping point”, namely atmospheric accumulations of CO<sub>2</sub> in excess of 450 ppm resulting in global mean surface temperatures exceeding 2 degrees Celsius above pre industrial levels that is, around 1780. [...] I would like all the panellists to answer this question: do panellists who are energy experts, actually believe that the mitigation of GHG emissions can be done in time to stay under the so called tipping point. Is that possible? Do people believe that is possible? I do not. [...] the department of energy in the United States came out with an estimate in May. They said the good news is that alternative energy is going to get much more investment over the next several years. By 2040, fossil fuels will only represent 78% of base load energy requirements. It looks like we are on a diet of fossil fuels in the absence of new technologies and in the absence of something remarkable happening in mitigation efforts which we have never witnessed in decades past.



### Olivier Appert

Chairman of the Conseil Français de l'Energie,  
Senior Advisor, Centre for Energy, Ifri

Every two years, a new Norway has been put into production in the US, and the US has become the most significant oil producer, surpassing Saudi Arabia and Russia. [...] Shale producers have been able to dramatically improve the efficiency of oil production. [...] On the demand side, the situation is changing compared to what happened in those last few years. [...] The growth in demand continues to slow, dropping from a five year high last year to a four year low in Q3. [...] As a result, oil prices dropped dramatically in the market. [...] On September 28th, OPEC countries took the decision on principle to reduce their output by around 750 KBD. [...] Many questions have been raised. Is a reduction enough to rebalance the market? What will the reaction of US producers be? Will OPEC countries comply with their commitments in the long run? [...] The shale revolution has also a dramatic impact on natural gas market. [...] Whereas the US was importing increasing quantities of gas for decades, now it is exporting LNG. [...] A new international market is emerging where the price will be based on the Henry hub price plus liquefaction, transport and regasification costs. [...] In a nutshell, the shale revolution is a major game changer. It will last quite a long time and it is impacting dramatically the international oil and gas markets.



### Ladislav Paszkiewicz

Senior Vice President  
Strategy and Climate, Total

Oil and gas is responsible for about 37% of the GHG emissions. As a consequence, we consider that we are part of the problem and then we should be part of the solution as well. We want to meet the 2°C target set by the IEA, which means reducing the gigatons of CO<sub>2</sub> being emitted from about 30 today to 20 by 2040. There are three main ways that we identified in order to get there. The first one is to have more renewable energy and this seems clear. The second one is to improve energy efficiency and the third one is to optimise the energy mix that we have in our portfolio. It is only by joining together these three different ways that we will be in a position to match or to achieve the 2° scenario. One aspect that seems very important to us is gas, in particular compared to coal. Gas emits half as much as coal when we talk about power generation. It is actually critical to increase gas power for electricity generation compared to coal, in order to improve the situation in terms of emissions. [...] The idea is to provide energy to more and more people. We have the ambition to reach 25 million people in Africa through this Awango programme, which is about solar lamps. [...] We need to reduce our own emissions. We set the objective to improve energy efficiency by 1% per year and to reduce routine flaring by 80% between 2010 and 2020 and to eliminate it by 2030.





## 2. Energy and Climate



### Tatsuo Masuda

Visiting professor at the NUCB Graduate School,  
Former Vice President of Japan National Oil Corporation (JNOC)

Maybe technology is the solution to all the problems that we face regarding energy and climate change. [...] Climate change dominates the entire spectrum of energy discussions, including economics, politics and social acceptance. Just because two thirds of human related CO<sub>2</sub> emissions come from energy use, energy decarbonisation holds the entire key. [...] What is important here is that there could be many technologies yet to surface hiding behind those already identified and foreseen. [...] IEA's scenario of energy futures is like this. Even in 2040, the fossil share will be 75%. However, IEA cannot take into account technologies yet to surface. [...] If we are able to engage with all these new and dream technologies for decarbonisation, we can go beyond IEA's scenario about decarbonisation. This is what I would like to see. [...] We have a good chance of decarbonization, because there is increased climate risk awareness and political will towards climate initiatives, as shown in Paris. There is also climate compatibility as a rule of the game. The most important rule in doing business today is climate compatibility everywhere. [...] The bottom line is scaling decarbonizing technology. [...] As far as climate initiative are concerned, effective leadership will not be from politicians but from the private sector.



### Daniela Lulache

Chief Executive Officer,  
Nuclearelectrica

We cannot reach this target of decarbonisation and we cannot solve all the climate change problems that are occurring without nuclear. This is at least according to the current technologies [...] Nuclear is one of the few stable, mature technologies. It is predictable, it is stable, it is low cost and it is neutral from the perspective of carbon emissions. [...] We would like to have cheap energy on a constant basis and we do not want black outs. [...] Nuclear is part of the solution for sure. [...] A lot of green organisations which consider that a controversial industry. [...] we are very transparent and we do communicate with the public. We explain whatever is going on in our business. Whenever we have an unplanned outage, we explain what is going on there. We do respect all the safety standards and safety is the first consideration in all our decisions. [...] one of the problems of the nuclear industry is the mystery and the fact that we did not discuss too much about what was going on inside our business and our industry. [...] I am convinced that most of you do not know that flying over the ocean gives you a higher radioactive dose compared to the ones our employees take working in a radioactive area. It is just a matter of knowledge.



### Lee Hye-Min

G20 Sherpa, Ambassador for International  
Economic Affairs, Republic of Korea

Climate change has continued to be the priority of each G20 presidency. This year too, the leaders discussed this climate change issue as one of their priorities. In particular, China attached very strong significance to these issues. [...] Developed G20 member countries stress the importance of implementing the mitigation and adaptation commitments under the Paris agreement. However, developing countries stressed the necessity of providing means of implementation, including financial resources. They stressed the point of parallel implementation. [...] The G20 leaders agreed to rationalise and phase out inefficient fossil fuel subsidies that increase wasteful consumption in the medium term. They recognise the need to support the poor. [...] It was agreed that developed countries would stand to bring down HFCs by 2019. Developing countries will follow with a freeze in HFC consumption levels in 2024. The remaining issue is how to finance the developing countries to change from HFCs to new substances. Then there is the intellectual property right, meaning how to provide know how on the alternatives to HFCs, which are now being explored. [...] If the US does not play a leading role in combating these closely related climate change issues, I do not see that there would be any further progress on these issues in the future.





## 3. China in transition



CHAIR

**Park In-Kook**President of the Korea Foundation  
for Advanced Studies; Co-chairman  
of the Beijing/Shanghai Forum

President Duterte announced its separation from the US and a new special relationship with China. My question is whether after Duterte other ASEAN neighbours will follow suit. On US election, we will pay special attention to the President-elect's disavowal of key issues, especially the possibility of Japan and Korea going nuclear. Even though he disavowed what he said, we need to examine the implication of his former statements. Is there any possibility of a cascade or chain reaction of states going nuclear in Northeast Asia? [...] The AIIB: this year China had great success in securing pledge worth USD 100 billion, including India and Russia as the second and third largest participants. However, USD 100 billion is still only one tenth of the total budget needed to complete the 'One Belt, One Road' project. How will China bridge this gap? [...] in regards to the ownership issue of maritime disputes, Deng Xiaoping once said, "Let's set aside territorial jurisdictional issues and focus on common development." I wonder if Deng Xiaoping's guideline is still valid or whether the Chinese government has virtually changed its position.

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

The role for China is different: it provides the manufacturing goods and FDI to the rest of the world. At the same time, other countries provide technology intensive goods and services, FDI and commodities to China; that is the new role China will continue to play. The second characteristic is that China's total export and import growth rates have declined; and even this year the net exports have become negative. The demand for raw materials has declined, which will have a negative impact on raw material exporting countries.[...]The third is expanding the domestic consumer market. The market grew very fast, which will increase the import of foreign consumer goods. Chinese industry upgrade from the low-end of the supply chain to the high-end, which means that technology imports will increase; overseas mergers and acquisitions will increase. China has also started to expand overseas direct investment, which will inject capital needed locally and create more jobs locally, especially through the OBOR. The FDI will still increase, but by the end of this year ODI will certainly be higher. I believe that phenomenon will continue.

**Jia Qingguo**Dean of the School of International  
Studies of Peking University

President Xi's leadership has been strengthened on the domestic level. The anti corruption campaign has been so effective that people need to do things by the rules. [...] Drastic and fundamental military reforms have also been implemented: China wants to make its military leaner and meaner to cope with international challenges. [...] On the international side, China has continued its efforts to learn how to be a world leader, as its efforts at the G20 in Hangzhou have demonstrated. There are new developments in Chinese efforts to develop a new type of great power relations with the US. On the one hand cooperation appears to have borne some fruit. For example, on climate change, the joint efforts on the part of the Chinese and US governments brought about the Paris Summit climate change agreement, which is no small issue. Progress has also been made in negotiations on a bilateral investment treaty. [...] On the other hand, tensions between the two countries have also risen over the South China Sea, US business sentiment on China has also deteriorated, and Americans are increasingly worried about political developments in China, especially on human rights, internet freedom, etc. In a word, we see both progress and challenges in China-US relations. China-Japan relations have remained cool, though they are stable compared to previous years and may be slowly heading for improvement. China-South Korea relations experienced some serious problems over the South Korean government's decision to deploy the THAAD system, which the Chinese government argues poses a threat to China's strategic capabilities. The Chinese government continues to push forward with the 'One Belt, One Road' initiative. The AIIB is meant to finance infrastructure projects, which are key components of the 'One Belt, One Road' initiative. Many projects are being negotiated and a lot of interest has been shown overseas. Based on the information we have, it appears that the South China Sea situation is moving towards stability.

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

Trump's political party, the Republicans, also retained their majorities in the two houses of Congress, And while they are pleased to have their Party back in the White House, many Republican leaders are very uncomfortable with their new President. [...] We can speculate about Trump's policies as they might affect China, on the basis of his campaign slogans [...] He promised one of his first acts as President would be to declare that China is a "currency manipulator." [...] Trump seems to have an animus against imports from China, which he argued have destroyed American jobs. What might he do to translate this animus into policy? [...]The President could raise duties against Chinese goods, but China is protected against that by its membership in the WTO. [...] Of the campaign promises that might favor China would be failure to ratify the Trans-Pacific Partnership; nullification of the North American Free Trade Area; permitting Chinese goods to compete more favorably against Mexican goods; and his threats against the US-Japan and US-Korean security alliances if those countries fail to contribute more to them, thus catering to China's official view that such alliances are relics of the Cold War – although over time that might induce one or both countries to develop nuclear weapons, unless China persuades its ally North Korea to abandon its nuclear program.





### 3. China in transition



**Douglas Paal**

Vice President, Carnegie Endowment  
for International Peace

This is an area [in the East China Sea] where the tensions are there, but I think that both President Xi Jinping and Prime Minister Abe have an interest in keeping the flame low. It suits them both to have a certain amount of tension; it does not suit them to raise that tension very much. [...] I would put the Taiwan rise in tensions out a few years; it is not really on the immediate agenda. It will give the new administration in America the chance to learn the terrain [...] Then trying to get North Korea to accept that and find a package that would appeal to them to do that. At the same time, they will have to incorporate what was said about China in new ways, because I do not expect China is going to fundamentally change its policy towards balancing the stability of North Korea and its desire to de-nuclearize the peninsula. [...] Trump may be able to get us out of the cul-de-sac we have got into with the Russians and to start dismantling the edifice of confrontation that has replaced the goals of the early 1990s of a Europe whole and free. There may be some new great power opportunity there. Having said that, I would be hard pressed to identify the person or the policy that could get us on a path of de-escalation with Russia and a great power triangular relationship among Moscow, Washington and Beijing.



**Michel Foucher**

Chair of applied Geopolitics at College  
of World Studies; Former Director of the policy  
planning staff of the French Foreign Ministry

I will focus on two main aspects of Chinese projection of influence, OBOR and South China Sea. The general context has changed. The time of low profile in foreign affairs is over. [...] After the arbitral proceedings instituted by the Philippines against China in 2013 under the UN Convention of the Law of the Sea, the Permanent Court of Arbitration (12 July 2016) concluded that there was no legal basis for China to claim historic rights to resources within the sea areas falling within the 'nine-dash line'. And I understand that the line is now on Chinese citizens' passports and official documents. The issue leads to a simple question: China claims 85,7% of the maritime space in South China sea (Eastern Sea for Vietnam) without taking account of the rights of the other riparian states, how to play a growing role as a global actor, which ratified by the way the Convention of the Law of the Sea? [...] OBOR [One Belt, One Road] is also a way to export industrial over-capacities, to improve trade routes, to integrate inland China with its peripheries and to diversify access to raw materials and to contribute to stability in the border regions. [...] One impact of the OBOR strategy is that Central Asia will sooner or later be the first step to the formation of a yuan monetary area. Geo-economy will end up creating solid influence.



**Bark Tae-ho**

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

I will briefly touch upon China's role in the world trading system. [...] President-elect Trump made numerous negative remarks on the US trade relations with China during the campaign. [...] After hearing that the US will not participate in the TPP, some news media and trade experts suggest that China's role in the midst of the uncertain world trading environment will be increased. [...] they point out that China will take major initiatives for establishing the FTAAP in the future. I think these observations make a lot of sense as I often hear remarks made by Chinese scholars and government officials. They are saying that the Chinese Central government is pursuing domestic economic reform though opening its markets to foreign goods and services. [...] Considering these proactive trade policy approaches of China, we can expect that China may be able to show effective leadership in the multilateral as well as regional trade negotiations. [...] A few suggestions to China. First, China [...] should make every effort to find ways to save the Doha Round negotiations. [...] Second, China should closely consult with the EU and the US for its participation in the TISA negotiations. Last but not least, China should show its leadership in the negotiations of the CJK FTA and the RCEP in order to make them achieve the high-standards RTAs.



**Yuichi Hosoya**

Professor, Department of Political Science,  
Keio University

It is quite likely that President Trump will focus on an 'America First' policy, which means that the United States will reduce in some way its engagement in East Asia. The natural result will be an increasing role for China and Japan in bringing both stability and prosperity to East Asia, together with a power such as Korea, ASEAN, etc. Japan is now becoming the most important status quo player. Two or three years ago, many people thought that Prime Minister Abe was a dangerous, revisionist leader; many people and many in the media, now believe that Abe can now play a very important role in bringing stability or maintaining the status quo in this region. Trump may become a very important revisionist leader in East Asia. We do not know the future, but we will probably see many uncertainties, instability, unpredictability, including in Chinese foreign policy as well. Given the number of unpredictable elements and uncertainties, I think that the political stability of the Prime Minister in Japan can plan an important role. [...] Both Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and President Xi Jinping are very pragmatic and usually prioritise pragmatic national interests over national ideology. Pragmatic national interests mean that it is important to promote Sino-Japanese cooperation, particularly because of the necessity of economic growth. Both China and Japan need economic growth. For that reason, it is important to have much better, stable Sino-Japanese relations and these two leaders understand that.









### Guillaume Pepy

Chairman of SNCF's Executive Board  
and Chairman and CEO of SNCF Mobilités

The mobility revolution is a fascinating story, because just imagine a world where customers used paper timetables and paper tickets to travel, a world where people would have to arrive at the station early; does it sound like a century ago? It is just 10 years ago, no more. Today, everything about mobility is on our smartphones [...] Mobility leaders, like SNCF, have had to adapt very quickly to these changes and we must continue to innovate, to anticipate the expectations of tomorrow's customers. [...] we are entering a brand-new era, with new needs, new technologies and new rules of the game. [...] address three game changes: the impact of climate change, the urban population explosion; and the increasing scarcity of resources. [...] The balance of power and value creation has shifted dramatically with banks and asset heavy industries giving way to the digital economy. [...] New habits, new rules, the habits of customers are changing mobility. The younger generation are digital natives and show a radically different attitude to ownership. Usage has become the core value, not ownership. [...] seeing global, but acting locally. There are probably four or five mobility champions in the world; Deutsche Bahn; SNCF; MTR; and some others. They develop complex, multimodal ecosystems with solutions that match local needs; driverless cars somewhere; car sharing somewhere; electric bays. It is up to us to imagine solutions in line with local needs.







*Special remarks on corporate social responsibility*  
**Chey Tae-won**  
Chairman, SK Group, Republic of Korea

Today, it is common sense for companies to participate in solving social problems. Many are actively engaged in corporate social responsibility, so called CSR. The problem is that instead of genuinely contributing to society, many CSR activities tend to focus on building the company's image and promoting the brand. I have deeply pondered more effective solutions. I have found one good alternative solution. It is social enterprises (SE), which are designed to maximize social value using corporation's efficiency mechanism. We invested in SEs. We created some SEs. We launched an education program for SE management. We even started an MBA program for SE entrepreneurs. [...] We came up with the concept of "Social Progress Credit (or SPC)" as a tool to measure all types of social value. It also includes an accounting system to calculate annual social value created by social enterprises. [...] Through our SPC program, social enterprises can create financial value while focusing their activities on social contribution, which is their primary purpose. [...] I trust that SPC will become a part of the core infrastructure of the social enterprise ecosystem.



*Keynote speech*  
**Kevin Rudd**  
President of the Asia Society Policy Institute in New York, Australia's 26th Prime Minister

For the future of the global order, therefore, there are many grounds for pessimism. But professional pessimism, however detached, however analytical, and indeed however fashionable, provides no basis for policy. We are not the hapless victims of the silent forces of historical determinism. We as global citizens, and the peoples, economies and governments we may represent, are also active agents of global political change. If we choose to be. Not just interested observers. But as passionate actors. Seeking to preserve, reform and revitalise the institutions of global governance for the future. Because in history there has always been a thin line between civilisation and barbarism. Between a global commons, and an atavistic nationalism. Between the multilateral institutions on international arbitration, and the bilateral application of sheer brute force. And it is our collective choice which side of that line we will defend for our common global future.





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LUNCH DEBATE • MONDAY, NOVEMBER 21 • 12:45 – 14:15



**Shivshankar Menon**

Former National Security Advisor, India

Four greatest challenges that I think matter to India's future: 1) What kind of power will India be? India is undergoing massive internal change, so rapid that we really still have to come to terms with it. 6.5% growth for over 35 years. We have accumulated power and agency in the international system. But we still have to work through the internal social and other consequences [...] 2) Part of the world?: Share of external sector in India's GDP 14% in 1991 to 49.3% in 2013. Have much greater interest in the world [...] But world at moment of great uncertainty. [...] But if any relationship relatively decoupled from US politics it is US-India, transformation bipartisan over last twenty years, today best ever state of relations. 3) Asia-Pacific: Rise of China and others. A-P critical but not explosive yet (unlike Europe and Middle East). India-China need new equilibrium [...] A-P witnessing return of great power politics, arms race, economic restructuring with on-shoring by both US and China. AIIB, BRI. [...] 4) De-globalisation: Trade policy major challenge. Poor in natural resources. [...] Beneficiary of two globalised decades; now global economy fragmenting into RCEP, TPP, FTAAP etc. Prospect of long period of deflation, at best slow recovery in global economy. Must find drivers of growth, globally and as India.







**Soltan bin Saad Al-Muraikhi**  
Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Qatar

We are callers for peace. That is why the State of Qatar has played a key role in mediation to reach peaceful settlements to conflicts in several areas of the world. [...] All those bloody conflicts that took place in our region are attributed to the negligence of sovereignty, the absence of the rule of law in good governance and in managing public affairs, as well as the lack of relationship between the citizens and the state and between the states. [...] The core of the continuous conflict in Palestine is also legal. For Israel still refuses to comply with International law and to implement the successive resolutions issued by the Security Council. [...] For this, we call for peace talks in the Middle East in order to put an end to fighting and move forwards, to achieve development and prosperity in the region. We call for the resumption of negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians, for a final, comprehensive and just resolution of the conflict, under the auspices of the UN. [...] We strongly deplore and condemn the intervention of some regional or international powers in the internal affairs of the countries of our region, unlawfully, and without any power of attorney from an international legal body. Such practices have greatly contributed to sowing discord and provided the extremists and terrorists with fuel by which they burned whole cities and destroyed life in any place that they invaded. [...] We keep believing and repeating that defeating terrorism and draining its resources require effective and binding international strategies that take into account the roots of extremism and its causes, at the top of which are poverty, ignorance, unemployment, marginalisation and other social and economic diseases that contributed to feeding terrorism.





















**Guillaume Pepy**

This is the first time I have attended the conference and I am impressed by the level of discussion that we heard this morning. I think the preliminary speeches were of a very high level, very interesting.

**Youssef Amrani**

[The WPC] helps me a lot to understand, and it helps us to listen to each other because in the Arab world unfortunately we do not listen to each other. Today I think we did listen to other points of view to maybe have a different perspective. This WPC offers you a different perspective.

**Mari Kiviniemi**

I think this is a very good forum to make people aware of the instruments which we have, the recommendations, the toolkit, and to make everyone aware of them especially when it comes to this tax work. They are not yet implemented so this is work which will then affect the coming years' taxation and to that extent it is quite new for many people so I think this is a very good audience to make sure that these tools are really influential.

**Christian Bréchet**

It is really very interesting for me because it is the only place actually, where I go as President of the Institut Pasteur and where I really meet people with some complementary points of view and different points of view. It is much more than a scientific meeting and I like this blend of governance, what we discuss in our sessions, for example on technology, on science. So, I believe it is very useful.

**John Kerr**

I find [the WPC] a very interesting mix of people. For example, today I heard things about Turkey that I did not know and I find that extremely useful. I chair a London think tank and I do a certain amount of foreign affairs and the House of Lords and I do need to keep in touch. I learned a lot and it is also a very nice forum for networking with lots of old friends like you!

**Itamar Rabinovich**

[The WPC] is very useful. I also meet Palestinians on site but the former Prime minister of Syria and Saudi spokesman do not come my way every day. That is not the only reason for coming to these conferences but it is one of them.

**Jim Hoagland**

[From the WPC] I get a lot of concern and a lot of uncertainty as is natural. We Americans have not quite figured out the meaning of this very traumatic election where the experts including your friends and the rest of the media failed to foresee that Trump was going to win and so that has called into question a lot the institutional judgments that are normally accepted as kind of conventional wisdom. We are really on new ground here and we are going to feel our way along and the rest of the world will be right behind us trying to figure out what Trump really is.

**John Lipsky**

From someone based in the US, it is very interesting and refreshing to hear all the viewpoints and especially European viewpoints of current events. So, it is an excellent opportunity.

**Kevin Rudd**

I think it is a good gathering because the theme of global governance, even though it sounds horribly wonky, sits atop something that is now deeply real for us all.

**Moubarack Lo**

Excellent. I think what I love most is the diversity of teams and also the diversity of experts from many fields (health, education, international relations, space, technology development). I learned a lot from this cross-cultural reflection. I think this will push us to understand the other areas of development more, not just economics.

**Justin Vaïsse**

Among the observers, policymakers and even students sometimes who are present here from the UN to various countries, you see different views being compared and some sense of belonging to what we frequently described as the global community or the international community. Nobody knows exactly what it is but here at the WPC, you feel that by comparing these ideas and doing it in a civil manner, even though sometimes political differences are quite sharp, you at least make some progress on the road to better cooperation.

**Reem Al Harami**

[At the WPC] we can see everyone who approached different ideas and different views on the Trump presidency and how the US is going to look, how the US is going to deal with the rest of the world. I am sure it is a very fruitful conversation that we just had and I think that hearing these views out is going to help us maybe draw a broader picture of how the Trump presidency is going to be. Until now, we have not really been certain about what is going to happen next.

**Mat Isa Nasharudin**

I have followed the discussions, which are very wide, from yesterday up until now: the spectrum is huge. I think [the WPC] is going to be a good opportunity for me to promote the whole agenda of moderation and get connected to organisations and such, and also get connected to those who are attending the forum.

**Tatsuo Masuda**

[The WPC gives an] extremely broad scope of views from wider perspectives. This is very unique and I really appreciate it.

**Tobby Simon**

Brilliant. It is a place where you get tremendous insights. You meet people, you discuss ideas. I think it is an amazing conference and I must congratulate all of you for bringing everybody. The beauty is you get a different part of the world. I have never seen a conference where, in one session I remember you had all the heads of religions. This was the first time I saw that. You had the rabbi from Jerusalem, the leaders from the Catholic and Anglican churches. This is amazing! What they share is that together they stand for 70% of the world. And we do not talk to them. So, I say it is brilliant. I would definitely go to the next conference as well.

**François Barrault**  
**@FrancoisBarrault**

Fantastic event and happy to be part of the World Policy Conference.

**Daniel Daianu**

[The WPC] is very useful because it is not about meeting old friends or new friends, it is about discussing hot topics and it is useful because we are still sailing into uncharted waters. And this is the way to try and find the optimal path forward. People have to acknowledge that we are still in the realm of unconventional policies. It is not like we have an economic recovery underway and that is it. That is not accurate.

**Bark Taeho**

This is my fourth time participating in the WPC and we are discussing tremendous and many different subjects. It is a good opportunity to come and cover all kinds of global issues. But this time, because of Brexit and because of Trump, all the issues start with what you think about the impact of Trump's election. From many speeches, I learned this so-called very difficult concept: inclusiveness. I do not know what it means but, to some extent, we understand. Everywhere, this is a very important issue. Even in international trade and liberalisation policies you must apply inclusiveness in small companies, to workers who lost jobs because of trade. I think we have to focus more on them, with a more futuristic and detailed scheme for them. Otherwise, just giving some money is not going to work.

**Xavier Starkloff**

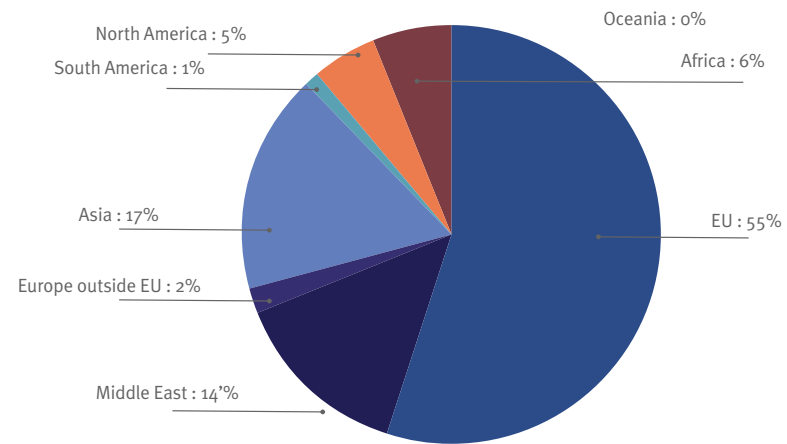
Thanks for inviting me to take part in this event, which was exciting not just because of the interest of the issues discussed and the high level of the panels, but also because this was an opportunity to exchange ideas with high level participants for three days.



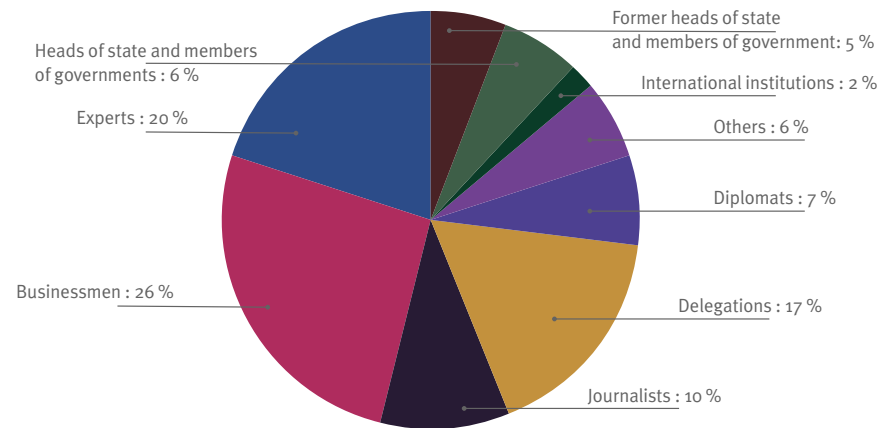




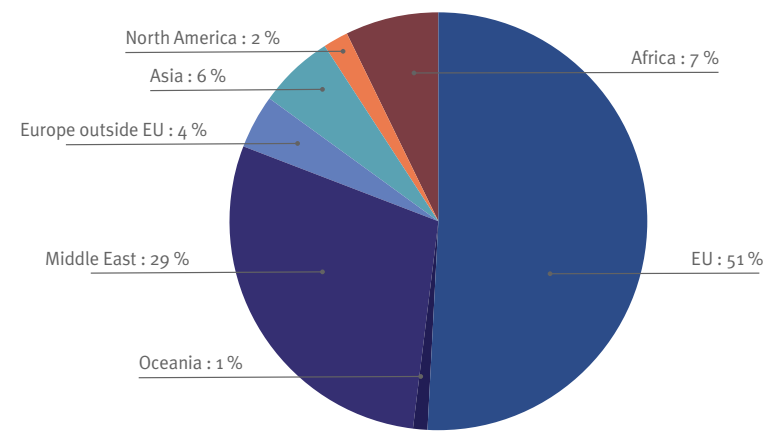
## KEY DATA



Participants - Geographical breakdown  
(total: 276 participants from 40 countries)



Participants - Breakdown by function  
(total: 276 participants from 40 countries)



Geographical breakdown of main published articles  
(total : 86 articles)







Agüero Avila, José

Counselor, Embassy of the Republic of Paraguay in Doha, Qatar.

Ahmed, Masood

Director of the IMF's Middle East and Central Asia Department. He was Director of the External Relations Department in the IMF. He also held positions in the World Bank.

Akil, Hakki

Former Ambassador of Turkey to France.

Al-Derham, Hassan Rashid

Qatar University's 6th President since 2015. He was previously Vice-President for Research, Qatar University.

Aldossary, Salman

Senior policy advisor and head of Public Policy Analysis at the Kingdom Economic and Energy Analysis Department of Saudi Aramco (SA), the Saudi national oil company. He served as a senior advisor at the Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources (MoPM).

Al-Kaabi, Saad Sherida

President and CEO of Qatar Petroleum since 2014. He joined Qatar Petroleum (QP) in 1986, where he progressed through various positions.

Allard, Patrick

Consultant on international economic issues to the Policy Planning Staff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France. He held the position of Chief Economist and Senior advisor for international economic issues, Policy Planning Staff, France.

Al-Mannai, Essa Ali

Executive Director of the Reach Out To Asia (ROTA). He joined ROTA as Senior Operations Manager in 2009.

Al Mohannadi, Hassan Bin Ibrahim

Director of the Diplomatic Institute, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Qatar, since 2012. He was Deputy Chairman of the Permanent Population Committee (2007-2011).

Al-Sulaiti, Hamda Hasan

Secretary General of the Qatar National Commission for Education, Culture and Science, since 2014. She has been an education researcher, a Director of Cultural Relations Department and Evaluation Institute Director.

Al-Thani, Sheikh Abdullah Bin Naser Bin Khalifa

Prime Minister of Qatar since June 26th, 2013. He served as Minister of State for Interior Affairs, Qatar.

Al-Thani, Meshal Bin Hamad Mohamed Jabr

Former Ambassador of the State of Qatar to France. He served as Permanent Representative of the State of Qatar to the United Nations in New York, Ambassador of the State of Qatar to Belgium.

Al-Thani, Sheikh Mohamed bin Hamad

Director of Public Health Department, Ministry of Public Health of Qatar. He has been a Member of the Executive Committee for GCC Countries, Saudi Arabia since 2008.

Amatoury, Fady

Chairman of the Board, Bank Audi LLC.

Amrani Youssef

Chargé de mission, Royal Cabinet, Morocco. He was appointed as Minister Delegate for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation by His Majesty King Mohammed VI. He served as Secretary General of the Union for the Mediterranean.

Andrews, John

Author and journalist specialising in world politics. He is a senior editor for Project Syndicate and a contributing editor for *The Economist*. He was The Economist's foreign correspondent.

Antil, Alain

Head of the Ifri Sub-Saharan Africa program. He teaches at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques of Lille. He was a research fellow at the Institut de Recherches Internationales et Stratégiques in Paris.

Aoun, Marie-Claire

Director of the Center for Energy at the French Institute for International Relations (Ifri) and lecturer at Paris Dauphine University. She served as Economist for the French energy regulator (Commission de Régulation de l'Energie).

Appert, Olivier

Chairman of the Conseil Français de l'Energie and the French committee of the World Energy Council. He is also General Delegate of the French Academy of Engineering. He was Chairman and CEO of IFP Energies nouvelles.

Ayrault, Jean-Marc

Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Development of France. He served as Prime minister. He was Mayor of Nantes (in Loire-Atlantique, west of France).

Babacan, Ali

Member of Parliament and Former Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey. He was also a member of the National Security Council. He served as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Baraban, Lionel

Co-founder and CEO of FAMOCO. Serial entrepreneur, he started the adventure in France where he launched several successful startups.

Barchini Cibils, Angel Ramon

Ambassador of the Republic of Paraguay to the State of Qatar. He served as a Member of the MERCOSUR Parliament.

Bark, Taeho

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

Barrault, François

Chairman and founder of FDB Partners SPRL an investment and advisory firm in TMT and publishing. Chairman of Idate/DigiWorld Institute (Institut de l'Audiovisuel et des télécommunications en Europe). Former President and CEO Lucent EMEA.

Bas, Jean-Christophe

Founder and CEO of The Global Compass. He is also a senior Advisor, strategic development and partnerships, of Agence Publics.

Bauchard, Denis

Senior Fellow for North Africa/ Middle East at the French Institute of International Relations (ifri) and consultant in international relations. He was formerly President of the Arab World Institute in Paris.

Bazin, Sébastien

Chairman and CEO, AccorHotels. He began his career in the finance sector in 1985 in the United States. He is also Vice-Chairman of the supervisory board of the Gustave Roussy Foundation and member of the Board of Directors of GE.

Bensemhoun, Arié

Executive Director, ELNET, since 2011. He made his career in the private sector as a consultant in communications, PR and international relations dealing with middle-eastern and strategic affairs.

Bertossi, Christophe

Director of the Centre for Migrations and Citizenship at the French Institute for International Relations (Ifri). He was a Marie Curie Research Fellow at the University of Warwick (UK).

Besnainou, Pierre

Honorary Chairman of the French Judaism Foundation. He served as Chairman of the European Jewish Congress (ECJ) (2005-2007) and of the French Unified Jewish Social Fund (FSJU) (2006-2014).

Billot, Aurélien

Deputy head of the Paris Club Secretariat at French Ministry of Economy and Finance.

Bochard, Rémi

French National School of Administration (ENA).

Borza, Remus

President, EuroInsol. He is an attorney at law, insolvency practitioner. He is managing partner within the law firm Borza & Associates.

Bosnjak, Tomislav

Ambassador of the Republic of Croatia to the State of Qatar. He served as Head of non-European Bilateral Economic Relations Department.

Bosser, Florian

French National School of Administration (ENA).

Bouabid, Othman

Interior Ministry of the Kingdom of Morocco. Former Governor. He was Director of Cabinet of the Interior Minister, chargé de mission at the Cabinet of the Interior Minister.

Bréchet, Christian

President of the Institut Pasteur. He was Vice-President of the Institut Merieux, in charge of medical and scientific affairs and Director General of the French institute for health and medical research (Inserm).

Bujon de l'Estang, François

President, FBE International Consultants. Former Senior International Adviser and member of the European Advisory Board of Citi after having been Chairman of Citigroup France. Former Ambassador of France to the United States and to Canada.

Burelle, Jean

Chairman & CEO of Burelle and Honorary Chairman of Plastic Omnium. He was Department Head, General Manager, Chairman & CEO of Plastic Omnium. He was also member of the Executive Committee of Medef.

Cargill, Thomas

French National School of Administration (ENA).

Chalmin, Guillaume

Managing Director, Total E&P Qatar and Total Group Representative in Qatar.

Chalmin, Philippe

Professor of Economic History and Director of the Master of International Affairs at Paris-Dauphine University, Founder of the Cercle Cyclope, main European research institute on raw materials markets.

Chang, Dae-Whan

Chairman & Publisher, Maekyung Media Group. He is Chairman of Maeil Business Newspaper and Maeil Broadcasting Network. He served as Acting Prime Minister of Korea (2002).

Charafeddine, Raed

First Vice-Governor at Banque du Liban, Lebanon's central bank. Prior to his current mission he spent twenty years in the banking sector. He is the Alternate Governor for Lebanon at the International Monetary Fund.

Chareonwongsak, Kriengsak

President of the Institute of Future Studies for Development and an Honorary Consul General in Thailand. Senior Fellow at Harvard University and a Fellow at University of Oxford. He was a Prime Ministerial Advisor in Thailand and a Member of Parliament.

Cherkaoui, Mohamed

Emeritus University Professor and Emeritus Research Director, National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), Paris. He is Professor, Hassan II University of Casablanca and Co-Editor « Sociologies » at Presses Universitaires de France.

Chevallier, Eric

Ambassador of France to the State of Qatar. He served as French Ambassador for Syria at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, after the closure of the French Embassy in Damascus. He was Ambassador to Syria (2009-2012).

Chey, Tae-Won

Chairman of SK Group. He oversees and unites the 82 companies – primarily focused on the energy, chemical, telecommunications, semiconductor and trading/services industries – that comprise SK Group.

Chung, Chul-Khil

Vice Chairman & CEO, SK Innovation. He has held various positions within the SK Group, among others, President & CEO, SK Innovation, President & CEO, SK Energy.

Collomb, Bertrand

Honorary Chairman of Lafarge, who has merged to form LafargeHolcim. He is a Director of LafargeHolcim. Former Chairman and CEO of Lafarge. Member of the Institut de France and Past Chairman of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques.

Cooper, Richard

Maurits C. Boas Professor of International Economics at Harvard University. He was Chairman of the National Intelligence Council, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, Under-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, U.S. Department of State.

Counsell, Benedict

Corporate & Investment Banking at Deutsche Bank, London. He is working on Debt Capital Markets advisory for European corporates and financial institutions.

Czarnecki, Ryszard

Polish politician, Vice-President of the European Parliament responsible for Eastern Policy and the Eastern Partnership. He served as Minister of European Affairs, Poland.

Dadush, Uri

Senior Fellow at the OCP Policy Center in Rabat, Morocco and a non-resident scholar at Bruegel. He is Principal of Economic Policy International, LLC, providing consulting services to the World Bank and to other international organizations as well as corporations.







**Daianu, Daniel**

Professor of economics, The School of Political and Administrative Studies in Bucharest and member of the Board of the Central Bank of Romania. Former Finance Minister of Romania.

**David, Dominique**

Advisor to the Executive Chairman, Ifri, and Editor of Politique étrangère. Former Executive Vice-President of Ifri. Previously, he was in charge of the Security Studies department at Ifri.

**Davutoglu, Ahmet**

Former Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey. He served as Minister of Foreign Affairs (2011-2014).

**Dejammet, Alain**

Ambassador of France. He was Ambassador to the UN and then to the Holy See. Today, he is Chairman of the Scientific Committee of the Foundation Res Publica.

**Delapalme, Nathalie**

Executive Director (Research and Policy) of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation since 2010. She previously served as Inspecteur général des finances at the French Ministry of Economy and Finances.

**Deroubaix, Bertrand**

Senior Vice President Public Affairs, Total.

**Desfilis, José**

Partner, Desfilis. He is the Senior Partner of the firm that he joined in 1986 and became its managing partner in 1990.

**Desmet, Isabelle**

Vice President Media Relations, Total.

**Desouches, Christine**

Honorary lecturer at the Université de Paris I (Panthéon-Sorbonne) and expert-consultant to international organisations. She was special advisor for political and diplomatic affairs to the Secretary-General of the OIF.

**Drouin, François**

Chairman of the Board for the Autoroutes et Tunnel du Mont Blanc and of Société Française du Tunnel Routier du Fréjus, Vice President of the French Public Investment Bank (BPI), President of ETI FINANCE. Former CEO of OSEO (the French Agency for Innovation and SMEs financing).

**Dubuc, Pierre**

CEO and co-founder of OpenClassrooms, the leading e-learning platform in Europe with more than 2 million members and 40 partners. In 2016, he was selected as “Forbes 30 under 30 Europe”.

**Durand, Hermine**

Regional manager at the French Nuclear Safety Authority, she is in charge of the regulation of nuclear safety and radiation protection in South-Western France. She previously worked for Veolia Australia.

**El Aynaoui, Karim**

Managing Director of OCP Policy Center and advisor to the CEO and Chairman of OCP. He was Director of Economics and International Relations at Bank Al-Maghrib. Former Economist at the World Bank.

**El Houdaigui, Rachid**

Professor of International Relations at Abdelmalek Essaadi University, Tangier's Law Faculty and Senior Fellow at the OCP Policy Center. He is also professor at Royal College of Advanced Military Studies (Kenitra).

**Erekat, Saeb**

Chief Palestinian Negotiator and Head of the Negotiations Affairs Department since 2003. He is also Head of the Palestinian Side of the Steering and Monitoring Committee since 1996.

**Erlanger, Steven**

London bureau chief of *The New York Times*. Former Paris bureau chief of *The New York Times*. He has served in numerous postings for The Times in Jerusalem, Berlin, Prague, Washington, Moscow, Bangkok and New York.

**Evans, Ryan**

Founder, CEO, and editor-in-chief of War on the Rocks, a digital outlet on strategy, defense, and foreign affairs. He has written for *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, the CTC Sentinel of West Point.

**Foucher, Michel**

Chair of applied Geopolitics at College of World Studies (FMSH-ENS). Senior Advisor to the Compagnie Jacques Coeur. Former French Ambassador to Latvia and Director of the policy planning staff of the French Foreign Ministry.

**Freyssinet, Philippe**

Technical Director for Energy and Environment at Qatar National Research Fund, a member of Qatar Foundation. He is member of the strategic committee of QF R&D. He was Deputy Director General at the French National Research Agency (ANR).

**Fuchs, Michael**

Ministerial Counsellor, Foreign Affairs Committee, Chief of Staff, Deutscher Bundestag.

**Fujisaki, Ichiro**

Chairman of the Institute of International Relations, Sophia University, Japan. He is also President of the America-Japan Society Inc. He served as Ambassador of Japan to the United States.

**Gadio, Cheikh Tidiane**

President of the Institute for Pan-African Strategies, Peace-Security-Governance (IPS). He was Senior Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Senegal (2000-2009).

**Galey-Leruste, Sophie**

Vice President Institutional Relations, Total.

**Gallardo, Juan**

Chairman of Grupo Azucarero México (Sugar Mills) and of GEUSA now GEPP. He served as CEO of COECE, Mexico’s Trade Coalition for NAFTA and Free Trade agreements (1992-2002).

**Gascón, Lorenzo**

Academician and Vice-Chairman of the Royal Academy of Economic and Financial Sciences of Spain. Honorary President of the European League of Economic Cooperation and board Member of the Fondation Jean Monnet pour l’Europe.

**Georgelin, Jean-Louis**

Former Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honor and Chancellor of the National Order of Merit. He was admitted to the second section of warrant officers (officiers généraux) on February 28, 2010. He became personal chief of staff of the President of the Republic in 2002.

**Germa (de), Nicolas**

Chairman, WPC Foundation. He acts as COO of WPC since its first edition in 2008. He is also chairman and founder of Alandia.

**Girard, Renaud**

Senior reporter and war correspondent at *Le Figaro*. Professor at the Institut d’études politiques de Paris and a member of the editorial board of the *Revue des deux Mondes*. In 2014, he was awarded the grand prix de la presse internationale.

**Gomart, Thomas**

Director of Ifri. Former Vice President for Strategic Development at Ifri. He was its Russia/Nis centre director. He was a Lavoisier Fellow at MGIMO (Moscow State Institute for International Relations).

**Gong, Xiaosheng**

China Special Envoy on the Middle East Issue since 2014. He served as Head of the Chinese Office to the Palestinian National Authority, Ambassador to Jordan and to Turkey.

**Goulard, Caroline**

CEO & Co-founder at Dataveyes. In 2010, sensing that the rich data era will transform the way we work, learn and communicate, she co-founded Dataveyes, a studio specialized in Human-Data interactions.

**Guérin, Gilles**

Managing Director, Banque Bordier & Cie, Geneva. Former Managing Partner, EFG Bank, Geneva. Member of the Board and Treasurer of the WPC Foundation.

**Guigou, Elisabeth**

Member of the French Parliament and President of the Commission of Foreign Affairs at the Assemblée nationale. She was Deputy Minister for European Affairs, member of the European Parliament, Minister of Justice and Keeper of the Seals.

**Halalai, Traian**

President of Banca de Import Export a Romaniei – EximBank SA. Former Deputy General Manager and Board Member of Romanian Bank SA and Chief Financial Officer of ING Bank in Romania.

**Hashim, Marina**

Managing Director, Middle East Region, Electricité de France (EdF) since 2014, based in Abu Dhabi. She is an advisor to the French Foreign Trade since 2011.

**Hassassian, Manuel**

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

**Hecker, Marc**

Director of publications at the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri) and editor-in-chief of *Politique étrangère*.

**Hijab, Riad**

Chief coordinator of the High Negotiations Committee, Syria. He was Prime Minister of Syria. He is a member of the national coalition for revolutionary forces and the Syrian opposition.

**Hoagland, Jim**

Contributing Editor to *The Washington Post* since January 2010, after serving two decades as Associate Editor and Chief Foreign Correspondent. He was awarded two Pulitzer prizes and other journalism honors.

**Hosoya, Yuichi**

Professor, Faculty of Law, Keio University. He was a visiting researcher at Princeton University, and visiting professor at Sciences Po, Paris (2009-2010).

**Huari, Mikail**

Deputy President of Airbus Group Africa Middle East. He has been elected President of the CCEF in the UAE (official French Trade advisors) for the last three years.

**Hur, Kyung-Wook**

Senior Advisor to Bae, Kim & Lee LLC and advisor to the AMRO (Asian Macroeconomic Research Office). He served as Ambassador of Korea to the OECD. He was Vice Minister for the Ministry of Strategy and Finance.

**Ido, Kiyoto**

Vice Chairman at the Institute for International Economic Studies, which is the research institute established by Toyota Motor Corporation. He was Executive Director of The Bank of Japan.

**Irbec, Yusuf Ziya**

Former Member of the Turkish Parliament. He served as a member of the Executive Committee of The Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA) and of the Parliamentary Network on the IMF & World Bank.

**Isar, Lucian**

Former Minister Delegate for the Business Environment, Romania. He is Chairman of the Board of Cluj Innovation City Foundation.

**Jankowitsch, Peter**

Member of the Directorate of the Austro-French Centre for Rapprochement in Europe. Former Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs, Permanent Representative to the United Nations and to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

**Jegourel, Yves**

Senior Fellow at OCP Policy Center and associate professor in finance at the University of Bordeaux (France). He is also an affiliate professor at Toulouse Business School.

**Jeremić, Vuk**

President of the Center for International Relations and Sustainable Development (CIRSD). Previously, he was President of the 67th session of the UN General Assembly. He served as Serbia’s Minister of Foreign Affairs.

**Jia, Qingguo**

Professor and Dean of the School of International Studies of Peking University. He is a member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference.

**Johnston, Donald**

Chair of the McCall MacBain Foundation, Geneva, Switzerland. Former Secretary-General of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in Paris.

**Ju, Chul-Ki**

President of the Overseas Koreans Foundation. He was Senior Secretary for Foreign Affairs and National Security to the President, Korea. Former Vice President and Secretary-General of the Global Compact Korea Network.

**Kabbaj, Mohamed**

President of Lafarge Morocco, Chancellor of Euro-Mediterranean university of Fès and member of the Hassan II Academy of Science and Technology. He was Advisor to His Majesty the King Mohammed VI and Minister of Finance and Foreign Investment.







Karaganov, Sergei

Honorary Chairman of the Presidium of the non-governmental Council on Foreign and Defense Policy. Member of the Scientific Advisory Council of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.

Kempel, Willy

Austrian Ambassador to the State of Qatar. He joined the Austrian Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1986.

Kerguiziau de Kervasdoué, Jean (de)

Managing Director of the Institut mutualiste Montsouris. Emeritus Professor of Economy and Health Management at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers and founder of the Pasteur/CNAM School of Public Health.

Kerr (Lord), John

Independent member of the House of Lords. Former member of the UK Diplomatic Service. He was UK Permanent Representative to the European Union, British Ambassador to the United States.

Khan, Jehangir

Director of the UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) and the UN Counter-Terrorism Centre (UNCCT) in the Department of Political Affairs (DPA) in the UN Secretariat.

Khashoggi, Jamal

General Manager, Editor in Chief Of Al Arab News Channel. He began his career as a correspondent for the Saudi Gazette Daily.

Kiviniemi, Mari

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

Koch, Christian

Director of the Gulf Research Center Foundation in Geneva, Switzerland. He served as Director of International Studies at the Gulf Research Center in Dubai, UAE.

Kowal, Pawel

Assistant professor in the Institute of Political Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences. He was a member of the European Parliament, Chairman of UE delegation to EU-Ukraine Parliamentary Commission and of Foreign Affairs Committee.

Kumar, Ashwani

Senior Advocate at the Supreme Court of India. He was a Parliamentarian for the State of Punjab for 14 years and served in the Union Government as Minister of State.

Kumar, Suresh

Chief Editor of Africaindia.org and Indian Journal of African Studies. Head and Director of the Department of African Studies, University of Delhi and of the Centre for African Studies, UGC.

Kumlin, Alexandra

Deputy Vice President, General Affairs, International Public Affairs division, Total.

Lablanchy, Jean-Pierre

Medical Doctor, registered in Paris and in London (General Medical Council). He has worked in close collaboration with pharmaceutical firms and with the National Agronomic Institut (Paris Grignon).

Lafont, Bruno

Co-chairman of the Board of Directors of LafargeHolcim. He was Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Lafarge (2007-2015). He began his career at Lafarge in 1983.

Laichoubi, Mohamed

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

Lee, Hye-min

G20 Sherpa and Ambassador for International Economic Affairs, Republic of Korea. Former Ambassador to France and Deputy Minister for Trade and Chief Negotiator for the Korea-EU FTA.

Le Gall, Jean-Yves

President of the Centre National d'Etudes Spatiales (CNES, 2013), President of the International Astronautical Federation (IAF, 2015), co-Chair of the Council of the European Space Agency (ESA, 2015), Chair of the Board of the European GNSS Agency (GSA, 2016).

Lévy-Lang, André

Member of the board of Institut français des relations internationales (Ifri), affiliate emeritus professor in Finance at Paris-Dauphine University, non-executive Chairman of *Les Echos*.

Li, Yi-Fan

CEO, He-Sai Photonics Technologies. Formerly Principal Engineer at Western Digital. Before joining Western Digital, he has worked in several Fortune 500 companies including Lam Research and Parker Hannifin.

Liautaud, Susan

Founder of Susan Liautaud & Associates Limited (SLAL). She also serves as Vice Chair of the Court of Governors of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Lipsky, John

Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Institute at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). Former First Deputy Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund and Special Advisor to the Managing Director, IMF.

Lo, Moubarack

Senior Fellow, OCP Policy Center, Special Advisor to the Prime Minister, Senegal. President of the Emergence Institute. He is Special Adviser and Chief Economist of the Prime Minister, Senegal.

Loulitchki, Mohamed

Former Ambassador of Morocco to the United Nations and Professor at Al Akhawayn University, Ifrane. He was Permanent Representative to the United Nations Office in Geneva.

Lowenstein, James

Co-Founder of the French American Foundation. Member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute for Strategic Studies. Former U.S. Ambassador to Luxembourg.

Lulache, Daniela

Chief Executive Officer of Nuclearelectrica, the only nuclear energy producer in Romania. Former Counselor of the Vice-Governor of the National Bank of Romania.

Makram-Ebeid, Mona

Egyptian Senator and former member of Parliament. She is also Distinguished Lecturer, Political Science Department, American University in Cairo.

Mallikarjun, Manu

Social entrepreneur working in the fields of International Relations & Development. Having founded Amend Media, he is working on the post-production of a series of films that deal with themes of politics and economics.

Masuda, Tatsuo

Visiting professor at the NUCB Graduate School on energy-climate nexus and geopolitics. Former director at the International Energy Agency.

Menon, Shivshankar

Chairman of the Advisory Board of the Institute of Chinese Studies in New Delhi, and a Distinguished Fellow at the Brookings Institution, Washington. He served as national security advisor to the Prime Minister of India and as Foreign Secretary of India.

Michel, Stéphane

President Middle-East and North Africa of Total Exploration and Production.

Moratinos, Miguel Ángel

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Spain. He was Spain's Ambassador in Israel and EU Special Representative for the Middle East Peace Process.

Mourre, Marc

Director and founder of Mourre and Co. He was Managing Director, Vice Chairman of the Commodities Division for Morgan Stanley.

Muñiz, Manuel

Director of the Program on Transatlantic Relations at Harvard University's Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. He also directs the Fundación Rafael del Pino's Program on Global Leadership.

Nairne, Ula

Director of Global Advisory Services at Geopolitical Intelligence Services AG, Liechtenstein, and owner and director of Nairne Ltd.

Narayanan, Mayankote Kelath

Former Governor of the State of West Bengal. Former Senior Advisor and National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister of India.

Nardon, Laurence

Head of the Ifri program on North America. She was a research fellow at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), a Visiting Fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

Nasharudin, Mat Isa

Executive Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Global Movement of Moderates Foundation. He is also Chairman of the Nassar Foundation.

Nasr, Samir

President, ECE Capital. He was a consultant at the OECD. He is co-founder and was Chairman of the Economic Department at the Lebanese University.

Nicolet, Patrick

Group Executive Board member, Capgemini. Since 2016, he is leading the newly created Competitiveness central department. He also oversees Capgemini's India operations.

Oiknine, Dan

Chairman, Chamber of Commerce and Industry France India. He founded the India Trade Centre in 2007. He worked in the high-tech and internet industry.

Oualalou, Fathallah

Economist and Moroccan politician. He served as Minister of Economy, Finance, Privatisation and Tourism and then Minister of Finance and Privatisation.

Paal, Douglas

Vice President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He served as vice chairman of JPMorgan Chase International and was director of the American Institute in Taiwan.

Park, In-Kook

President of the Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies. He served as Ambassador and Permanent Representative of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations, Deputy Minister for Policy Planning and International Organizations.

Paszkievicz, Ladislav

Vice president Strategy & Climate, Total. He served as the senior vice president Mergers & Acquisitions for Total S.A., senior vice president Americas for the Exploration and Production division of Total.

Pepy, Guillaume

Chairman of SNCF's Executive Board and Chairman and CEO of SNCF Mobilités. He was Director of Strategy and then Director of Passenger activities before becoming acting CEO in 2008.

Platteau, Jean-Louis

EFG Bank, Geneva. He served as Head of Private Banking Romandie at BSI before joining EFG Bank as, successively, Head of Private Banking Geneva and Vice Chairman of EFG Asset Management and Head of the Independent Asset Managers.

Ploquin, Xavier

Deputy Head Corporate Financing and Development at the Direction générale du Trésor (French Treasury). He served as Deputy Chief of Bureau (Energy) at the National Budget Office, Ministry of Finance.

Pouyanné, Patrick

Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, Total. He joined Total in 1997, as Chief Administrative Officer of Total E&P Angola. In 2012, he was appointed President, Refining & Chemicals and member of the Executive Committee.

Qiao, Yide

Vice Chairman & Secretary General of Shanghai Development Research Foundation (SDRF). He was Chief Representative and Managing Director of New York Life.

Rabinovich, Itamar

President of the Israel Institute (Washington and Jerusalem). Currently he is Professor Emeritus of Middle Eastern History of Tel Aviv University, Distinguished Global Professor at NYU and a Distinguished Fellow at the Brookings Institution.

Rahman, Hasan Abdel

Former Palestinian National Authority Ambassador to the United States and to Morocco. He is currently CEO and Vice President of the Council on Arab Relations with Latin America and the Caribbean (CARLAC).

Rho, Youngwoo

Deputy Editor / Maeil Business Newspaper and Program Director / World Knowledge Forum.

Richard, Philippe

Director, International Affairs, Financial Services Regulatory Authority (FSRA), Abu Dhabi Global Market (ADGM). He was the Director of the International Affairs Department at the French Autorité de Contrôle Prudentiel et de Résolution (ACPR).







Ricquier, Anita

Singaporean entrepreneur. A lawyer by training, she is the founder and chief executive officer of Camelot Trust Pte Ltd, a corporate services company based in Singapore.

Rizk, Lilia

Program Officer, OCP Policy Center.

Robert, Virginie

Foreign desk editor, *Les Echos* since 2012. She was a foreign correspondent in New York for *Les Echos* (2008-2012). She was also head of the innovation service of *Les Echos*.

Röttgen, Norbert

Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Bundestag. He served as the German Federal Minister for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety. He has been a member of the German Bundestag since 1994.

Rudd, Kevin

Australia's 26th Prime Minister and Former Foreign Minister. He was a co-founder of the G20. He is President of the Asia Society Policy Institute in New York.

Ryu, Jin Roy

Chairman and CEO of Poongsan Group. He is Vice Chairman of the Korea-U.S. Economic Council, Vice Chairman of the Korea Defense Industry Association and Vice Chairman of the Federation of Korean Industries.

Sager, Abdulaziz

President of Sager Group Holding as well as Chairman and Founder of the Gulf Research Center, Jeddah, established in 2000. In 2003, he was appointed as a member of the Makkah Province Council.

Sánchez Sorondo, Marcelo

Chancellor of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences and the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences since 1998. In 2001, His Holiness John Paul II consecrated him titular Bishop of Vescovio.

Sano, Tadakatsu

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

Schmid, Dorothée

Head of the Turkey / Middle East program at the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri). Her present research focuses on Turkish diplomacy, new regional conflicts and their impact on Middle East economies.

Seck, Aminata

Program Associate, African Higher Education Program, TrustAfrica. She is an independant consultant specialized in education reforms, vocational training and youth empowerment in Africa.

Sharma, Ajay

Ambassador of the United Kingdom to the State of Qatar. He played a role in the recent Iran nuclear negotiations and was involved in the reopening of the British Embassy in Tehran in 2015.

Shek, Daniel

Former Ambassador of Israel to France. Since leaving the Foreign Service, he has been an independent consultant on Israeli and international affairs and teaches Diplomacy at Tel Aviv University.

Simon, Jean-Marc

French Ambassador and Chairman of Eurafrique Stratégies SAS. Former French Ambassador to Central African Republic, to Nigeria, to Gabon, and to Côte d'Ivoire.

Simon, Tobby

Founder and President of Synergia Foundation. President of the Synergia Group and Commissioner with the Global Commission for Internet Governance (GCIG) and a member of the Trilateral Commission.

Stark, Hans

Secretary General of the Study Committee for Franco-German Relations (Cerfa), Ifri. He has been professor of contemporary German civilization at Paris-Sorbonne University since 2012.

Starkloff, Xavier

Deputy Head of Multilateral Financing for Development at the French Treasury, in charge of the World Bank Group and the African Development Bank.

Stoian, Marius

President of Club România. Former Under Secretary of State for Foreign Trade of Romania. Member of Chatham House, London and of the Aspen Institute Romania.

Stoica, Gruia

President of Grampet Group, the most important Central and East-European actor in the field of railway transport and logistics services. He established Grampet Group in 2000.

Stril, Arthur

Head of Unit at the French Ministry of Health since 2016. He served as French expert seconded to the European Commission.

Tabet, Riad

President of Berit International Holding SA, President of Batiliban-France, Franco-Arab Consortium for development, board member of the executive committee of the Franco-Arab Chamber of Commerce, Paris.

Tikum, Njoya

Regional Anti-Corruption and Economic Governance Advisor for UNDP Africa. He joined UNDP through the Leadership Development Programme (LEAD). Before joining UNDP, he was a litigating attorney in Cameroon and New York.

Trichet, Jean-Claude

Former President of the European Central Bank and Honorary Governor of Banque de France. He is also Chairman of the Group of Thirty and Chairman of the Board of Bruegel Institute.

Vaïsse, Justin

French historian and Director of Policy Planning at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was among others a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution.

Valladao, Alfredo

Professor at Paris School of International Affairs (PSIA), Sciences Po Paris. President of the Advisory Board of EUBrasil association (Brussels). He is also a Senior Research Fellow at OCP Policy Center (Rabat).

Védrine, Hubert

Founder of Hubert Védrine Conseil, a public affairs consultancy that specializes in foreign, economic, and geopolitical affairs. Former French Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Veret, Amalric

CEO of Pronutri, Activa and Nutrilab laboratories. He turned Pronutri into a worldwide developed company, bringing it to a new level and making it one of the major players on the market of health dietary supplements.

Wang, Jisi

President of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University, and professor of the School of International Studies, Peking University. He was a Global Scholar at Princeton University (2011-2015).

Weymuller, Bruno

Member of Total Professeurs Associés, of the French Energy Council and of the Economic Institute Research Coe-Rexecode. He was Executive Vice President at Total in charge of Strategy and Risk Assessment.

Wi, Jung Hwan

Editor/Knowledge desk and Secretary General/World Knowledge Forum.

Wozniak, Maciej

Vice-President of the Board, Polish Oil and Gas Company (PGNiG SA). He was Prime Minister's chief adviser on Energy Security (2008-2010).

Yim, Sung-joon

Senior Advisor at Lee International IP & Law Group. Former President of the Korea Foundation. He was among others Korean Ambassador to Canada and Egypt. Former Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea.

Zhu, Yan Mei

Executive Vice President of Beijing Genomics Institute (BGI) and Director of Strategic Development Center of BGI. Her research focuses on innovation management and policy.

Thierry de Montbrial

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

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

He has authored twenty 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 Mathematical Economics from the University of California at Berkeley.





OPENING SPEECHES  
FULL VERSIONS







Opening speech  
**Thierry de Montbrial**

The Honourable Prime Minister of Qatar,

The Honourable Prime Minister of Turkey,

The Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs, former Prime Minister of the French Republic,

Your Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Dear Friends,

The ninth edition of the World Policy Conference is beginning just twelve days after the election of the 45th President of the United States of America. The result of this election has stunned the world. The world, starting with the U.S. and European elites, blinded by certainties, was psychologically unprepared for Donald Trump's success. These elites, which include the vast majority of Western media, commentators and researchers, were unable to interpret the deep forces that have been steadily at work for a number of years in the United States, in both the Democratic and Republican parties. For them, neither Bernie Sanders nor Donald Trump really represented their America, that of Harvard and Washington or even Hollywood. Their accession to power was simply inconceivable. Like most of us, I have always admired the attachment of the American people to a Constitution which is the very sign of a strong identity. What is worrying today, is less the outcome of the November 8 election than the often desultory level of the electoral campaign that preceded it. It is also that the system allowed someone with no political experience to win. It signifies the possibility that Americans may be beginning to doubt their institutions. We are not there yet, but some people are evoking a crisis of democracy in the world's leading power.

The real crisis, only latent until Hilary Clinton's defeat, is not only American. It is western, if we mean by the West those parts of the world, mainly in Europe and in North America, which were the most influenced by the period of the Enlightenment and which created the ideal of liberal democracy. For a long time, liberal democracy appeared as a necessary condition for the long-term success of economic and social development. This perception is currently being undermined. The ideal of liberal democracy is less and less an inspiration for the rest of the world since the failures of the post-Soviet transition and the very badly named "Arab spring". This is a reality that must be faced. It is not only a geopolitical issue. Free-market globalisation has been immensely beneficial in all parts of the world. The Chinese, for example, are the first to acknowledge this in so far as it concerns them. But these benefits are not evenly distributed, and the ravages of poverty or displacement have also become global, including in the United States and in Europe. The anger against the explosion of inequalities, unearned income and corruption, is a general phenomenon that goes a long way towards explaining the rejection of the elites. It is no coincidence that the rise of illiberal democracies is frequently accompanied by measures to fight corruption.

Given this analysis, which from my standpoint it is difficult to contest, we other Westerners are less well placed than ever to tell the rest of the world what to do, even if we are entitled, and in my opinion, have a duty to defend our values and to correct our mistakes. There is a serious risk that the populist tendencies in the democracies will lead to the rise of nationalism and therefore to the rejection of Others, and to a return of a process of political and economic fragmentation of the world. The history of the twentieth century must caution us against the devastating consequences of such a process. Therefore, I believe it is essential to resist the protectionist temptation.

The goal of liberalising trade must be continued, on a basis of reciprocity, and ensuring that policies of compensation are established, designed to operate over the long term, in favour of the losing parties. It is not only a moral issue. Economic and social disintegration is the most basic cause of uncontrolled migration, waves of refugees and of terrorism. Compensation of the losers must also become a common goal of fundamental importance for international policy. The problems in achieving this are clearly substantial. I would like to add, in the same spirit, that European integration must continue. It is necessary to take stock of Brexit, and draw the lessons from it positively. Consolidation of the European project is a fundamental issue for Europeans themselves but also for the whole world which would suffer dramatically from a return to the past, just as it would suffer from possible upheavals in other parts of the world. I am thinking typically of China. A multipolar world must be based on strong and cooperative regional entities. Again, we must not forget the lessons of the tragedies of the twentieth century.

Consolidation of the European project is all the more important since the future of NATO is openly being questioned. During the election campaign, the candidate Donald Trump shocked the transatlantic elites by describing the organisation as obsolete. However, as early as 1991, i.e. as soon the USSR broke up, the question of how the Atlantic Alliance could outlive the disappearance of the conditions for its establishment was asked. Whatever our thinking is regarding the causes of the deterioration of relations between the Western countries and Russia since the beginning of the militant extension of the Alliance eastwards, it was obvious that the nature of the geostrategic issues had changed for the United States and that sooner or later this would become apparent. The candidate Trump shook the small community of thinkers of NATO strategy by bluntly raising the issue. Trump as president will certainly tackle it with more restraint than in his campaign speeches. But there is little chance of seeing him taking up the torch of the neo-conservatives and singling out Russia as the main troublemaker in the world. All these developments could lead to a revision in the organisation of European security.

Among the other major issues, I will mention East Asia, where the leader of North Korea is playing increasingly dangerous games, with as a possible consequence, major destabilisation in the region; and of course the Middle East, whose future can only be re-established on solid bases if political agreement is reached between the main powers concerned, including of course the United States and Russia. Whether it relates to Europe in the broad sense, East Asia or the Middle East, only agreements developed within the framework of international law and therefore the United Nations will be viable. It is also within this framework that learning to co-manage planet Earth will continue, an endeavour in which we would like to believe President Trump will eventually take part. A quarter of a century after the end of the cold war, the age is no longer conducive to dreaming of naïve globalisation and of the end of History. But we must learn to live better with globalisation as it really is, i.e. with a degree of interdependence that will deepen even more considerably, if one is to judge by the new waves of technological innovations that we can see on the horizon. Like the previous ones, these waves are rich with promises but also with hazards, in the absence of sufficiently robust governance to guarantee the structural stability of the international system as a whole. To overcome the inevitable testing times ahead and to maintain a reasonably open world, we must all want this to be the case and work with each other in a spirit of listening and respect. We must resist the omnipresent temptation to export our ideologies. It is natural that each party will defend its own domestic interests. But each must also, without wanting to dominate, take its share of responsibility in co-managing its environment and, even, the entire planet. Better understanding and sharing this belief is the *raison d'être* of the World Policy Conference. The programme of the ninth edition of the WPC is particularly rich, reflecting the complexity of the international situation. We are meeting this year in a region where, for reasons as much geopolitical as geoeconomic, is being played out in part, the medium-term future of humanity. As founder and chairman of the World Policy Conference, I would like to thank the State of Qatar for having expressed its interest in our work by being our partner for this event. I would like to place it, with the agreement of you all, under the sign of Hope.



Opening speech  
**Sheikh Abdullah bin Naser bin Khalifa Al-Thani,**

Your Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Honourable attendees

First of all, I am delighted to greet and welcome you to Doha to participate in the Ninth World Policy Conference. I would also like to thank the French Institute for International Relations and all those in charge of organizing this conference. We are probably all aware that our contemporary world is going through an unprecedented phase, abundant with grave challenges to safety, stability and sustainable development in the shadow of the impaired world order that suffers from double standards in dealing with people's affairs. Despite this, we have to seek forcibly to derive the maximum benefit from what we have achieved in the field of scientific advancement and investing human capital in all aspects of life, whereby the possibility of isolation for any country seeking to distance itself from the international arena has become non-existent. Hence, the prominence of the importance of international cooperation, coordination and genuine partnerships between the countries emerges, on the regional and international levels and between governments, nations and the civil society organizations.

Honourable attendees,

The establishment of collective stability and security both require the active powers in the international community, especially the Security Council, to commit to international legitimacy and to bear the moral and legal responsibility for implementing the will of the nations and their legitimate aspirations for stability, security, freedom and change. The greatest challenge in the Middle East region remains the peace process between the Palestinians and Israel, in the difficulties and obstacles it encounters which make it hard or rather impossible to achieve the desired peace and stability in the region, unless, through a full commitment by Israel to the foundations and principles of the peace process in accordance with the two-state solution that the international community has ratified, based on decisions of international legitimacy. The absence of a just and comprehensive solution to the Palestinian issue not only threatens any attempts at the achievement and establishment of stability and security in the Middle East region, but those of the whole world. In this context, the humanitarian catastrophe suffered by our brothers, the Syrian people, at the hands of the current Syrian regime is still casting its catastrophic impact on the overall situation in the Middle East region which threatens the preservation of the unity of Syria's land and people. If we contemplate the gravity of the violations of the international humanitarian law in the cities, villages and neighbourhoods of Syria by the Syrian regime, we become bewildered by the gigantic distance between its size and the positions of the international community. Undoubtedly, the continuation of this crisis demands that the international community, especially the Security Council, bear their legal and humanitarian responsibility more than ever to impose the implementation of its demands for a ceasefire to protect the Syrian people from killing and displacement.

Speaking of Syria obligates us naturally to mention the humanitarian crisis that affects all the countries of the world, requiring them to exert increasing efforts in addressing it, that is, the crisis of the refugees and displaced Syrians. We stress here the need for the international community, especially the United Nations, to act to achieve a comprehensive prospect for the settlement of conflicts, starting with protection through mediation, aimed at preventing disputes escalating to conflicts, via conflict management and culminating in a settlement based on comprehensive peace agreements, followed by a phase of sustainability of peace and stability.

Ladies and gentlemen,

The terrorism phenomenon has become a serious and imminent threat to the stability in the Middle East region and the world's stability in its various economic, political, social, security and developmental aspects. With respect to countering terrorism, this should not be limited to the security aspects, despite their extreme importance, but should also be collectively countered at national, regional and international level, encompassing cultural, intellectual, ideological, economic, social and media aspects. In this context, we are all aware of the extent of the need to benefit from the potential and abilities of youth, since, they are the future of peoples and nations. This benefit will not be optimally achieved unless they are protected and their aspirations and ambitions fulfilled. This requires taking the necessary measures to employ all the suitable tools in dealing with their problems to prevent them becoming easy prey for being drawn to terrorism groups.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Honourable guests,

The world is still looking for the potential to stimulate economic growth and improve quality of life, as an important input for achieving social justice and providing the stability to which peoples aspire. In this context, it is a requirement to counter the development challenges and overcome the risks and negative effects on political and social stability especially in the countries of slower growth, requiring the international community to support the endeavours of those countries in attaining their goals in economic, social and other areas of growth. This can be achieved through the fulfilment of international obligations concerning development assistance in all its forms in such a way as to give hope to the nations that they will be able to achieve the desired sustainable growth and support endeavours to achieve stability throughout the world. In this context, the State of Qatar has spared no effort in providing developmental assistance and fulfilling its international obligations in this regard in relation to numerous regions of the world. I should point out here that the State of Qatar has achieved great things in realising sustainable growth as shown in regional and international reports, especially in fields such as education, health, employment; activating the role of youth; enhancement and protection of human rights and achieving outstanding economic growth rates in recent years. This is thanks to the wise leadership of my Lord HH Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani, the beloved Emir of Qatar "may Allah preserve him" and the keenness of HH to fulfil the aspirations of the Qatari people in all aspects of life. We in Qatar shall continue the ongoing development and comprehensive growth, and proceed in this approach with determination in order to achieve prosperity, welfare and sustainable development for the people of Qatar This will be achieved through the Vision 2030 and related strategic plans for the establishment of a modern state, based on justice and the rule of law, openness in foreign relations in accordance with strong principles and foundations the most important of which are mutual respect; common interests according to the rules of international legitimacy and interaction between peoples, cultures and civilizations; respecting human rights; requiring the settlement of disputes by peaceful means and renouncing the use of force and other methods of applying pressure.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Honourable guests,

We recognize the importance of the issues and subjects included in the orientation of this conference given the political variables experienced in the world, including the experience of the European Union at the present time. Therefore, we await the outcome of your discussions with great concern, hoping that this conference achieves the desired goal in order to promote efforts for achieving security, stability and sustainable development throughout the world. Finally, I once again welcome you to Doha and wish you all the best and success for this conference. Peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you,





Opening speech  
**Jean-Marc Ayrault**

Your Excellency,

Ladies and gentlemen,

I am delighted to be with you here today in Doha, and to have the opportunity to share my thoughts on the prospects of the Middle East with you, on this region which, now more than ever before, is the focal point of most of the major challenges the international community has to face. I would like to pay tribute to the French Institute for International Relations (IFRI) for organizing this World Policy Conference, which over a few years has become a major event and an opportunity to promote a world of dialogue and discussion. I am particularly grateful to its President, Thierry de Montbrial. Almost a month ago now, His Highness Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al-Thani passed away, he who contributed so much to the friendship between France and Qatar. I would like to honour his memory and tell you that France shares the sadness of the Qatari people.

Qatar and France both face, like the international community, an uncertain world.

Our world is uncertain because, increasingly, issues are part of a global context where nothing is possible without the action of all parties. This is particularly true as regards the preservation of the environment. It is uncertain because the effectiveness of each of us depends on collective action: that is interdependence. I have in mind the economy, international trade and security issues. It is uncertain because the desire of certain States to affirm their position on the international stage or to recover the expression of past power undermines the balances that were – rather hastily – considered stable.

Lastly, it is uncertain because it is subject to the global threat of terrorism that plays on borders and imposes a new type of warfare which strikes at the very heart of our States and societies, combining the most retrograde ideology and the most barbaric methods with the latest technologies. As you know, France has been hit on several occasions and most recently on 14 July this year, our national holiday, by deadly attacks. We will not forget the exceptional wave of solidarity we received from around the world: marches, monuments illuminated in the colours of our flag – as was the case in Qatar – and many leaders expressing their solidarity. My people was very touched by these messages and I would like to express my gratitude, from here in Doha at the very heart of the Arab world which pays by far the heaviest price for the terrorism of Daesh. For of course, France is not the only one to be hit. Terrorism has struck in New York, Boston, San Bernardino and Orlando. It has wreaked havoc in Paris, Nice and Brussels, and in Istanbul, Kabul, Baghdad, Dhaka, Sirte, Tunis, Bamako, Niamey, Tel Aviv, Ouagadougou and Abidjan. This macabre list is, of course, not exhaustive. But it is already long – far too long. We know the paradox: most of the victims of these terrorists – who claim to represent Islam – are Muslims.

This is a global threat, and our response must be just as global: France and Qatar, along with Europe and the Gulf countries have an essential role to play together in this fight. Faced with the world's disorders, the only response is to join our forces, to show solidarity and to find collective solutions to shared problems. We need to continue our action. To act ceaselessly. To act while remaining loyal to our principles. Never to give up. That is France's conviction. For that, we need a fully committed American partner that is open to the world, playing its part in cooperation with its allies and in multilateralism. Without that partner, it is illusory to believe we can address the global challenges we all face. I have mentioned the fight against terrorism, but there are many more: climate change, management of migration flows, collective security and sustainable development. We will be working with the American President-Elect because the United States is a friend of France, and because our cooperation is essential. That is why the President of the French Republic was keen, in the very first hours, to establish dialogue with Donald Trump. To ensure that the doubts that grew from an overly controversial election campaign were quickly dissipated. To foster, despite a number of divergences,

solid cooperation with the new administration. There is no time to lose, and I am pleased to say that, during his conversation with François Hollande, Donald Trump showed a clear desire to work with France. What we have to avoid at any cost is a posture of isolationism, unilateralism, or some break away from what is, at the end of the day, an international rule of law. Nationalism is resurgent everywhere, and could, through gradual and uncontrolled shifts, result in brutal clashes of which history has taught us the dangers and devastating consequences. Europe can testify to that, more than any other continent.

For Europe, which remains – it is important to remember – the world's leading economic power, this uncertainty around the arrival of a new American administration should be an encouragement to take greater control of our own destiny. That is what France wants when it advocates progress in European defence and security policy. That is also its goal when it takes the initiative so that the EU strengthens control of its external borders. Things are in motion, as demonstrated by the recent decisions of the European Foreign and Defence Ministers on the issue of European defence. Standing together on the international stage, we are not helpless. We are not powerless. The Paris Climate Agreement demonstrates that: when we have to address major universal challenges, we are capable of finding responsible solutions. COP22, which ended on Friday in Marrakesh under the wise Presidency of Morocco, helped resolutely begin the implementation of this global framework to combat climate change. Above all, it is an opportunity. An opportunity to transform our economies towards a low-carbon model; an opportunity to promote innovation; an opportunity to encourage greater responsibility and solidarity in our societies; and an opportunity to leave a better world to future generations. This success is an encouragement to take note of the need for solidarity in the response to common challenges. I obviously have in mind the management of migration flows and counter-terrorism, but also development, education, fundamental rights, and the promotion of gender equality. We have also shown ourselves capable to stop Iran's race to nuclear weapons by joining forces to ensure a balanced agreement was reached. It is essential to implement the commitments made on both sides and to encourage Iran to become a responsible regional player. The world we live in requires a new perspective. While some talk of a return of the Cold War, I think on the contrary that the time of the superpowers is passed. They can no longer make the world their playground, and they can no longer draw and redraw borders as they like, as they did in the Middle East. The future of our societies will not be decided from outside. We cannot expect a hypothetical Yalta or another Sykes Picot, imposed upon Arab populations and their leaders. Such a method is no longer possible today.

The reality is that France, Europe and the Arab world are closely tied. And this reality has gradually imposed itself: it results from this shared, open space for exchanges crossed back and forth by mankind and in which, despite history's tribulations, a shared destiny has been forged. This shared destiny is embodied in particular in the relationship which France has always had with the Arab world. This is a long-standing, multiform and complex relationship which cannot be reduced, as some would like, to its mere economic and military aspects. This is a mistaken vision and does not do justice to the depth of our ties or the wealth of our common history. Daesh seeks to portray France as an enemy of the Muslim world. This message obviously seeks to drive a wedge between us. The blind terrorism promoted by this organization and the populist responses it engenders have only one goal: dragging us onto the terrain of a clash of civilizations, in a devastating dichotomy inevitably opposing East and West. France refuses this dichotomy which is as false as it is fatal. We know our common history and are convinced that it is a solid foundation to build on together. In less than two weeks, the Safeguarding Endangered Cultural Heritage Conference will be held in Abu Dhabi. This is a concrete demonstration of our shared destiny, and proof of our ability to rise to challenges and address the threats of the twenty-first century. I am convinced that it is possible and necessary to build a relationship of confidence between East and West. That is our shared responsibility. France and the Arab world have a voice to make heard and experience to share. Building on the progress achieved together, it is up to them to resolutely focus their partnership on the future. I naturally have young people in mind. The Arab world has an exceptional vitality; it has many young people and they aspire to a better future. Our first duty is to trust them and to enable them to achieve their aspirations. In 2011, Arab youth made its voice heard. Its message was clear, and we have not forgotten it. The



empowerment of peoples is a considerable source of energy, a strength and a promise for the future. That is why, along with the Qatari authorities, we have decided to give the Tunisian government our full support. The success of a democratic Tunisia is the best message of hope we can send to the region's young people. This success requires an economic recovery that ensures opportunity, dignity and a future for all.

For it is in these young people that we need to invest: a massive investment in knowledge and culture, the energy transition, and economic diversification and modernization. That is how the Arab world will ensure its future. There is no shortage of examples: the “Vision 2030” projects implemented in Qatar and Saudi Arabia; the model sustainable city in Masdar, in the United Arab Emirates; and the Tanfiz programme in Oman. All these projects – and many more – are dazzling proof that the Arab world and the Gulf, in particular, have plenty of ambition. France stands beside you and is prepared to contribute to your success. We are prepared to implement our cooperation in the framework of this new approach your countries are developing, with the constant will to create efficient, modern local industry and infrastructure, and to foster the access of young people to the labour market.

Your excellency,

Ladies and gentlemen,

The ambitions of Qatar and the other Gulf states must not cause us to lose sight of the tensions throughout the region. The tragedies shaking Libya, Syria, Yemen and Iraq, the differences between Shiite and Sunni Islam which the radicals on all sides want to make into a real divide: these crises are weakening the Middle East and hindering its development and economic integration. As a Permanent Member of the Security Council, France is fully committed to this issue and is assuming its responsibilities, with two strong convictions: firstly, that there is no contradiction between fighting terrorism and upholding human rights. Terrorist groups want to do away with borders and impose their totalitarian and destructive regime everywhere. To this universalism of terror, France's response is universalism of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Fighting discrimination and inequality, promoting civil, political and social rights and gender equality, and affirming freedom of conscience and expression are our greatest weapons against the deadly, obscurantist ideology of Daesh, Al-Qaeda, Boko Haram and related groups. This is true in France, Europe, the Arab World and wherever these movements have waged war on us.

The second conviction is that these crises have one common thread: none can be resolved solely by military force; all require a political solution which can only be reached through negotiations. It is through dialogue, diplomacy and the exchange of ideas that we will emerge from the deadlocks into which the use of force has often led us and it is in this way that we can open up real and credible prospects for peace. In Syria, we are witnessing the greatest humanitarian disaster of our times. The Syrian people are trapped, on the one hand tortured by a barbaric regime, and on the other cornered by terrorist groups devoid of all scruples and human conscience. Since 2011, over 300,000 people have died in the conflict. Half of the population are now refugees or have been displaced. These tragic events are taking place on our doorstep. It is a vicious circle which is being deliberately fuelled by support in Damascus to lead Syria to a morbid confrontation between two dead ends: the regime and terrorism. Neither the Assad regime, nor Daesh, nor Al-Nusra observe the most basic principles of international humanitarian law and human rights. Some argue that, fundamentally, the solution is to choose the lesser of two evils. To hand the task of eliminating Daesh for us over to the Bashar al-Assad regime. We know that nothing could be further from the truth than this harmful approach of exonerating from their crimes the very people who are fuelling terrorist barbarity by their own State-backed barbarity. This is not just a moral mistake, but also a strategic one.

We must ensure that we do not make this mistake. France has proposed solutions in line with the framework set by the Security Council decisions. The resolution which we put forward to bring an end to the torture in Aleppo was blocked only by the Russian veto. It is now time for each party to face its responsibilities. We must do more to maintain an alternative to Bashar al-Assad's bloody regime. France will continue to work hard so that the people of Syria can finally live in peace. It will

continue to speak the truth to its allies, and resist the temptation to give up and look the other way. It is also essential to restore peace in Iraq. Winning back Mosul and then Raqqa from the hands of Daesh will, I hope, soon rid this pseudo-State of its regional stronghold, from where it has spread the poison of its obscurantism and murderous folly to Iraq, Syria and as far as Europe. But this victory must be followed by a broader reconciliation. The divides which have been stirred up in the Middle East have no ideological or religious basis and have been instrumentalized. Many people, both inside and outside the region, are lured by generalizations and simplifications. But fear is a bad counsellor. Our work must focus on rebuilding the ties between communities. We believe that in Iraq, it means something to be Iraqi, in Syria to be Syrian, in Qatar to be Qatari. Rethinking borders is a dangerous game: what alternative does it offer to Arab citizens, except the erosion of social links, the promotion of approaches based on identity, ethnicity and religion, all of which are simplistic, destructive and ultimately lead to all-out war? The territories which have been liberated from Daesh must be examples of peaceful coexistence and governance which respects diversity. Because I am certain that Muslims, Christians, Jews and ethnic and religious minorities, whoever they may be, can live together in peace in the Middle East, as they have done in the past. In managing the post-Daesh situation we must address the root of the problem by draining the breeding ground in which this barbarity was able to thrive.

I have not forgotten the Yemeni conflict, which has so far left over 7,000 dead and 37,000 injured. Twenty-one million people are in need of medical assistance, while 3 million require immediate food aid. Recent developments on the ground have been of great concern to France. It condemns the attacks against the Saudi territory, which are threatening regional stability. As the violence continues and the humanitarian situation worsens, the parties must agree on how to end this crisis as a matter of urgency. They must immediately cease their attacks against civilians and other States. Only a political solution, that proposed by the United Nations, can bring an end to the conflict. Regional stability, peace and security also depend on the fair and lasting settlement of Israeli-Palestinian conflict. As we know, the current situation is an illusion. The situation on the ground is deteriorating by the day. The continued settlement activities and lack of any political prospects are reducing the hopes of both peoples. They are fuelling frustrations which are being exploited by those who, in both camps, want to scrap the two-State solution. We do not want to resign ourselves to this. We will thus maintain our efforts and the initiatives which we launched on 3 June last. Our assessment remains unchanged, as does our goal: to organize an international conference enabling a message of peace to be sent, to reiterate our joint commitment to the two-State solution and to show what it would bring to both Israelis and Palestinians. Our approach is not unilateral. Its purpose is not to interfere. It is, on the contrary, shared, clear and determined. This is an essential issue primarily for Israel and Palestine, but also for the entire region and beyond.

Your excellency,

Ladies and gentlemen,

The masterpieces of Islamic civilization, from Córdoba to Samarkand, these masterpieces which we can admire here today at the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha, fully demonstrate the Arab World's contribution to humanity. What is striking is that these masterpieces are familiar to us. They are appealing and moving to us Europeans, as they are also part of our history. They are the symbol of this shared destiny to which I have just referred. The current events in Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Libya, these upheavals which are shaking the Middle East, are without doubt the biggest challenge we have ever faced in our long shared history. Both the future of this region and of Europe will naturally depend on how we respond to these unprecedented crises. But the challenge far exceeds our borders: it affects the entire international community as it tests our responsibility and our ability to act together.

For the prophets of doom, for those who believe force is the only answer, France holds another unshakeable conviction: the Middle East situation is not inevitable. War is not unavoidable, nor is the instrumentalization of conflicts by those seeking to make this region their battlefield. Our responsibility is to strive to show that a path to peace does exist, by countering the forces of oppression and destruction with those of dialogue, negotiation and reconciliation.





Opening speech  
**Ahmet Davutoglu**

Dear participants, Excellencies, colleagues, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to thank the Qatari government and His Highness, the Emir, for hosting this conference. I also thank my French and Qatari colleagues and IFRI and my dear friend Thierry for this very timely meeting. There are many familiar faces of former colleagues. We are discussing a basic issue, global governance. In fact, in these days, everywhere in the world, not only in Doha or Paris, and in all capitals, there are meetings. These are to understand where things are going and where we are leading to.

This question today, especially the title of global governance, is important. The question is clear. Are we going towards global governance or towards world disorder? If you visit these capitals, you will see that there is a source of concern everywhere. What will the future of international systems be? What will the future of the EU be? What will be the policy of the new American president, Donald Trump? What will the future of the Middle East be? If you were to ask me about the key concept behind this source of concern, I would like to say that it is unpredictability. Today, unpredictability is everywhere. Nobody can see what will happen. Forget the next 10 years, even for the next year, 2017, which will be a year of elections in Europe. There will be many issues, including Syria. I would like to say something very briefly, just to stimulate certain questions in our minds to discuss in future sessions. The question is: are we leading towards global governance? The 19th century was a century of balance of power. The 20th century was a century of international order, when the League of Nations and the United Nations were established. The hope in the 1990s was that the future of international systems would be global governance. The difference between global governance and international order is that international means based on nation states as the unit and order is the dialogue and relations between nations. Global governance is more interactive, more dialogue based, and more transnational. In that sense, it is not only dialogue among nations, but dialogue as human beings, with an interactive, interconnected system creating an international order. After the Cold War, there was hope, expressed as end of history and many other new terminologies like new world order and global governance. Now it is as if we are going back to the balance of power rather than from international order to global governance. In the capitals of every state, nations are talking about their own national interests and how to defend themselves against this unpredictability and insecurity in international system, rather than talking about values.

Now what we have to respond this challenge do we have a set of rules, a set of values, which, regardless of ethnic or religious background, are respected by all? Unfortunately, it is difficult today to say this. We know that in history, after the Thirty Years War, we had the Westphalian Conference. After the Napoleonic Wars, we had the Congress of Vienna. After the First World War, we had the League of Nations and after the Second World War, we had the United Nations. However, what happened after the Cold War, which was a global war? Let me give you a striking example of this unpredictability and absence of values. Today, His Excellency, our dear colleague, the Minister for Foreign Affairs in France, just mentioned the situation in Aleppo. Yes, we may have different views on Aleppo, in the US, Russia, Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia, the European Union, and France. However, we should at least agree on two principles because these principles are valid for everyone and the basis of international law. One is to act together against war crimes and, secondly, there should be humanitarian access for everybody. Why do we not respect these two basic principles even if we have differences of opinion on the future of Syria? Unfortunately, today there is no humanitarian access to Aleppo and there is no respect for international law regarding war crimes. There is collective punishment and nobody raises this in international fora because everybody has a different interest in this. We have three legs regarding this unpredictability and absence of global governance. One is a psychological and politico cultural leg, let me say, which is the spread of extremism and exclusivist policies. Regarding terrorism, we all agree that we have to fight against DAESH or ISIS, Boko Haram, Al Shabaab and all types of terrorism. However, at the same time, we have to act together against policies involving an exclusivist approach. Everywhere now, there is a rise in Islamophobia and there is a rise in xenophobia. There is a rise in populist autocracy which excludes others. We have to have a common stance against terrorism everywhere because it is a threat against us, as it has been the case in Paris. I was there

shoulder to shoulder with the leaders of Europe and the world against terrorism in Paris. In Istanbul, in Brussels, in New York and everywhere, we have to be together. However, at the same time, we have to defend inclusive policies everywhere against an exclusivist approach.

Regarding the political rhetoric during the electoral campaign for the American presidential election, we were very worried about this psychology of exclusion. Also in Europe, there is the rise of the right wing. This unpredictability is a big threat, which is leading to exclusivist policies. There is Ibn Khaldun's approach to asabiyya. Everybody is acting with their own clan or tribe, with an isolationist approach. The second leg is the economic crisis. We have to know that from 2008 up to now, there was a huge economic crisis, which was not seen before in the history of humankind. I attended several G20 meetings and despite all common efforts and declarations, today, we still have a problem of recession. We have a problem of the decline of productivity. We have a problem of the rise of unemployment, which is leading to several crises including the Arab Spring. We should not forget that a Tunisian boy, Bouazizi's self immolation because of unemployment, and that started the Arab Spring. It may start new waves of reactions. The third leg is the absence of dialogue among global players. Today, the EU is not talking about global issues but more about what the future of the EU will be after Brexit. American public opinion is not concentrating on global affairs but more on what the policy of the new president will be. Russia is following a very assertive foreign policy but there is a lack of economic progress. There is an economic crisis there. China is observing the limits of economic growth. Regional powers in our region and in the Western world are talking more about national survival than regional common destiny. In short, we are facing a big problem of unpredictability and sources of concern, based on absence of global governance, absence of common understanding, and the rise of extremism. There is the economic crisis and the absence of or inability to start dialogue of global players. What is the solution? In my conclusion, my suggestion is a solution where the key concept is inclusivity, more dialogue, and more of a sense of common destiny. We should not forget that in the 1930s, there was an economic crisis, there were extremist policies and there was an isolationist approach. There was a rise in populist autocracies everywhere in Europe and the end of that was the Second World War. We hope that the end of all this turmoil will not go towards a third world war but it depends on our efforts. These are the efforts of statesmen, the efforts of research institutes like IFRI or the efforts of academicians, scholars, and public opinion-makers everywhere.

Inclusivity is needed today. We need a new reform of the UN based on inclusivity and a new economic system in the world of inter dependency and inclusivity. We need a common understanding, like civilisational dialogue everywhere, to fight against extremist, isolationist, and exclusivist policies. We need a real, sincere dialogue among global players. I hope this forum today, the World Policy Conference, will be an asset for such a dialogue among us. I hope the future will be a future of global governance rather than a future of balance of power based on selfish national interest instead of the common destiny of humanity.





**Romania - OraNoua, 06/12/2017**

Club România a participat pentru al patrulea an consecutiv la World Policy Conference, una dintre cele mai importante conferințe internaționale dedicată problemelor guvernanței globale, care s-a desfășurat în perioada 20-22 noiembrie, la Doha, Qatar. În acest an, pe agenda întâlnirii, la care au participat înalți reprezentanți de stat și de guvern, ambasadori, personalități din mediul cultural și universitar internațional, lideri din zona de business și financiar-economică, societate civilă și mass-media, s-au aflat teme precum: „Europa după Brexit”, „Rolul european și internațional al Turciei”, „Schimbările tehnologice și noul contract social”, „Uniunea Europeană-ce urmează?”, „Lumea după alegerile americane”, „Spațiul-marea aventură tehnologică”, Combaterea Terorismului, Noile schimbări in economia globala, Criza hidrocarburilor,.

**Senegal - Xibaaru, 22/11/2016**

La « World Policy Conference », un rendez-vous annuel initié, depuis 9 ans par Thierry de Montbrial, Président de l'IFRI, réunit des experts de haut niveau et des membres d'instituts académiques et des leaders de Think Tank de référence de tous les continents pour faire le point sur l'état du monde et proposer des perspectives. Dr. Gadio, seul panéliste originaire de l'Afrique sub-saharienne, a séduit les participants, selon un communiqué parvenu à notre rédaction, par une analyse et des propositions loin de la langue de bois et appelant sans ambages à une rupture paradigmatique urgente sur les questions de sécurité et de développement en Afrique.

**China**

北京大学国际战略研究院, 25/11/2016

由法国国际问题研究所（IFRI）举办的第九届世界政策大会（The 9th Edition of the World Policy Conference）在卡塔尔首都多哈举行，北京大学国际战略研究院院长王缉思出席了此次会议，并就“反恐”与“大选后的美国”两个议题做了大会主题发言。

**Ukraine - MofaUkraine, 20/11/2016**

20 листопада ц.р. у м. Доха (Держава Катар) відкрилось 9-е засідання Міжнародної конференції Світової політики, присвячене питанням світового управління. Цього року вона проходить під патронатом Прем’єр-міністра Катару шейха Абдулли Аль Тані, який виступив перед учасниками форуму з вітальним словом. Почесними спікерами заходу стали міністр закордонних справ Франції Ж.М.Еро та колишній турецький прем’єр-міністр А.Давутоглу.

**Switzerland - Le Temps, 21/11/2016**

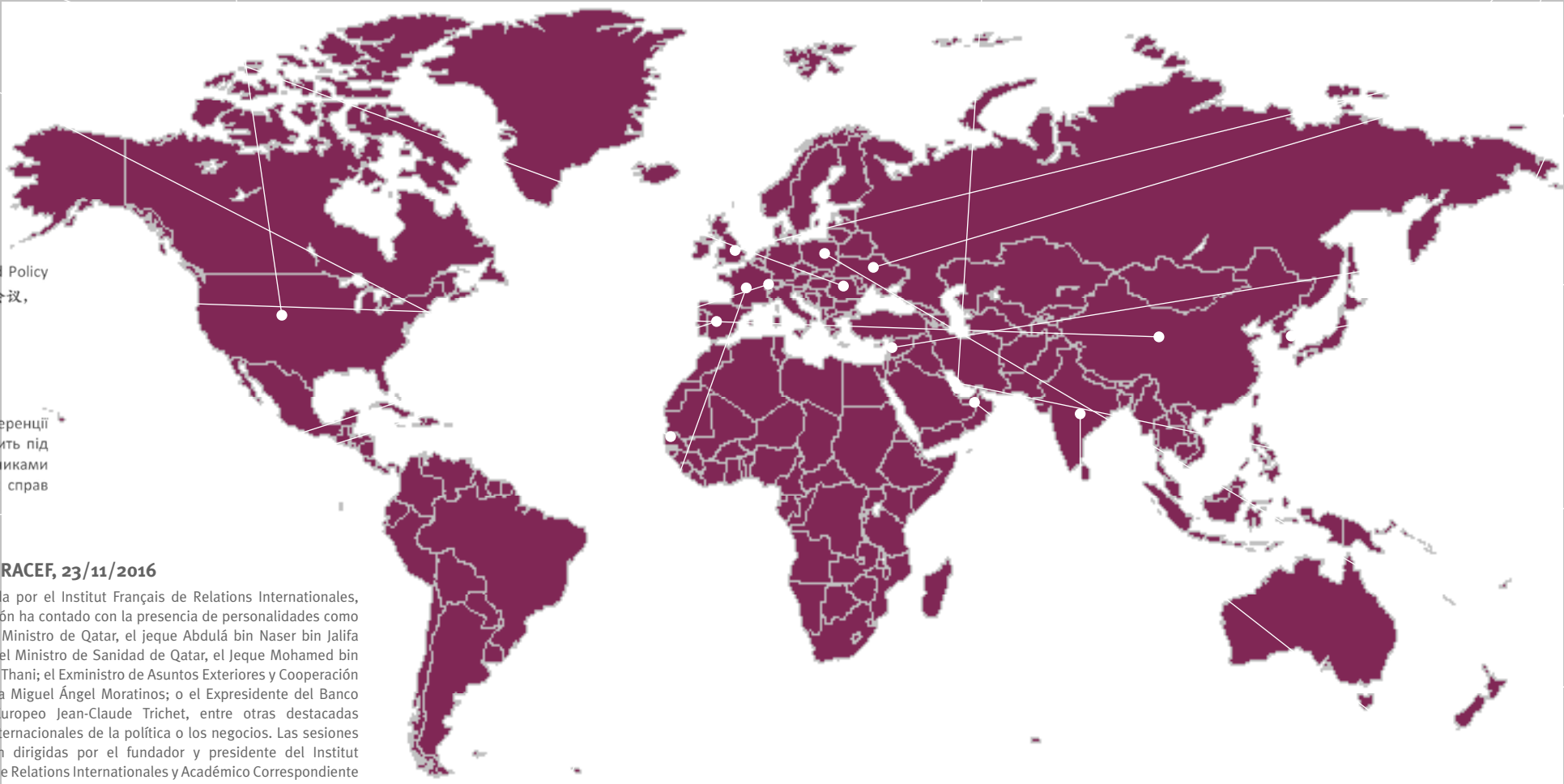
M. Davutoglu, ancien premier ministre turc, constatait le 20 novembre dernier dans une intervention à la World Policy Conference qui se tient actuellement à Doha (Qatar) que la gouvernance mondiale reculait. La tendance à rechercher en commun des solutions internationales aux grands problèmes – migration, changement climatique, lutte contre la pauvreté, terrorisme, non-prolifération, régulation financière – fondées sur des valeurs et des intérêts bien précis est en voie de se briser.

**France - LCI, 26/11/2016**

C'est la vertu de ce genre de forum : la World Policy Conférence initiée il y a dix ans par Thierry de Montbrial (président de l'Institut Français des Relations Internationales), s'est toujours donnée pour objectif de décrypter le dessous des cartes, de repérer les stratégies géopolitiques dans un monde en mutation, de faire de la prospective. Tout cela grâce à un panel très relevé d'experts, diplomates, universitaires ou conseillers gouvernementaux des cinq continents. Or cette année a été marquée par deux nouveautés : la tenue de la conférence à Doha au Qatar, et surtout, la soudaine imprévisibilité justement de l'ordre planétaire depuis l'élection de Donald Trump.

**United States - The Washington Post, 25/11/2016**

Wang spoke this week at the World Policy Conference, an annual gathering of a hundred or so government officials, international financial experts and other opinion leaders organized by the French Institute of International Relations, a think tank. The United States' domineering ways have long been Topic A at international gabfests. But this year there was a plaintive, even elegiac quality to the discussion of “the deeply divided American nation” and its perceived desire to quit trade agreements, wall itself off in a snit of “populist exclusion” and “cowardly look the other way” as Russia commits atrocities in Syria, to choose a few of the complaints registered here.

**Spain - RACEF, 23/11/2016**

Organizada por el Institut Français de Relations Internationales, esta edición ha contado con la presencia de personalidades como el Primer Ministro de Qatar, el jeque Abdulá bin Naser bin Jalifa Al Thani; el Ministro de Sanidad de Qatar, el Jeque Mohamed bin Hamad Al Thani; el Exministro de Asuntos Exteriores y Cooperación de España Miguel Ángel Moratinos; o el Expresidente del Banco Central Europeo Jean-Claude Trichet, entre otras destacadas figuras internacionales de la política o los negocios. Las sesiones estuvieron dirigidas por el fundador y presidente del Institut Français de Relations Internationales y Académico Correspondiente para Francia de la RACEF Thierry de Montbrial.

**France - LES ECHOS, 20/11/2017**

“Ce qu’il faut éviter à tout prix, c’est l’aventure isolationniste, l’unilatéralisme ou une forme de rupture avec ce qui constitue (...) un état de droit international”, a déclaré le chef de la diplomatie française à l’ouverture à Doha de la 9e édition de la “World Policy Conference”, organisée par l’Institut français des relations internationales (Ifri). Devant 250 décideurs et personnalités d’une quarantaine de pays, il a appelé à des solutions “collectives” aux problèmes du monde.

**France - LES ECHOS, 20/11/2017**

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**Qatar - GulfTimes, 20/11/2017**

HE the Prime Minister and Minister of Interior Sheikh Abdullah bin Nasser bin Khalifa al-Thani opened the 9th edition of the World Policy Conference at Doha Sheraton Hotel yesterday. The opening session was attended by a number of ministers, members of diplomatic missions accredited to Qatar and guests. In his opening speech, the Prime Minister welcomed the participants, and extended his thanks to French Institute of International Relations and to all those who contributed to the organisation of this conference. The Prime Minister said: “We are all aware that our modern world is going through an unusual stage full of serious challenges for security, stability and sustainable development due to the continued disruption of the global system which suffers from double standards in dealing with peoples’ issues.

**United Kingdom - The Guardian, 20/11/2016**

French Foreign Minister Jean-Marc Ayrault on Sunday urged the United States to reject isolationism after president-elect Donald Trump takes office and to remain “open to the world”. Speaking at the World Policy conference in Doha before around 250 decision-makers and delegates, Ayrault became the latest senior Western politician to reveal apparent concern over Trump’s forthcoming presidency. “We need an American partner open to the world, fully engaged, cooperating with its allies,” said Ayrault. He added that Washington should “avoid at all costs” any attempts to become isolationist. France would be working with the newly-elected US president because “the United States is a friend of France and because our cooperation is indispensable”, said Ayrault.

**Morocco - ElaphMorocco, 30/11/2016**

إيفري الدولي للعلاقات الفرنسي المحدث من وبمبادرة ذاته، السباق وفي l'Institut français des relations internationales IFRI، World Policy Conference (WPC) الخارجية السياسة عن دولي مؤتمر تنظيم ثم « World Policy Conference (WPC)» ومخاطره، الأوسط الشرق في المتفجر الموضوع لدراسة مستديرتين طاولتين وكرسيت قطر في الدوحة في عن والرئيسي الأول الجسؤول باعتباره السوري للنظام الاتهام أصابع ووجعت 20 إلى 22 من الجذور في والبحث الجوانب متعدد جماعي عمل تنظيم وضرورة سوريا في الأولية الحرب نشوب الأوسط بالشرق تحصف التي للمشاكل العميقة الحقيقية.

**Lebanon - L'Orient Le Jour, 22/11/2016**

Tel était le programme particulièrement dense, très diversifié et d’une haute portée stratégique qui a meublé la deuxième journée de la Conférence internationale sur la gouvernance mondiale (« World Policy Conference », WPC), qui se tient depuis dimanche dernier à l'hôtel Sheraton de Doha, au Qatar, à l'initiative de l'Institut français des relations internationales (Ifri, dirigé par Thierry de Montbrial). Une centaine d’éminentes personnalités du monde politique, économique, académique, des affaires et de la presse, venant des quatre coins du monde, se penchent pendant trois jours sur les grands dossiers qui ont un impact sur les impératifs d'une bonne gouvernance mondiale dans différents domaines d'activité.

**Korea**

매일경제, 21/11/2016

글로벌 오피니언 리더들은 현재 세계가 처한 상황을 ‘불확실성이 지배하는 시대’로 정의했다. 특정한 이데올로기나 방향성없이 전 인류가 기준질서를 부정하고 있지만 대안은 찾지 못하는 사회라는 의미다. 불확실성의 시대를 해결하는 해법으로는 포용 (inclusivity)을 제시했다. 정치적으로는 많은 사람을 포용할 수 있는 체제를 구축하고 경제적인 불평등성을 해소하는 것이 불확실성의 시대를 극복해 나갈 원칙으로 지목됐다. 20 일 (현지시간) 카타 도하 셰라톤호텔에서 개최된 제 9 회 세계정책콘퍼런(World Policy Conference WPC) 개막식에서 압둘라 빈 나세르 빈 할리파 알사니 카타르 총리는"최근 세계는 안보와 제 침체로 불확실성이 높아지고 있다"고 진단했다. 알사니 총리는 특히 최근 중동은 물론 세계 평화를 위협하는 갈등요인인 팔레스타인과 이스라엘 문제 시리아 사태 등을 해결하는 과정에서 국제적인 공조가 중요하다고 역설했다.

**Bahrain - Bahrain Nws Agency, 20/11/2016**

Qatari Premier and Interior Minister Shaikh Abdulla bin Nasser bin Khalifa Al-Thani today received French Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Jean-Marc Ayrault, on visit to Doha to attend the World Policy Conference.

**Poland - rp.pl, 23/11/2017**

O tym przez kilka dni rozmawiali uczestnicy dorocznego spotkania World Policy Conference organizowanego przez think tank IFRI. Swoją drogą może czas już, by takie spotkanie odbyło się w Polsce? Co wynika z tegorocznej konferencji, która zakończyła się w Katarze? Po pierwsze – że nie cały świat żyje tymi problemami, przez które nie może spać Zachód. Nasze problemy dotyczą wszystkich, ale znacznie mniej niż przed dekadami. Po drugie, o Wielkiej Zmianie zadecydują wielkie wynalazki, które obejmą oddziaływaniem całe narody. Sztuczna inteligencja, tani grafen, możliwość błyskawicznego przemieszczania się między metropoliami z prędkością odrzutowca, w specjalnych tunelach, zdalne samochody (zapowiadane już przez Stanisława Lema), całkowicie spersonalizowana diagnostyka medyczna?

**United Arab Emirates - Al Khaleej, 20/11/2016**

انطلقت في العاصمة القطرية الدوحة، الأحد، أعمال "مؤتمر السياسات العالمية" التاسع، بمشاركة وشارك في افتتاح المؤتمر رئيس مجلس الوزراء القطري وزير الداخلية عبد الله بن ش. شخصيات دولية قتصاد التركي ناصر بن خليفة آل ثاني، ورئيس الوزراء التركي السابق أحمد داود أوغلو، ووزير الأ السابق علي باباجان، ووزير الخارجية والتعاون الدولي الفرنسي جون مارك أيرولت، وفق ما نقلت وكالة الأناضول.





“

**Jean-Marc Ayrault**

[...] isolationist temptations, which can lead — and this is truly dangerous — to the return of nationalism, and if there's one continent that has suffered from nationalism it's the European continent, which is more vigilant than ever. [...] It's a challenge for the whole world. In the face of the challenges confronting us — terrorism, global warming, development, fair trade and the reality of a world that is deeply changing with the emergence of new powers — the world must be kept peaceful at any price. For that, a balance is needed. Countries must be capable of playing their roles instead of turning in on themselves. The temptation of turning inwards is a danger for the whole planet.

“

**Mari Kiviniemi**

[The big challenge that confronts the business side and the government's side] is implementation, because in many countries and also at the international level we have recommendations but then when it comes to implementation and monitoring, companies are not doing what they should be doing and that is always a challenge. But those challenges can be tackled. [...] We have the perfect tool for that and it is called BEPS or base erosion and profit shifting; with that guidance and that legislation, which has to be then implemented, we are able to make sure that the multinationals pay their taxes and that they go in the right direction.

“

**Kevin Rudd**

Being able to speak Chinese does not necessarily enable you to understand China. [...] I have seen the comings and goings of many Chinese politicians. If you step back from all of that and project ten years — that is a vigorous time horizon — I see a Chinese communist party still strongly in power, I see a strengthened Xi Jinping leadership [...]. I see a country whose economic transformation programme will not be universally successful but sufficiently successful to keep the economy grow over 5%, which for a country of 1.4 billion people — as it will be — is a reasonable achievement. The open question I have is the extent to which China will have turned the corner on the question of environmental sustainability, air pollution and climate change.

“

**Thierry de Montbrial**

I think we all agree that we are going through an extremely critical period. Trump and Brexit are symbols of these difficult times. The world is clearly threatened by fragmentation, nationalism, populism, etc. The WPC is a place where people from the five continents try to fight this risk. [...] I hope that even if it is only a drop of water in the ocean, this drop might be significant and might even change the world.

“

**Reem Al Harami**

[Trump's] rhetoric has been very alarming [...] we are witnessing a very different and strange election in the US. [...] This is the first time since 1928 that Republicans have been in control of the three branches: the Presidency, the House, the Senate and the Congress [...] so you have all these powers concentrated within the hands of the Republicans. [...] Hearing these views is going to help us draw a broader picture of how Trump's presidency is going to be; until now we have not really been certain about what is going to happen next.

“

**Guillaume Pepy**

I do not think [Brexit] is going to change much in our sector, because British people will still have a necessity and happiness to come to Europe and the French love going to London. [...] When you are state-owned like we are, you have the duty to see things from a long-term perspective. Investment in mobility is a long-term issue. [...] From my perspective, I will insist on the mobility revolution all around the world. Things are moving extremely fast because people are looking for door-to-door solutions, not just trains or buses. They want us to be 100% digitalised. [...] It is a very competitive environment and here in the Middle East, the interesting thing is that this region has made tremendous investments to anticipate the future.

“

**John Kerr**

It is primarily a divorce negotiation. I think that we are definitely going to sue for divorce. Whether 52-48 [in favour of Brexit] might reverse, as the terms of the divorce become clear and the months pass, and possibly some downside economic effects are felt by the British citizens, is another question. [...] One should act on the assumption that the British are going to leave but it is not absolutely certain.

“

**Jehangir Khan**

The struggle against terrorism has been around since time immemorial; terrorism has existed as long as humanity has existed. However, the nature of terrorism today is different because what we see is that terrorist movements are morphing. If you and I had been meeting five years ago, we would have been talking about Al-Qaeda, today we are talking about ISIS. Al-Qaeda was more of a hit-and-run operation; today you have ISIS, which is claiming to control a state or develop a state and even aspired to take over Syria and Iraq. [...] We may not completely defeat terrorism but we should really aim to put it back in its bottle.

“

**Patrick Pouyanné**

[...] investments have dramatically decreased from \$700 billion more or less two years ago to \$400 billion, so there is much less investment and that is an issue for the future of oil production. [...] If we do not invest enough, then in some years we will face a lack of supply. [...] OPEC has a brilliant future [...]. We need OPEC production and we need shale oil production if we want to feel the demand because the real challenge for the whole industry is that demand continues to grow. [...] [Climate change] is still a real challenge for the coming 15-20 years. [...] Total has decided to be a responsible major company, [...] and will also be a player in renewables. We have invested 5% of business today in renewables.

“

**John Lipsky**

I think there is a consensus that there will be some initiative to increase infrastructure spending [...]. The US economy is not doing so badly, unemployment is 4.9%, growth could probably be a bit faster but productivity growth needs to be a bit faster too, so it is immediately obvious that there is a big initiative needed in that direction. But President Trump has indicated seriousness about tax reform, which is something that has been discussed and is certainly needed in the US and if this results in an unblocking of a reform that has been frozen, that is a hopeful sign.





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# The French Institute of International Relations

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

Ifri is ranked 3rd among the most influential think tanks in the world, behind the Brookings Institution (United States) and Chatham House (United Kingdom), according to the University of Pennsylvania's "Global Think Tank Report 2016" which reviewed 6,486 think tanks from 182 countries.

Ifri analyses and puts into perspective the most important international events. It serves economic and political decision-makers, academicians, opinion leaders and representatives of civil society.

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