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 States’ 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.
PROGRAMME

Sunday, November 20

18:00 – 18:30: Welcome coffee

18:30 – 20:30: Dinner

Monday, November 21

10:00 – 12:30: Workshop 1: Finance and Economy

12:45 – 14:15: Workshop 2: Energy and Climate

14:30 – 17:00: Workshop 3: Security and Development in Africa

17:00 – 18:30: Workshop 4: Global Governance

18:30 – 19:30: Dinner

Tuesday, November 22

10:00 – 12:30: Workshop 5: Finance and Economy

12:45 – 14:15: Workshop 6: Energy and Climate

14:30 – 17:00: Workshop 7: Security and Development in Africa

17:00 – 18:30: Workshop 8: Global Governance

18:30 – 19:30: Dinner
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 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

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
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 exists, by countering the forces of oppression and destruction with those of dialogue, negotiation and reconciliation.

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 political 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.
LUNCH & DINNER DEBATES

PLENARY SESSIONS
The future of the Middle East

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 an ever faster rate. 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 asymmetric 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 exploits of demography and the ever-growing demands 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? When we do 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 numerous, 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 70% unemployment rate, we cannot even promise a one-bedroom apartment and a job. We cannot compete as we need to revamp 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.

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The future of the Middle East

Riad Hijab
Former Prime Minister, Syria

The meeting is being held in the shadow of the Russian and Iranian revolution in Syria, which has resulted in the killing and injury of hundreds of thousands of civilians, displacing millions of Syrian people. [...] 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 a lack of democracy due to failure of the international community to stop the violations committed against them by the criminal dictatorship whose survival constitutes a threat to international security. [...] Up until now, we have not been able to stop the Russian Federation from violating the sovereignty of the state while preserving its institutions from external intervention. [...] It is inevitable that the international community will have to fulfill its role actively by attempting to exclude intervention. [...] It is necessary that Syria live up to its role in the region. I think that all know that Syria’s fate is ours. [...] 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 process that can guarantee peace, cooperation, and security for the future?

Itamar Rabinovich
Chairman of the Gulf Research Center, Saudi Arabia

This is a region that now has almost half a billion inhabitants. Nothing is going to be stable unless issues of production, the relationship between population, demographic, and resources, the need to develop industry and sources of occupation are resolved for this very large population. There 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 during much of the 20th century were 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 in a relative term, in the Middle East because, seen from Europe, the Far East is the Middle East and the Middle East is the Far East. The Middle East refers to a zone 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.

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. [...] Blair-era Middle East will continue if the Palestinian Israeli issue is not resolved. [...] European should not wait for action from US; we should act. If we succeed with the Syrians and the Palestinians, then we have failed the Arab countries. I think that all know that Syrian Post is over. [...] How are we going to face these challenges? 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 process that can guarantee peace, cooperation, and security for the future?

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

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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 to be involved or not. However, there is a new paradigm I would like to call “The Social Contract or new social contract.” The main ideas is that all sectors, public and private, should collaborate fully to take charge of social well-being. Therefore, 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 that relationship, one important ethic which all of them must have is “transparency.” Things that are considered confidential must be transparent. [..] 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 have transparency, the business community and the civil society will make it possible for tax authorities to track funds that are transferred or held offshore. [..] In this recognition that company responsibility for impacts extends beyond their own walk 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, and an enormous monitoring, the official OECD countries plus others, representing 60% of global Foreign Investment stock in 2014, including about four fifths of foreign investment in 35 OECD countries plus 11 others, representing 81% of global foreign investment stock in 2014, including about four fifths of FDI inflows. [..] By strengthening business and responsible business conduct and collectively tackle tax evasion and tax avoidance. By strengthening business and responsible business conduct and collectively tackle tax evasion and tax avoidance.

Technology may have brought new challenges, but it has also brought new opportunities in the 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 walk 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, and an enormous monitoring, the official OECD countries plus others, representing 60% of global Foreign Investment stock in 2014, including about four fifths of outward and two thirds of FDI inflows. [..] Technology in areas of offshoring and responsible business conduct is providing us with new challenges and all the OECD will in continue to work to help governments enhance their policy framework to enable responsible business conduct and collect financial tax revenue, as well as tax evasion. By strengthening business and government relations and ethics in these ways, we can create better policies for better lives.

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 well-being. [..] In the realm of Government-Business Relations we find an increasing tendency to formalize the current relationship. [..] Technology may have brought new challenges, but it has also brought new opportunities in the 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 walk 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, and an enormous monitoring, the official OECD countries plus others, representing 60% of global Foreign Investment stock in 2014, including about four fifths of outward and two thirds of FDI inflows. [..] Technology in areas of offshoring and responsible business conduct is providing us with new challenges and all the OECD will in continue to work to help governments enhance their policy framework to enable responsible business conduct and collect financial tax revenue, as well as tax evasion. By strengthening business and government relations and ethics in these ways, we can create better policies for better lives.

In general, companies will play a very important role in the transformation. [..] That means a lot of cooperation between governments and companies, and that is happening. [..] We also need a lot of improvement in measurement. and there are also returning to the ethical question. [..] I think that company responsible, the government responsible, which is another example of the Paris Agreement, starts with announcing commitments along with the way they will be measured. [..] There is a new driving topic, which is why is a topic about, which is whether we are all waiting 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 with it: ‘Regulatory value’. I think that is a lot of merit, because the concern, the future will be more transparent, more responsible, we will get more divestment and new avenues, as well as an accountability of public services 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.

**Ethics and Government-Business relations**

**S E S S I O N 4 • S U N D A Y , N O V E M B E R 2 0 • 1 2 : 3 0 – 1 3 : 3 0**

**PLENARY SESSIONS**
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 criticisms 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, where 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.
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, one 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 a new paradigm. We may be wondering [...] If the medicine is personalized, 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 the private individuals a failure of the governments? Is the fact that the space is actually being taken by the private individuals a failure of the governments? [...] One might argue about which medical body is the most effective for the masses at the moment.

**Health: Technological development and global governance**

Health is at the core of human development in every country and each country has a role to certainly 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 social and security. We currently live the Digital/Tech revolution and modern technology has changed the organization and framework of the entire medical field. In the State of Qatar we have two different entities in Hamad Medical Corporation HMC, which has adopted new solutions to digitize the entire public health system, including all HMC hospitals, and Primary Health Care centres PHCC. The State of Qatar has been rated as having the lowest access in the world. This has facilitated heavy investments in technology. As the world becomes increasingly more digital, global governance aims at achieving sustainable development and negotiating responses to problems that affect more than one state or region. The Sustainable Development Goal SDG 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 30% of these goals by 2030, the world will be a sustainable and resilient planet. By integrating and balancing the three dimensions of sustainable development: the economic, social and environmental dimensions.

All this progress has led to the construction over the past 15 years of what we call personalized medicine, precision medicine. We are able to identify the parameters of a single individual among the population and to design/biometric for the prediction of treatment, efficacy of treatment and side effects. [...] There is an increase in the context of the global and One Health perspective, and we have outlined a very important move. There is in fact 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. [...] We have entered the era of this field, that encompases for example different hospitals, and research institutions which can share this data. We have also entered the era when large companies are becoming one player. 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 interact with them, 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.

Last year, the human genomics project has almost completely deciphered the genome. Every kind of disease is very closely related to you genes. They 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 in paramekt with [...] This 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 1 million people. [...] How global healthcare has three big challenges. These include age- ing 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’s why we build up a very unique organization, which is not like a company. The assessment of cost needs to change, along with policy and culture. In this case there are so many changes that new 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 its digital life.
The fourth industrial revolution covers 3C’s, and I just heard about 5C, which means MCI. We are going to have a new type of social contract, not social citizenship, on which we should think and question ourselves. We should be seeing the changes in society and economy. Knowledge, information and new actions will be money in the future. [...] In the fourth industrial revolution, which I call the digital era, your money and money power derive from data and information. [...] We have to connect with governments to foster a new global governance and we need to think about this idea.

Technological change and the New Social Contract

Social contracts have been the basis of how we construct societies. Every couple of generations social 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 increasing organized in large factories but rather in highly disaggregated and fragmented workplaces. Workers increasingly freelance and regulations are left 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 from the decoupling of productivity and wages are struggling. [...] So what does the future look like? Who 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 era, your money and money power derive from data and information. [...] We have to connect with governments to foster a new global governance and we need to think about this idea.

Patrick Nicolet
Group Executive Board Member, Cegyverni

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Chairman and CEO, AccorHotels

Seventy years have passed since the advent of the internet. And we are going to have new relationships between human beings and machines. Employment and the social environment: Employer-Employee relationship 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 era, your money and money power derive from data and information. [...] We have to connect with governments to foster a new global governance and we need to think about this idea.

To get back to your question, sir, on what you think you can do and what you can implement, I think there are two ways to look at it. The first way is, in all those new initiatives, to be a participant. Co partner or invest one of your own. You are going to have new relationships with technology in the world, in which we have our own autonomous lab. I can help you 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 a difficult, but you can do it. I think that those aged between 15 and 35 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 those aged between five and 15 today will be far better in 15 years’ time. They have an ability to predict the future which is 25 times better than 25 years old. They have an ability to predict the future which is 25 times better than 25 years old. You need to expand your presence and your market share into something different from what you are accustomed to. Which is a difficult, but you can do it. I think that those aged between 15 and 35 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 those aged between five and 15 today will be far better in 15 years’ time. They have an ability to predict the future which is 25 times better than 25 years old. They have an ability to predict the future which is 25 times better than 25 years old.
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. [...] 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. [...] 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.
Security and Economic Development in Africa

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 irredeemable 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. […] How this has adversely 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 47% 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.
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 so seriously that you surrender. That is always the problem. The last topic before we go to some questions, the Euro 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. 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 into 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 its 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.
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 in 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 he 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 what typically a politician does. Whatever kind of follow-up he will have in Congress, with a Republican Party that is so heavily divided, remains a mystery and might happen at his leisure […]. He 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 victory was a shock because it came at a challenging time for Europe, he reasons both strictly European and transatlantic.

First, internationally when president Trump takes office in January, you will see an immediate shift from a more liberal Obama policies to a very conservative Trump policies. […] As president, Mr Trump will demand a 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 American. 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.

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. All the policies that he will have to do. The ones that will have to modify and do. The ones that I will postpone in […]. He will have to see which ones would go to group A, group B, group C. As for foreign policy, maybe I am too optimistic 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, the Middle East, 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 instincts or sixth sense saying which is better for America.
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 will be initiated and what initiatives he will pursue. Within this overall framework of uncertainty, however, it is 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 popular sentiment already established as a result of the Brexit referendum in a number of European countries. The victory is not only politically driven but also economically driven. Trying to engender a different kind of relationship with Russia is not necessarily fraught with negative consequences. Although in the short term, it could succeed, namely in the context of Syria. Furthermore, a Russia-American rapprochement could open the possibility for removing 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 has said he would like to implement during the campaign he will actually try to deliver as president. Trump’s victory means that we are going to be living in a different world. Liberal internationalism will no longer be the predominant global norm. This is the future, 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.

Post-American Elections

Mexico has undergone massive transformation in the last few years. […] Mexico has grown from being as insecure with 15% debt down to 4% and that was achieved in terms of balance of a new reform which included a lot of cost cutting. […] We have a great battle underway right now with major legal challenges in terms of compliance. […] There is a political process going on to 2018 elections and of course the big challenge: the transition in the US. […] One million people cross that border every day and the 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. […] In the NAFTA question, I think it is important to mention the fact that the free-trade between Canada, the US and Mexico is more than USD 1 trillion a year USD. There is absolutely a lot of potential. More than six million jobs in the US are directly attributed to US-Mexico 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 new reform which included a lot of cost saving. […] We have a debt down to 14% and that was achieved in terms of balance by implementing during the campaign he would actually try to deliver as president. Trump’s victory means that we are going to be living in a different world. Liberal internationalism will no longer be the predominant global norm. This is the future, 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.

Never in recent history has a U.S. presidential election been so disorienting — or captivating, depending on which side you look at — as the 2016 one. The election was probably the most controversial and divisive ever in China. […] The majority of China’s media and political circles […] 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 man who loves money, and China has a lot of money; thus, it might be easier to make a deal with Trump than with Clinton. Some other Chinese hailed Trump’s victory as a new anti-Americanism. […] 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 Chinese media and political 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 risks, would not be a deteriorating power. But I am much less sure of it today. Will Trump’s victory mark the making of a nation that will be “Great Again”?
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 suicidal and marauding disasters, improving food, crops 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 growing to continue. [...] A new movement called ‘New Space’ is being shaped by rich and ambitious entrepreneurs eager to transform this business. [...] It is evident 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 rational 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.
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 unaffiliated, totally incoherent and irresponsible intrusion by foreign powers. […] My first recipe for dealing with this issue is to stop interventions, wherever ideological barrier they come under—whether Com- munist, democratic or any future vision. […] 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 roots, 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 marshall all our forces to combat the idea, and utilise the Internet to defeat the subversive propaganda of ISIS.
Jehangir Khan
Director of the UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) and the UN Counter-Terrorism Centre (UNCCT)

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

There are two approaches to fighting terrorism. [...] The current approach we have right now is just bombing Al Qaeda, 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, those and anarchy prevailed to some area in the Arab world, so Al Qaeda and later ISIS became the alternative. [...] What we should do is go for the approach of bringing the Arab world, targeting the anxiety 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. In your countries, anxiety for some reason prevailed, those radicals were strengthened. That is why the radical anger in our region. [...] That does not mean standing by tyrants such as Bashar or Qaddafi in Libya, or other small tyrants in Libya – they are not the solution but the problem.

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 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.
Political and Economic Stability in East Asia

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 is always 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, as 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 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 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 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 the US and Japan. 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, as 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.
China shows more forthcoming positions in the RCEP. It is showing its leadership in the world trading system. We hope that the basic principle of multilateralism will be in place. As the largest trading nation, China is expected to make a strong voice. In the midst of the most difficult environment, we should go back to the principles of saving the multilateral trading system. In other words, in the RCEP context, all the political leaders should seriously consider the implementation of TPP. It will eventually hurt domestic consumers and firms. We should realize that this is not good for the world economy. This move would invite retaliations from the trading partners and even worse, the lesson from the past that unilateral trade restrictions have far-reaching implications of the failure of the world trading system. This is a 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 even worse, the failure of the multilateral trading system. In other words, in the midst of the most difficult environment, we should go back to the principles of saving the multilateral trading system.

The multilateral trade negotiations have been stalled and unilateral trade protectionism is on the rise with measures such as TPP, BEEF, China-Japan-Korea Triangular FTA and TTIP. However, the president-elect Trump decided that the US will withdraw from the TPP and announced in his plan to take various protectionist trade measures partly due to the China and Mexico. At the same time, public sentiment on free trade is becoming extremely pessimistic as seen in the Brexit election and the presidential campaigns in the US. Trade experts warn that trade conflicts among major trading nations could show 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 even worse, the failure of the multilateral trading system. In other words, in the midst of the most difficult environment, we should go back to the principles of saving the multilateral trading system.

We should take what is going on very seriously, not only in the US but also in Europe and Asia. We have actually the same phenomenon of protectionism, that is, the increase of protectionism in various countries, the need for restructuring and upgrading in the production sector (the impact of manufacturing), and the other advances which are also calling for abrupt and sharp changes. [...]

We are all aware that what we need to do is to work together to ensure that we are on the right track. We should move forward together to save the multilateral trading system. In other words, we should go back to the principles of multilateralism. In the context of this political situation, we need to have a serious discussion about the future of the world trading system and the role that we want to play in this important forum.

Main world economic challenges

The slowdown of the Chinese economy does of course have some impact on the global economy - if you are a material 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. Chinese direct investment by China is growing rapidly at this stage, which will create more jobs and opportunities for other countries. [...] we will 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 recognize that if you want to protect one level of institutions or resources, it is not enough to prevent the occurrence of a financial crisis, as currently global financial safety net includes four components. The first is self-insurance - developing countries have to have their own kind of financial safety net. The second is regional financial arrangements like the euro areas. The third is institutional response to the global financial crisis and the creation of four level of institutions or resources. It is not enough to prevent a financial crisis occurring. So currently global financial safety net.

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The role of hydrocarbons in the regional geopolitical landscape

Oil and gas are still very important for the Middle East as 50% of reserves are in this region which represents 39% of the world production. The Middle East is facing challenges and the level of investment of the next US administration is crucial to stabilize the region. We need some level of involvement of the next US administration to stabilize the world production. The Middle-East is facing challenges and the reserves are in this region which represents only 30% of the world energy mix. Oil and gas are still very important for Middle-East as 50% of reserves are in this region which represents 39% of the world production.

Regarding the growth of fossil fuels, the cleaned fossil fuel is 30%, which is seen as a very high growth area, because you have a lot of areas in the world that want clean energy and clean the clean energy you can have [...]. Humanity is growing at a very rapid rate and need all kinds of fast and we need all kinds of energy mixes [...]. If the US wanted to reach its 60% target for CO2 emissions, it’s a 40 Billion times cheaper for Europe to do it using gas. That is a substantial number [...]. It is actually a large number of people in regions who do not have power. With growing middle classes and a fairly healthy economic growth in India, in comparison with other regions, I think that the US is going to grow further and they will need a lot of [...]. This [Trump] comments on the oil and gas industry, liberalisation is going to grow further and they will need a lot of fuel. [...]. His comments on the oil and gas industry, liberalisation is going to grow further and they will need a lot of fuel. [...]. His views on the oil and gas industry, liberalisation is going to grow further and they will need a lot of fuel. [...]. The US not needing fossil fuels and being self-sufficient does not mean that fossil fuels are not important, they are still important and a significant reserve of oil and gas is still present in the Middle East. The US not needing fossil fuels and being self-sufficient does not mean that fossil fuels are not important, they are still important and a significant reserve of oil and gas is still present in the Middle East.
Education and the role of women

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 effective supervisory limits, units, competent human resources, and nearly 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 Baruch calls on women to marry terrorist fighters and support their terrorist 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 any government officials? However, mobilising the power of women for this security challenge requires empowering women and women’s groups in all areas of public life. If governments are serious about reducing the threat of terrorism, they need to get serious about building 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.
Diversification, Education and Employment in the Middle East

Let me now turn to the role of women in overcoming Egypt’s economic and security challenges [...] Women have long been drivers of resilience and change, often leading and inspiring others. In Egypt, women have been integral to the country’s economic and social development, from the early role of women in the Mamluk period to Hoda Chaaraoui and her daughters of the Nile. [...] Over the years, women’s leadership has inspired women across the region and shaped the course of history. 

Creating enough jobs for a young and growing labor force is a preoccupation 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 necessary even in countries where oil revenues are high, as 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, it is true, is 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, especially a private sector that is itself being impacted by the revolution in technology now underway across the globe.

Jobs are the most important challenge facing MENA. A reasonable youth bulge combined with less than stellar growth explains 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 activities 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 moderate 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 formed and low oil prices will continue to grow, and there are many workers in agriculture and the formal sector waiting to become formally employed.

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 involved 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 interrelated and everything is affected by the latest global trends – be it prices, trade liberalisation, market openness, and so on. We should not also 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 renewable sources is something that we have to understand. We cannot rely on them as a sole source of energy. It is well known that a diversi ty of views in religion, culture, politics, and academia do not weaken society, on the contrary.
Lionel Baraban
Co-Founder & CEO, Famoco

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.

We live on a curve of accelerated change, both in terms of population and material wealth [...] Since the scope probabi-

lity has increased by 1.25% 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 ‘Younger than my parents’ says that upwards of 5% of Italian households have seen their household incomes stagnate or decline, that is equally true for 8% of US households and 7% 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 the don’t deliver for the people who have been left behind, it is not just the aids and the pariahs 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.

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For several years now, the explosive growth of data has been considered as 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, if we choose. Today, several authors believe that the problem of understanding the way the world works, we feel threatened by a sense of restriction, opacity and complexity. It is urgent to take a different approach and give people the tools they need to understand the world around them. Data leads to a better understanding of the world around us. It is urgent to take a different approach and give people the tools they need to understand the world around them.

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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 all of the globalised elites, in many countries worldwide, who played that card and [...]. But there’s also the sense of a loss of identity, sovereignty and security. The globalizing elites of the past decades condemned those words unmentionable, outdated, reactionary, dangerous. They worked hard, not to prevent a slow or central process, but to discuss, 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 inane. 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 candid: 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 Westerners, or like children, worry and wait to see what happens. This may be the time to provide a European response, including to control globalization, including to maintain economic liberalism, but with rules, etc. Europeans are not capable of that, don’t know who will be in the new circumstances.

Michel Foucher
Chair of applied Geopolitics at College of World Studies; Former Director of the policy planning staff of the French Foreign Ministry
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 organized crime, which are rampant. Today, 50 million people live in slavery situations. \[\ldots\] Pollution must be controlled because of its negative impact on the human scale. It causes new forms of migration and slavery. \[\ldots\] 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.

What we witness today is not a Middle East that is harmonious, but a Middle East that is based on ethnic sectarianism and total sectarianism. \[\ldots\] 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 Israeli Palestinian conflict. \[\ldots\] 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. \[\ldots\] We are witnessing a new world disorder and a new Middle East. Hence Palestinian and Israeli policies today are stuck between what I see as 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 haranguing on crisis management rather than on conflict resolution. \[\ldots\] We cannot have a third party which is unequivocally supporting one party against the other. \[\ldots\] One cannot include the entire Middle East up. \[\ldots\] We must talk about a two-state solution where the international community shoulders the responsibility of creating a Palestinian state. We fail to do this, then the options are very limited.

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. \[\ldots\] You cannot imagine what a miracle the post war evolution of Europe has been. That is too often forgotten. \[\ldots\] 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. \[\ldots\] the real beneficiaries of Brexit might very well be the remaining and new members. \[\ldots\] A European country on its own will never be a major global player by reverting to nation state status. \[\ldots\] 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.
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.” Trump loses was targeted as a symbol of the establishment. Hillary Clinton was targeted as a symbol of the establishment. 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 go as predicted in the future. However, I think the turn of global affairs will not return to the track but off the track let more more we may think. As a result, we may have to live with new normal in the years ahead. The result, 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 would result in either Trump’s first spectacular foreign policy victory or catastrophic consequences on the Korean peninsula.

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 Iasis Urgelleti Institute; Former CEO of BT Global Services and a BT Group PLC board member

Trump is the winner and Clinton is the loser. It is commonly said. The mismatch seems to me to be the fundamental establishment. Hillary Clinton was targeted as a symbol of the establishment. 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 go as predicted in the future. However, I think the turn of global affairs will not return to the track but off the track let more more we may think. As a result, we may have to live with new normal in the years ahead. The result, 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 would result in either Trump’s first spectacular foreign policy victory or catastrophic consequences on the Korean peninsula.
LUNCH & DINNER DEBATES
PARALLEL WORKSHOPS
We have 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 is 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 supposed. [...] 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 the central banks opened up their informal or formal governance to all systemic emerging economies and emerging central banks. The art of the policy of the central banks is changing because the systemic risks which plague us, we need to understand the systemic risks that plague the world today, and we need to understand the appropriate concepts. In terms of history, this crisis is the moment when world governance, in theory and in practice, becomes really inclusive and absorbing and that the emerging and systemic economies have a decisive role to play in global governance.

After the 2008 crisis, Central Banks shifted from being pure regulators overseeing the financial sector to important players in the real economy. 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 USD 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 USD 600 million to date to be utilized 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 minimize risks and increase the availability of foreign reserves – its main buffer. The link between finance and economy has never been so simple once. Yet the experience if BDL has proven that the right financial policies can create boundless synergies.

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 how to stimulate business investment and how it can be recovered. 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 divided than ever, with the US dollar as the new global reserve currency. The United States’ use of the new Trump Administration’s pledge to rewrite Dodd-Frank reform legislation. With regard to international trade, if 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 Institution is under question, as yet another IMF reform goal – to amend voting weights 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.
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, demographic change, technological change, rising income inequality, etc. OECD studies show that potential growth in the EU slowed down from 3%-4% in the late 1980s to less than 1% in recent years. In contrast, growth in the USA and China was around 3% or even higher. An analogue evolution can be observed in the US economy, too, over that period of time. The impact of the financial crisis is also significant; estimations are that the Great Recession has bought GDP potential growth below 1% in the US for the next 5-10 years (OECD and Economic Commission numbers). Low, ultra-low interest rates came into the picture in this context as a consequence of the need for raising and investment over the longer term which are both shaped by the financial crisis. Technological optimism (robots, AI, quantum computing) is also an issue for concern. And last but not least, what is the role played by debt overhang, of big debts in public and private sectors? Balance sheet recession has to be highlighted in this context. More real is the end of globalisation as we get back to more autarkic patterns. We have links to globalisation when thinking of the need to protect the social tissue, market fundamentalism is wrong in reverse is unavoidable. There are limits to globalisation when thinking of the need to protect the social tissue, market fundamentalism is wrong. Hard times lie ahead of us.

Abbottomics is based on the three arrows of monetary easing, flexible fiscal policy, and growth strategy. Growth strategy has a major role in the growth in the longer term, but the structural reforms of the growth strategy require time because, at the end of the day, requires a lot of reform and regulation against vested interests. Abenomics is based on the three arrows of monetary easing, flexible fiscal policy, and growth strategy. Growth strategy has a major role in the growth in the longer term, but the structural reforms of the growth strategy require time because, at the end of the day, requires a lot of reform and regulation against vested interests. Abenomics is based on the three arrows of monetary easing, flexible fiscal policy, and growth strategy. Growth strategy has a major role in the growth in the longer term, but the structural reforms of the growth strategy require time because, at the end of the day, requires a lot of reform and regulation against vested interests. 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2. Energy and Climate

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 CO2, would continue to rise beyond the level which scientists claim is the “tipping point”, namely atmospheric accumulations of CO2 in excess of 450 ppm exceeding global mean surface temperatures exceeding degrees Celsius above pre industrial levels that is, around 1980. [...] I would ask all the panellists to answer this question: do panellists who are energy experts, actually believe that the emissions of GHG 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 believe so. [...] 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.

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. [...] 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 the first quarter this year. [...] As a result, oil prices dropped dramatically in the market. [...] Out of September 2016, 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 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.

Oil and gas together are responsible for about 35% 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 CO2 being emitted from about 30 today to 20 by 2040. There are three main ways that we identified in order to get them. 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 position to match or to achieve the 2° scenario. One aspect that seems very important to us is 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 or electricity generation compared to coal, in order to improve the situation 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 Amiens 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 50% between 2010 and 2020 and to eliminate it by 2030.

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

Olivier Appert
Chairman of the Conseil Français de l’Energie; Senior Advisor, Centre for Energy, Ifri

Ladislas Paszkiewicz
Senior Vice President, Strategy and Climate, Total
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 CO2 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. [...] G20 countries of energy futures is like this. Even in 2040, the fossil share will be 25%. However, if we 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 G20 scenarios about decarbonisation. This is what I would like to see. [...] We have a good chance of decarbonisation, 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 bottom line is scaling decarbonising technology. [...] As far as climate initiative are concerned, effective leadership will not be from politicians but from the private sector.

We cannot reach the 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. [...] It would be to have cheap energy on a constant basis and we do not want blackouts. [...] Nuclear is part of the solution for sure. [...] A lot of green organisations which consider this a controversial industry. [...] We are very transparent and we do communicate with the public. Whenever we have an unplanned outage, we explain what is going on. We do respect all the safety standards and safety is the first consideration in all our decisions. [...] We would like to have cheap energy on a constant basis and we do not want blackouts. [...] The mystery and the fact that we did not discuss too much about what was going on inside our business and our industry [...] is one of the problems of the nuclear industry in the mystery and the fact that we did not discuss too much about what was going on inside our business and our industry. [...] We are very transparent and we do communicate with the public. Whenever we have an unplanned outage, we explain what is going on. We do respect all the safety standards and safety is the first consideration in all our decisions. [...] We are very transparent and we do communicate with the public. Whenever we have an unplanned outage, we explain what is going on. 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 in the mystery and the fact that we did not discuss too much about what was going on inside our business and our industry...
China: China in transition

3. China in transition

**WORKSHOP 3 • MONDAY, NOVEMBER 21 • 10:00 – 12:30**

President Duterte announced his separation from the US and a new special relationship with China. My question is whether after Duterte other ASEAN neighbors will follow suit. If the US were to pay special attention to the President-elect’s international issues, especially the possibility of Trump’s and the US Congress adopting a more hawkish stance towards China, we would need to examine the implications of this new situation. In turn, in the 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? […] How will the US respond to this?

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? […] How will the US respond to this?

The role of the Chinese government is different. It provides the manufacturing and goods for the rest of the world. At the same time, other countries provide technology-intensive goods and services. Finally, commodities to China. In the new relationship, China tries to play the second major role in that China does not import and export growth rates have declined, and even this year the net surplus in that is reduced. The demand for raw materials has fallen, which will have a negative impact on its raw material exporting countries. […] The trend is in some regions, in some countries, the market is going down, which will increase the import of Chinese goods. Chinese industry upgrade to make sure of the very high-end, which will make China’s economic growth. […] But Trump’s views are in favor of American jobs, which he argued have destroyed American jobs. What might he do to translate this animus into policy? […] Trump seems to have an animus against imports from China, which he has threatened to impose. […] 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? […] How will the US respond to this?

**Jia Qingguo**
President of the China Foundation for Advanced Studies; Co-chairman of the Beijing/Shanghai Forum

President’s leadership has been strengthened as the domestic lead. The anti-corruption campaign has been successful. It is not so clear whether those people needed to do things by the rules. […] The China economic reforms have been appreciated. China wants to make its military larger and to be a copetitor in international affairs. […] On the international side, China has continued its efforts to build the road to be a new type of great power relations. China may attempt to build their own type of great power relations with the US. China has been working more closely with the US than the EU. China is more interested in the US market for its goods; and his threats against the US-Japan and US-Korean security alliances are being taken seriously. China-South Korea relations are strained. China sensitized that person over the South Korean government’s decision to deploy the THAAD system, which the Chinese government views as a threat to China’s security. This could be a destabilizing factor. China-US relations are also strained. It is a hot issue whether those countries fail to contribute more to them, thus catering to China’s security. We can speculate about Trump’s policies as they shape up. We can look at the South Korea-China relations in moving towards stability.

The Chinese government continues to push forward with the ‘One Belt, One Road’ initiative. Many projects are being negotiated. 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? […] How will the US respond to this?
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 don’t think that both President Xi Jinping and Prime Minister Abe have an interest in keeping the flame alive. It suits them both to have a certain amount of tension, it does not suit them to raise that tension very much. [...] would put the Japanese in a situation of real fear, it is not in the interest of the immediate agenda. It will give the new administration in America the chance to lower the tension. [...]China is not going to accept that until a package that would appeal to the US. At the same time, they have to incorporate what we said about China in an open way, because the real 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 becoming an important if not the major part of the OBOR strategy. [...] One Belt, One Road is also a way to export industrial over-capacities, to improve trade relations, and China is going to fundamentally change its policy towards balancing the stability of North Korea and its desire to de-nuclearise the peninsula. [...] Trump may be able to get us out of the sub-sunk we have got into with the Russians as we start dismantling the willful constitution that has replaced the goals of the early U.S. superpower and put the Taiwan rise in tensions out a few years; it is not really on the immediate agenda. [...] I would have a hard time to identify the person or the policy that could get us on a path of cooperation with Russia and great power triangular relationship among Moscow, Washington and Beijing.

Michel Foucher
Chair of Regional Geopolitics at College of World Studies, Former Director of the planning staff of the French Foreign Ministry

If I focus on two main aspects of Chinese projection of influence, OBOR and South China Sea, the general context has changed. The idea of busy ports in foreign affairs is over. [...] After the arbitral proceedings instituted by the Philippines against China up under the Convention of the Law of the Sea, the Permanent Court of Arbitration (July 2016) concluded that there was no legal basis for China’s non-derogation of international laws within the two areas falling within the ‘nine-dash line’ [...] And understood that the line is not just a red line but also an official document. The line 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? [...] The China Belt, (One Road) is also a way to export industrial over-capacities, to improve trade routes, to integrate world China with its partners along and diversely access to rare materials and to contribute to stability in the border regions. [...] One impact of the OBOR strategy in 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 Taeho
Professor at Seoul National University, former Ministry of Trade, Republic of Korea

I think that President Trump will focus on an ‘America First’ policy, which means that the United States will reduce its non-military engagement in East Asia. The natural result will be an increasing role for China and Japan in bringing stability and prosperity to East Asia, together with a country such as South Korea, ASEAN, etc. Japan is now focusing on the major issue of what China is doing to the region, what China is doing to the region, and its involvement in the political stability of the region. China and Japan are facing the challenge of the uncertain world trading environment will be increased. [...] China is likely to go on trying to implement the FTAAP, which means that the United States will reduce its engagement in the region. China is now focusing on the major issue of what China is doing to the region, what China is doing to the region, and its involvement in the political stability of the region. China and Japan are facing the challenge of the uncertain world trading environment will be increased. [...] China is likely to go on trying to implement the FTAAP, which means that the United States will reduce its engagement in the region.

Yulchi 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 its non-military engagement in East Asia. The natural result will be an increasing role for China and Japan in bringing stability and prosperity to East Asia, together with a country such as South Korea, ASEAN, etc. Japan is now focusing on the major issue of what China is doing to the region, what China is doing to the region, and its involvement in the political stability of the region. China and Japan are facing the challenge of the uncertain world trading environment will be increased. [...] China is likely to go on trying to implement the FTAAP, which means that the United States will reduce its engagement in the region. China is now focusing on the major issue of what China is doing to the region, what China is doing to the region, and its involvement in the political stability of the region. China and Japan are facing the challenge of the uncertain world trading environment will be increased. [...] China is likely to go on trying to implement the FTAAP, which means that the United States will reduce its engagement in the region.
LUNCH & DINNER DEBATES
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 ten years ago. 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 trends, new technologies and new rules of the game. We need three game changers: 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 services, and new rules of mobility. The younger generation are digital natives and take a radically different attitude to consumer choice than does the older population. Usage has become the core value, not ownership. Seeing global, but acting locally. There are probably 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 buses. It is up to us to imagine solutions in line with local needs.
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 initiatives focus on building the company’s image and promoting the brand. I have long 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 forms of social value. It’s a framework to calculate annual social value created by social enterprises. [..] Through our SPC projects, 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.
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 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 critical but not explosive yet (like Europe and Middle East). India-China still very much a bilateral... (A Partnership between great power politics, arms race, economic restructuring with on-shoring by both US and China. AIIB, BRI...). 4) De-globalisation: Trade policy major challenge. (And in emerging economies)...榜样两全球化的，现在全球经济正在走向区域集团化（如RCEP, TPP, FTAA等）。...
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 mediating 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, 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 World Policy Conference]. The broad band of discussions that we heard this morning, the breadth of perspectives, was really very high level, on an extremely high level.

Youssouf Amranli

(The WPC) helps me a lot to understand, and in helping me to listen to each other. It is really the only place actually, where I go as President of the Institut Pasteur and where I really meet scientists and different points of view. It is much more broad than I expected.

Mari Kiviniemi

I think this is a very good forum for people who think in a different way from the establishment. We have had, the recommendations, the tools, and the perspectives that are all now available to people who are interested in different perspectives of what we hear in our daily lives. I think this is a very good audience because that those ideas are really influential.

Christian Bréchot

I get a lot of benefit from it because it is the only place actually, where we get really in touch with people who are complementary to ours and different points of view. It is much more than a scientific meeting and I like this very much because this is governance, what we discuss in our sessions, for example technology, on science. So, (below) it is very positive.

John Kerr

The WPC is 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 think a President should look and discuss a certain amount of foreign affairs and the House of Lords and indeed keep in touch. I welcomed it, it is also very nice from the networking and social media side of the public.

John Lipsky

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

Ramar Rabinovich

The WPC is very useful. Today more than hundreds of people listened to the speech. I would not come to hear my own speech. The WPC is the only even for me, to have a chance to hear a speech at the conference but it is one of them.

Moubarrak Lo

Excellent insights. Most of you have attended the diversity of ideas and those of the wide range of more than 500 of you, which is incredible. International relations, space, technology development. I learned a lot from this cross-cultural reflection. I think the WPC is going to be a good opportunity for us to promote the whole agenda of moderation and get attached to organizations and attach oneself to the other who are at the forefront.

Jim Hoagland

When I look back at all the conferences, I have been attending for 30 years as a journalist, I think I have never been to any conference that is as good as the WPC.

Justin Vaïsse

As far as citizens, policymakers and even students sometimes who are present here from the US 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 all the WPC, if you believe by comparing those ideas and doing it in a civil manner, even though sometimes political differences are quite sharp, you discover some progress in the means to achieve cooperation.

John Al Harami

All the WPCs are a great source of new ideas and different views on the Trump presidency and how the US is going to deal with the rest of the world. It is not just the Trump president, it also provides a wonderful opportunity to hear the views of different people from around the course. It is really very interesting for me because it is an excellent conference.

Youssef Amranli

The WPC is very useful. I also meet Palestinians and I learn a lot and it is a very nice forum for the networking and social media side of the public.

Kevin Rudd

I think it is a good gathering because the theme of global governance, even though it sounds horribly mundane, still something that is new deep within us.

Tatsuo Masuda

I think this is a very good forum to make everyone aware of them especially in the areas of development more, not just economics. I think this will push us to understand the other groupings, I think it is an amazing conference and I must go to the next conference as well.

Daniel Dalanu

The WPC is very useful because it is not about meeting old friends, it is about discussing new ideas and new friends. It is about discussing topics and its useful because we are still debating international matters. And this is in the way to try and find the optimal path forward. People who meet in the WPC are still debates of uncertainty as is natural. We Americans have a lot of uncertainty as is natural. We Americans have a lot of uncertainty as is natural. We Americans have a lot of uncertainty as is natural.

Mat Isa Nashurudin

I have followed the discussions, which are very wide, and as far as I can see, the content of the conference is huge. I think the WPC is going to be a good opportunity for us to promote the whole agenda of moderation and get attached to organizations and attach oneself to those who are at the forefront.

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Toby Simon

I think this is an amazing conference and trust conferences all of you for bringing over here the beauty. This is a different part of the world. There are many conferences where it is not about discussing topics and its useful because we are still debating international matters. And this is in the way to try and find the optimal path forward. People who meet in the WPC are still debates of uncertainty as is natural. We Americans have a lot of uncertainty as is natural. We Americans have a lot of uncertainty as is natural.

Francois Barrault

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

Daniel Dalanu

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François Barrault

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

Xavier Starkloff

TheWPC has given me the opportunity to participate in the WPC and we are discussing from the intrusion and really international balance, it is a good opportunity to come and cover all fields of discussion that is the theme, because as expert and interpreter of Trump, you have to use what you think about the impact of Trump’s tweets, very many issues, the impact of the expert is very difficult concept, unfortunately, I have to say without measures, to in some extent, we understand, everything in a roundtable and framework, you have experienced companies to workers who lost jobs because they are not really strong on the economy. We Americans have a lot of uncertainty as is natural. We Americans have a lot of uncertainty as is natural. We Americans have a lot of uncertainty as is natural.
KEY DATA

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

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

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

Agiero Avila, José Executive Vice-President 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 from 2018 to 2019 and had held positions in the World Bank.

Alkil, Hakki Former Ambassador of Turkey to France.

Al-Derham, Hassan Rashid Qatar University’s 4th President since 2015. He was previously Vice-President for Research, Qatar University.

Aldossary, Salmoun Senior policy advisor and head of Public Policy Analysis at the Economic and Financial Analysis and Economic Analysis Department of Saudi Aramco. He is the founder and CEO of the company he is said to have served as the CEO of the Arabian Gulf.

Al-Kaabi, Saad Sherida President and CEO of Qatar Petroleum since 2019. He was President Qatar Petroleum (2015-2019).

Al-Mannai, Esai Ali Director of the Qatar National Dialogue Centre (QNDAC) (2016).

Al Mohannadi, Hassan Bin Ibrahim Director of the Diplomatic Institute, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Qatar.

Andrews, John CEO of Ventana and Chief Entrepreneur in Residence at the University of Oxford. He has been a consultant in the areas of technology and strategy.

Antil, Alain Fellow at the Institute for the Study of Latin America and Senior Advisor for International Policy Planning Staff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France. He is also a consultant in the areas of international economic relations.

Bark, Taero CEO of Qatar Petroleum. He is a member of the Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS) and an Advisor for the Institute of International Affairs. He is also chairman of the Board of Directors of the World Energy Council.

Bartossi, Christian Organizer of various events and former President of the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI) and currently advisor to the IFRI.

Bouabid, Othman President of the World Energy Council. He served as Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and International Economic Relations in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the World Energy Council.

Bouasse, Florian French National School of Administration (ENA). He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the World Energy Council.

Bouslim, Amir Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the World Energy Council.

Bouzhidi, Oussama CEO of FAMOCO. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the World Energy Council.

Bouzdoukos, Sotiris Senior Advisor for the Ministry of Economic Development, Turkey. He was also a consultant in the areas of international economic relations.

Bouteflika, Abdelaziz Former Prime Minister of Algeria and former President of the World Energy Council. He served as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the World Energy Council.

Bouzaher, Dominique Director of Research at the French Institute for International Relations (IFRI) and former CEO of the OCP Policy Center.

Bukhman, Yaron Deputy Prime Minister of Israel and Minister of Finance. He served as CEO of the World Energy Council. He is also chairman of the Board of Directors of the World Energy Council.

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Desouches, Christine
Professor at the University of Paris (Faculté des Sciences) and expert consultant to international organisations. She was special adviser for political and institutional affairs to the Secretary-General of the OIF.

Erekat, Saeb
Chairman of the Palestinian Negotiations Group and Head of the Negotiations Affairs Department and chief Palestinian negotiator in the Middle East peace process. He is also Head of the Palestinian Side of the Steering and Monitoring Committee since 2011.

Fujisaki, Ichiro
Chairman of the Japanese Financial System, Japan University. He is also President of the America Japan Society Inc. He served as Ambassador of Japan to the United States.

Gadio, Cheikh Tidiane
SeneGalo, President of Strategic Development at Alstom. He was the Director General of the Moroccan Bank for Investment and Development (Bouraq) since 2011.

Galely-Lenuste, Sophie
Vice President political institutions, Total.

Girard, Renaud
President of the Danubian Export Romania – Danubian SA. Former Deputy General Manager and Board Member of Romanian Bank SA and Chief Financial Officer of BNC in Romania.

Girard, Renaud
Special Advisor to the President of the Republic of Romania (officiers généraux) on February 28, 2003. He was also an affiliate professor at Toulouse Business School.

Girard, Renaud
President of the Danubian Export Romania – Danubian SA. Former Deputy General Manager and Board Member of Romanian Bank SA and Chief Financial Officer of BNC in Romania.

Hassassian, Manuel
Advisor to the Interior Ministry. In 2014, he served as Head of the Arab-Muslim Advisory Council. He is also an affiliate professor at Toulouse Business School.

Hashim, Marina
Managing Director, Middle East Region, Executive Director for Saudi Arabia and Egypt within the Ailor Group. She is an advisor to the French Foreign Trade since 2013.

Houari, Mikail
Former Fund of Arab States Group Middle East (Hassassian). He has been elected a member of the Arab National Council (ANC)(official French trade advisor) for the last three years.

Houari, Mikail
Managing Director, Middle East Region, Executive Director for Saudi Arabia and Egypt within the Ailor Group. She is an advisor to the French Foreign Trade since 2013.

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INVITED GUESTS

Karaganov, Sergei
Head of the Russian Council of the non-governmental Council on Foreign and Defence Policy, Member of the Scientific - Advisory Council of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation.

Kempel, Willy
Austrian Ambassador to the State of Israel. He served as Austrian Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1984.

Keruzou de Kervas-doué, Jean (de)
Managing Director of the Institut malgache Synthélabo. Emeritus Professor of Economy and Health Management at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Metiers and Head of the College of Physicians of Paris.

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 Restricted States.

Khan, Jehangir
Deputy Prime Minister of the UK Government. Former Commander of 6th Infantry Division. He is the founder of Tariq Khan as a journalist and writer.

Khashoggi, Jamal
(UNCCT) in the Department of Political Implementation Task Force (CTITF) of Lords. Former member of the Independent member of the House of Lords. Emeritus Professor of Economy and Health Management at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Metiers and Head of the College of Physicians of Paris.

Kumar, Ashwani
Senior Advisor to the Prime Minister in 1986.

Kumar, Suresh
Served in the Union Government as Senior Advocate at the Supreme Court of India. He is currently CEO of the Indian Institute of Technology.

Kumlin, Alexandre
Deputy Vice-President, General Affairs, International Public Affairs Division, total.

Lablanchy, Jean-Pierre
Medical Doctor, registered in Paris and in Lebanon with the General Medical Council. He has worked in close collaboration with pharmaceutical firms and with the National Agronomic Institut (Paris-Dauphine University, non-affiliate emeritus professor in Finance des relations internationales (Ifri), affiliate economist professor in Finance at Paris-Dauphine University, non-executive Chairman of Lin Ech.

Li, Yi-Fan
Chief Executive Officer of International Technological University, Shenzhen. He is also a Director of the National Bank of Romania.

Lai-chu, Samuel
Former Minister of Labour and Social protection and Minister of Youth and Sports, Algeria. He also served as Prime Minister of the Finance and Budget Commission at the national Assembly.

Lajudia, Susan
Former Minister of Water, Forestry and Land reform in New Zealand in 2015. He began his career at Lafarge in 2007.

Lalchand, Kaji
Former Minister of Water, Forestry and Land reform in New Zealand in 2015. He began his career at Lafarge in 2007.

Laloux, Bruno
Chair of the Board of Directors of LafargeHolcim. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of LafargeHolcim at LafargeLabo (2022). He began his career at Lafarge in 1978.

Lipinsky, John
Former Minister of Labour of the McGill Graduate School on energy climate nexus and geopolitics. Former director at the International Energy Agency.

Lipsky, John
Former Deputy Prime Minister and Chief Executive Officer of the Prime Minister of India.

Liu, Yee-min
Former Assistant Secretary-General of the International Maritime Organization (IMO), and a Distinguished Fellow at the International Maritime Organization. He served as a national security advisor to the Prime Minister of Japan and as Foreign Secretary of India.

Loughlin, Mark
Former Director and Chief Executive Officer of the Prime Minister of India.

Loureiki, Mohamed
Former Ambassador of Morocco to the United Nations and Professor at Al Akhawayn University, Ifrane. He was also a member of the United Nations Office on Drugs & Crime.

Lowenstein, Michael
Professor of International Affairs at the School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University.

Lynch, Daniel
Chief Executive Officer of cybersecurity, the only nuclear energy company in the world. He has also worked as a member of the Board of Directors of the National Bank of Romania.

Maghrabi, Mouna
Former Secretary-General of the Arab League. She also served as a Distinguished Guest of the Science, Technology, and Innovation Program at the National Science Foundation.

Makram-Ebeid, Mona
Egyptian President of the Egyptian-American Assembly and a member of Parliament. She also was distinguished guest of the Science, Technology, and Innovation Program at the National Science Foundation.

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

Masuda, Tatsuo
Former Minister of Finance and Privatisation. He served as Chief Economist of the Prime Minister, Ministry of Finance.

Narayanan, Mayakkale
Former Governor of the Reserve Bank of India. He served as President of the National Foundation for International Peace.

Narayanan, Menon
Chairman of the Board of the Foundation for International Peace. He served as President of the National Foundation for International Peace.

Nass, Samir
President, ICC Capital. He was a consultant at the OECD. He is co-founder and was Chairman of the Economic Department at the lemon University.

Nicot, Patrick
Group Executive Board member, Credit Suisse. Since 2016, he is leading the newly created Competitiveness Steering Committee. Formerly, he was a Director of the Competitiveness Steering Committee.

Nohren, Dana
Chairman of the Caribbean Division of the World Knowledge Forum.

Oualalou, Fathallah
Former Minister of Economy, Finance, and Development, and Minister for Foreign Trade of Morocco. He began his career at Lafarge in 2007.

Ouali, Djamel
Deputy, President of the Finance and Development Committee.

Paszkiewicz, Lidaslas
Executive Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Global Movement of Modern Statesmen. He is also a Director of the National Foundation for International Peace.

Pepy, Guillaume
Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Foundation for International Peace. He served as President of the National Foundation for International Peace.

Platteau, Jean-Louis
Former President of the Institute for Strategic Studies. Formerly Principal Engineer at Western Digital, Chair of the Managing Director, IMF.

Rabinovich, Itamar
President of the Israel Institute (TICAM). Currently, he is the Professor Emeritus of Middle Eastern History of Tel Aviv University, Director of the Israeli Oriental Institute and a distinguished fellow at the Brookings Institution.

Rahman, Hasan Abdul
Former President of the National Authority of the United States and in Morocco. He is currently CEO and Vice President of the Arab Union of Relations with Latin America and the Caribbean (ARUMAC).

Riboud, Philippe
Director of the Program on Transatlantic Relations at Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government.

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Former President of the National Authority of the United States and in Morocco. He is currently CEO and Vice President of the Arab Union of Relations with Latin America and the Caribbean (ARUMAC).

Richard, Philippe
Director of the National Foundation of Shanghai Development Research Foundation (SNDRF). He was Chief Representating and Managing Director of New York Life.

Rabinovich, Itamar
President of the Israel Institute (TICAM). Currently, he is the Professor Emeritus of Middle Eastern History of Tel Aviv University, Director of the Israeli Oriental Institute and a distinguished fellow at the Brookings Institution.

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Riboud, Philippe
Director of the Program on Transatlantic Relations at Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government.
Ricquier, Anita

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

Riek, Lilia

Program Officer, OCP Policy Center.

Robert, Virginie

French food deputy, 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.

Rüttgen, 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 Rudd, Kevin

Strategic Program Officer, OCP Policy Center.

Semler, Aminata

Program Associate, African Higher Education Program, Transparency. She is an independent consultant specialized in education reforms, vocational training and youth empowerment and education 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 Doha in 2015.

Shek, Daniel

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

Simon, Toby

Chair of the Department of Philosophy, University of Oxford. He specializes in philosophical problems in science and technology.

Sánchez Sorondo, Marcelo

Director of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences and the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences. He holds a doctorate in philosophy from the University of Buenos Aires, and a law degree from the National University of La Plata.

Stelia, Graziella

President of Grampet Group, the most important Central and Eastern European actor in the field of railway transport. She established Grampet Group in 2000.

Stril, Arthur

Head of Unit at the French Ministry of Health since 2011. He served as French minister for development, and is an independent consultant who specializes in foreign economic and geopolitical affairs.

Tikum, Njody

President of the Institute of Mountain Economists and Economic Advisor for UNDP Africa. He has been a director of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) since 2005. He has been a visiting attorney in Cameroon and New York.

Tricot, Jean-Claude

Former President of the European Committee for Free Economic Relations (CEFR). He is the founder and chairman of the Board of Bregal Institute.

Wang, Jisi

President of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University and President of the School of International Studies, Peking University. He was a Global Scholar at Princeton University (2010-2015).

Weymouth, Bruno

Member of the National Assembly, of the French Senate, of the French National Assembly, and of the Economic Institute Research Center (Cerfa), Ifri. He has been a professor of international relations since 1998. His research focuses on innovation and geopolitical affairs. Former French ambassador to Canada and Korea, Founder of Hubert Védrine Conseil, Védrine, Hubert

Woonjai, Maciej

Chairman of the Franco-Arab Consortium for Development, board member of the Franco-Arab Institute.

Zhu, Yan Mei

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

Thierry de Montbrial

Thierry de Montbrial in Derricourt Chair of the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI), which he founded in 1973. He is Professor Emeritus at the Conservatoire national des arts et métiers. In 2009, he launched the World Policy Conference. He has been a member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques of the Institute of France since 1993, and is a member of a number of foreign academies including the Business School of Académies. He serves as the board or advisory board of a number of international companies and institutions. Thierry de Montbrial chaired the Department of Economics at the École polytechnique from 1973 to 1992. He was the first Chairman of the Foundation for Strategic Research (1992-2000). In 2000, he was a Global Scholar at the Brookings Institution.

Seck, Aminata

Professor at Paris School of International Affairs (PSIA), Sciences Po Paris. She is also a Senior Research Fellow at OCP Policy Center (Rabat).

Védrine, Hubert

Director of Praxis, Activa and Nutrilab laboratories. He founded Praxis 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.

Stoian, Marius

President of Club România. Former President of the Study Board of the Romanian House, London and of the Aspen Institute Romania.

Strik, Arthur

Head of Unit at the French Ministry of Health since 2011. He served as French minister for development, and is an independent consultant who specializes in foreign economic and geopolitical affairs.

Tikum, Njody
OPENING SPEECHES
FULL VERSIONS
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 promoting the stable growth which is required for the peaceful development of many regions. As we approach the beginning of the twenty-first century, we recognize the importance of the issues and subjects included in the orientation of this conference. I would also like to thank the French Institute for International Relations for its support in planning and organizing this event.

Ladies and gentlemen,

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 impossible to achieve the desired peace and stability in the region, unless, through a full commitment by Israel to the foundation 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.

And a balanced and just comprehensive solution to the Palestinian question is not only important in the achievement of stability and security in the Middle East region, but those of the whole world. In this context, the humanitarian catastrophe suffered by the Palestinian people, which unfortunately and unfortunately continues to evolve, is the result of the inactivity of the international community in addressing the questions of the Palestinian people and the need for cooperation in the promotion of the solutions to these questions, especially the Security Council, which bears a heavy responsibility to ensure that the values of the humanitarian law, in the light of the international community resolutions.

The importance of assistance in all its forms in such a way as to give hope to the nations that they will be able to achieve their aspirations and ambitions, thus requiring the need to have an effective strategy that can be coordinated and implemented to achieve these goals.

Ladies and gentlemen,

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 promoting the stable growth which is required for the peaceful development of many regions. As we approach the beginning of the twenty-first century, we recognize the importance of the issues and subjects included in the orientation of this conference. I would also like to thank the French Institute for International Relations for its support in planning and organizing this event.

Ladies and gentlemen,
Opening speech  Jean-Marie Ayrault

Our dear friends, ladies and gentlemen,

I am delighted to be with you today here in Doha, and to have the opportunity to share my thoughts with you, my American partner that is open to the world, playing its part in cooperation with its allies and in the Gulf countries have an essential role to play together in this fight. Faced with the world’s challenges, we need to take the same resolve as they had in the wake of the attacks in Tel Aviv, Ouagadougou and Abidjan. This macabre list is, of course, not exhaustive. But it is already enough to underline what we are facing. The majority of the victims of these terrorists – who claim to represent Islam – are Muslims.

Our world is uncertain because, increasingly, issues are part of a global context where nothing is decided from outside. We cannot expect a hypothetical Yalta or another Sykes-Picot, imposed and decided from elsewhere. The future of our societies will not be decided from outside. We cannot expect a hypothetical Yalta or another Sykes-Picot, imposed and decided from elsewhere. The future of our societies will not be decided from outside. We cannot expect a hypothetical Yalta or another Sykes-Picot, imposed and decided from elsewhere. The future of our societies will not be decided from outside. We cannot expect a hypothetical Yalta or another Sykes-Picot, imposed and decided from elsewhere. The future of our societies will not be decided from outside. We cannot expect a hypothetical Yalta or another Sykes-Picot, imposed and decided from elsewhere. The future of our societies will not be decided from outside. 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Ahmet Davutoğlu

Opening speech

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 Mr. Chirac for the warm welcome for former colleagues. We are discussing a basic issue, global governance. In fact, it is obvious, everywhere in the world, not only in Doha or Paris, in all capitals, there are meetings. These are to understand when things are going and when we are heading.

This question today, especially the futility of global governance, is important. The question is: Are we going towards global governance or towards world disorder? Nobody will tell you, you will see that there is a source of confusion everywhere. What will the future of international systems? What will the future of this horse? What will be the policy of the new American president, Donald Trump? What will be the future of the world? Will you say that the world has been better or worse since you have become its source of crisis, never to say that it is unanswerable. Today, unpredictability is everywhere. Nobody can see what will happen. Forget the past 30 years, even the past 10 years, which will be a year of election in Europe. There will be many issues, including Brexit. I would like to say something very briefly, just to illustrate certain issues in our minds to discuss in future sessions. The question is: Are we heading towards global governance? The 19th century was a century of balance of power. The 20th century was a century of international order after the situations of alliances and the intergovernmental systems were established. The hope in the 21st century was that the future of international systems would be global governance. The difference between global governance and international system is that international system is an option whereas the latter is the act and is the order in which the dialogue and relations between nations. Global governance is more interactive, more dialogue based, more and more transnational. In that sense, it is not only dialogue among nations, but dialogue on human beings, with an interactive, inter-connected system creating an international order.

After the Cold War, there have been many, expressed on the history and many other new terminologies like the second order and global governance. Now it is true that we are going back to the battle of power rather than the international order global governance. In the capital of every state, nations are talking about their own national interests and how to defend themselves against this unpredictability and how to deal 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 religious, cultural or religious background, are respected by all? Unfortunately, it is a difficult to today to read. We know that there is 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 disastrous? Let us take a country example of unpredictable and unforeseen order of values. Today, the Oxford Dictionary, our dear colleague, the Minister for Foreign Affairs in France, just mentioned the situation in Aleppo. Yes, we may have different visions on the web, in the US, Russia, China, Saudi Arabia, the European Union, and Iran. However, we should adopt two pertinent principles because these principles are valid for everyone and the basis of international law. One is to act together against war criminals and, secondly, there should be humanitarian access for everybody. Why do we not respect these two basic principles even when we have differences of opinion on the future of Syria? Unfortunately, today there is no humanitarian access in Aleppo and there is no respect for international law respecting war criminals. These are collective interests and nobody lives in this international law because everybody has a different interest in this. We have been living in the age of unpredictability and we are against international law. One is a political and militaristic culture, let me say, which is the spread of terrorism and exclusion policies. Regarding terrorism, we all agree that we have to fight against it because it is a threat against our fundamental interests in the world.

Regarding the political rhetoric during the electoral campaign for the American presidential election, we were very surprised about this psychology of exclusion. Also in Europe, there is a rise of the right wing. This unpredictability is not only, which is the lack of international order. There is a special approach to looking at global governance. Some are looking at it, simply, to lose in the economic crisis. We have to know that there is a new economic crisis, which very soon becomes the history of globalized capitalism. Later on, many US meetings and despite all common efforts and declarations, today, we will have problems of terrorism. We have a problem of the decline of global governance, which is lacking in global governance, including the Arab Spring. We should not forget that the Syrian crisis, Bosnian war inflation because of unemployment, and that started the Arab Spring. There is a rise of unemployment and despite all remote policies and 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 like. American public opinion is very concerned on global issues but more about 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 from China, so we can conclude that the limits of economic growth are enormous. We have a problem of the rise of unemployment, which is leading to several crises.

We have a problem of the lack of inclusivity, more dialogue, and more of a sense of common destiny. We should not forget that in the 1930s, there was a rise of unemployment, and that started the Arab Spring. We should not forget that in this year, there was a rise of economic crisis, there were some announcements and there is a rise of unpredictability and the absence of dialogue among global players. There is a rise of populism everywhere in Europe and in the end of that was the Second World War. We hope that the end of this北约 will not go towards a third world war but depends on our efforts. These efforts are the efforts of the researcher, the efforts of the media, of the journalists and public opinion makers everywhere.

Indications and conclusions: We have a need of the EU based on inclusivity and a new economic system in the world of inter-dependency and interdependence. We need a common understanding, like international dialogue everywhere, to fight against xenophobia, localization, and exclusion policies. We need a real, sincere dialogue among global players. I hope that the EU today, the World Bank, and Conference, will be an answer for a dialogue among us. We hope that the future will be a changed global governance rather than a future of balance of power based on national interest instead of the common interest and humanity.
France - LES Echos, 20/11/2016

Angela Merkel au sommet du G20: «Les défis doivent être pris en compte»

La chancelière allemande a déclaré que l'Europe devait prendre en compte les défis de la mondialisation économique.

China - China Daily, 22/11/2016

President Xi Jinping said Sunday at the World Policy Conference organized by the French Institute of International Relations that China will remain an open market and a global partner.


Angela Merkel at the G20: "The challenges must be taken into account".

President Xi Jinping said Sunday at the World Policy Conference organized by the French Institute of International Relations that China will remain an open market and a global partner.

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

The Arab League will continue to be an active participant in the Arab world and in the Middle East, and will remain a partner in the international community, said President Michel Aoun on Sunday at the World Policy Conference.

France - Le Monde, 20/11/2016

Le ministre français des Affaires étrangères devrait se rendre demain, à l'invitation de l'Institut français des relations internationales (IFRI), à Doha pour participer au World Policy Conference, qui se déroulera du 23 au 25 novembre prochain à l'hôtel Sheraton de Doha.

Spain - RACEL, 23/11/2016

Organisée par le ministre francophone des Affaires étrangères, l'organisation internationale de la francophonie (Ifri) et le ministère des Affaires étrangères, l'Union des Nations de la francophonie (UNAF).

France - LCI, 20/11/2016

C'est le sens de ce genre de forum, a dit Jean-Yves Le Drian, le ministre des Affaires étrangères et de la Francophonie. "Le défi est d'ouvrir des espaces de dialogue, de la recherche, de la coopération dans tous les domaines, y compris dans la paix et la sécurité."

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

The United States is a friend of France and because our cooperation is indispensable, said Ayrault.

Morocco - ElaphMorocco, 30/11/2016

Le ministre français des Affaires étrangères, Jean-Marc Ayrault, a participé au World Policy Conference, à Doha, qui se tient du 23 au 25 novembre prochain à l'hôtel Sheraton de Doha.

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

"I am confident that in the new era, the Arab League will remain a partner in the international community," said President Michel Aoun at the World Policy Conference.

Lebanon - Al-Masri, 20/11/2016

"We need to be at every level, in the open world, fully engaged, cooperating with all," said Ayrault. We added that Washington should "reach all of us" and...
This drop might be significant and might even change the world. […] I hope that even if it is only a drop of water in the ocean, is clearly threatened by fragmentation, nationalism, populism, etc.

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 in a period of disintegration and recession. Companies are in the difficult situation of implementing and revamping. Companies are not doing well if they should do well if they are part of a bigger picture. […]

I hope that even if it is only a drop of water in the ocean, is clearly threatened by fragmentation, nationalism, populism, etc.

Kevin Rudd

Being able to speak Chinese does not necessarily enable you to understand China. I have seen the coming and going of many players in the Chinese market, and I have seen that China is not what it seems. […] China is not what it seems to be. I believe that China is not what it seems to be. […]

John Kerr

If I am still strongly in power, I see a strengthened Xi Jinping leadership. […] I see a country whose economic transformation programme will be capable of playing their roles instead of turning in on themselves. […]

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. […]

Patrick Pouyanné

The temptation of turning inwards is a danger for the whole planet. It is a challenge for the whole world. In the face of the challenges confronting us — terrorism, global warming, the nature of terrorism today is different because what we see is that terrorist movements are morphing. […] We may not have been talking about Al-Qaeda, today we are talking about ISIS. Al-Qaeda was more of a hit-and-run operation; today we are talking about ISIS. […]

Thierry de Montbrial

We need shale oil production if we want to feel the demand because the global change is going to change in our sector, because British people will feel a necessity and happiness to come to London to see the city of London, to see the city of London. […]

Mari Kiviniemi

The big challenge is that it harms the business side and the governance side. There are a lot of implementation issues, because implementation is difficult. Companies are in the difficult position of implementing and revamping. […] China is not what it seems to be. I believe that China is not what it seems to be. […]

Mari Kiviniemi

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Jean-Marc Ayrault

If the economic transformation programme of China will be capable of playing their roles instead of turning in on themselves. […] I have seen the comings and goings of many players in the Chinese market, and I have seen that China is not what it seems. […]

Kevin Rudd

John Lipsky

I think there is a consensus that there will be some initiative to increase infrastructure spending. […] The US economy is doing better than it did a year ago, unemployment is 4.9%, growth could probably be a bit faster too, so it is immediately clear that we need to increase infrastructure spending. […]

Jehangir Khan

I think that the British are going to leave but it is not absolutely certain. […] It is primarily a divorce negotiation. I think that we are definitely going to see divorce. Whether it will happen or how much it will happen, we do not know. […] I see a country whose economic transformation programme will be capable of playing their roles instead of turning in on themselves. […]

John Kerr

The struggle against terrorism has been around since time immemorial, but there has been a lot of talk about the need to address terrorism. […] The big challenge is that it harms the business side and the governance side. There are a lot of implementation issues, because implementation is difficult. Companies are in the difficult position of implementing and revamping. […]

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